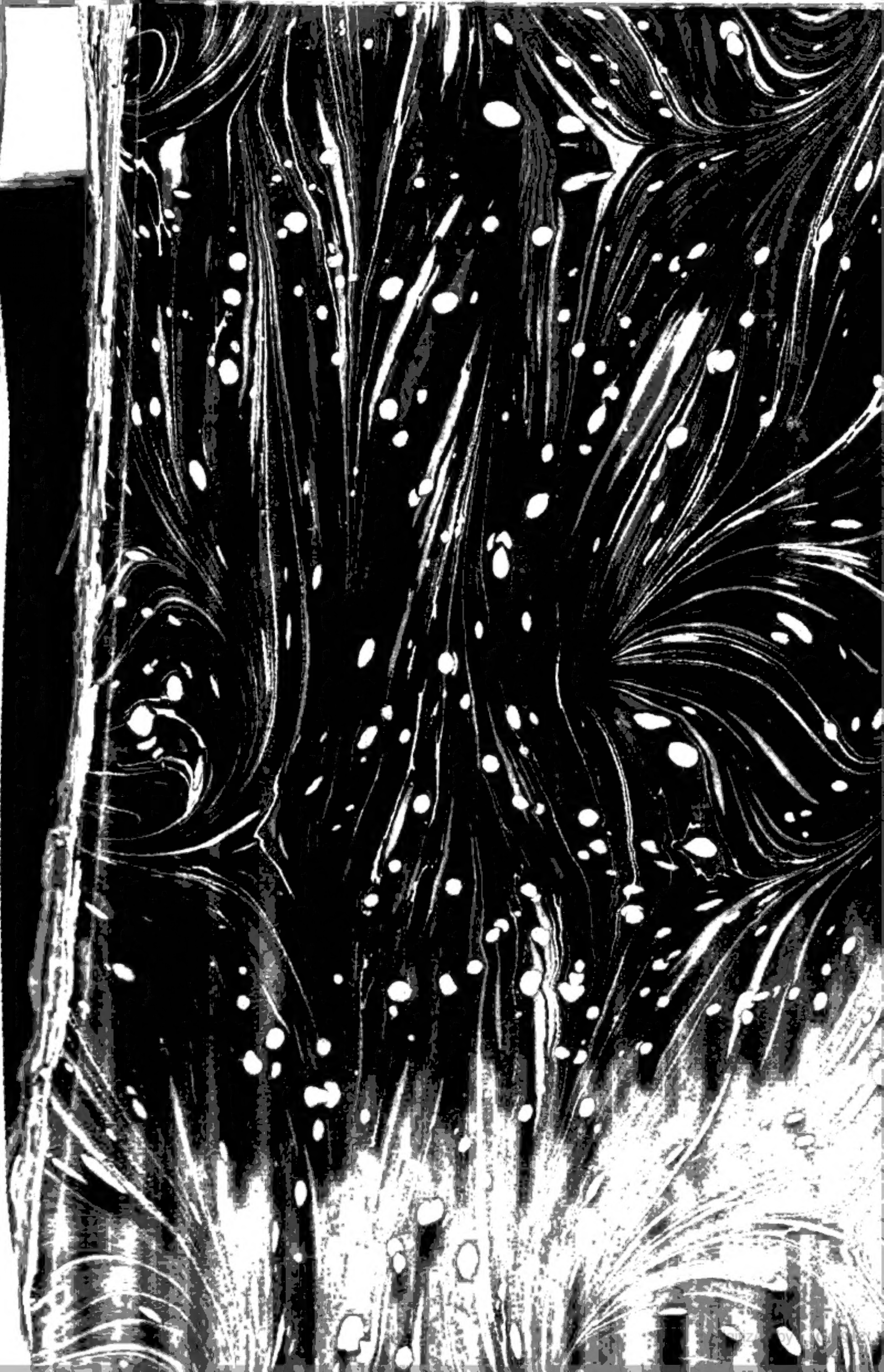


J. J. Chapman.





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PREFACE.

THE completion of the ninth Volume of the *Journal* is a matter for congratulation both to the Council and Members of the Association, and it is hoped that the contents of the Volume will compare favourably with those of the preceding ones.

When all the papers are so good it is scarcely necessary to particularize any ; but the Council welcome two new contributors to the pages of the *Journal*—the Rev. Joseph Hirst and Mr. Clements Markham,—and all must join in the wish to have further communications from the same sources. Mr. Clark's paper on Richmond adds another to the list of Castles which have been described in the pages of the *Journal* by his skilful and eloquent pen. The account of Aldborough Church by Mr. Leadman furnishes a model for a description of a parish church, and the Council will at all times endeavour to find space for similar papers.

The great number and importance of the Cistercian remains in this County will be sufficient explanation, if explanation be needed, for the publication of the Cistercian Statutes, of which the two first parts have appeared edited

with the Rev. J. T. Fowler's usual care and learning. The series will be resumed in the next Part.

Another fragment of the Poll-Tax has been discovered, which relates to Howdenshire ; this appears in the present Volume, and one still remains in hand, which refers to portions of the Wapentakes of Harthill and Buckrose.

The Council desire to express the warmest thanks of the Association to the writers of the papers which compose the present Volume, and have to add the usual notice, that whilst the editing of the *Journal* is their especial work, the writers of the various papers are alone responsible for the statements and opinions contained therein.

HUDDERSFIELD,

May, 1886.

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THE YORKSHIRE Archæological and Topographical Journal.

A ROMAN GARRISON AT GRETA BRIDGE.

By the Rev. JOSEPH HIRST.

THE object of the present paper is to throw some light on a statement made by a Roman official document of the beginning of the fifth century, concerning the Roman garrison of a military post in Yorkshire. The document in question is styled briefly *Notitia Dignitatum atriisque Imperii*, and may be sufficiently described as an authentic register of the civil and military offices of the divided Empire for the time at which it was drawn up, viz., between A.D. 400 and 410.¹ The statement referred to cannot fail to interest us at the present day, as it hands down to our knowledge the particular name of some Roman troops (and a name exceedingly uncommon) who did garrison duty in a station of fixed locality, between A.D. 388 and 402.² Yet the statement and the passage have hitherto attracted, so far as I am aware, no attention whatever from the topographical writers of the county, or, indeed, from any others. In default, therefore, of any existing comment or illustration of so interesting a circumstance, the following dissertation will bring to bear on the subject some information of a novel character, or may serve at least to attract for the passage the attention of those more competent to furnish an explanation.

¹ Teuffel, in his *History of Roman Literature*, vol. i., p. 78, calls the *Notitia* "The Byzantine diplomatic and political directory, an official work, compiled at the end of the fourth century." Hodgson says, "The *Notitia* bears some resemblance to our modern Court Calendars. It contains a list of the military and civil

officers." (Northumberland, part ii., vol. iii. p. 162.)

² In 387 the Tyrant Maximus withdrew the Roman army of occupation from Britain, and it was again withdrawn in 402 under Honorius. The Roman armies were finally and officially withdrawn from Britain between A.D. 426 and 430.

From a review of the detailed account given us in the *Notitia* of the military establishment of the Romans in Britain about the end of the fourth century, we may form some idea of the points of the island that were particularly guarded, and of the quarters whence an attack was most expected. The whole disposable force of the Romans seems to have been placed either on the northern barrier, to guard it against the inroads of the Picts and Scots, or along the south-eastern coast, to shield it against the descent of the Saxon sea-kings. Some stations in Yorkshire had proper garrisons in them, but the bulk of the Roman army seems to have been pushed forward towards the north, leaving our large county with only just enough troops in it to keep the people in awe. It is somewhat singular that in this official catalogue of military stations in Britain, York should not be mentioned. From the middle of the second century to the close of the Roman occupation, York was the seat of government in the island and the centre of the great military force maintained there. This well-known fact must have led the writer who goes under the name of Richard of Cirencester to interpolate the name of York in the *Notitia* after the mention of the Prefect of the Sixth Legion. Whether the governor of Britain resided at York, or not, cannot be stated with certainty. There is, however, reason to believe that York was the ordinary residence of the Prefect of the Sixth Legion as well as of the so-called Duke of Britain.³

From the time of Diocletian the whole Roman Empire was divided into four parts, which from the reign of Constantine were governed by four Prætorian Prefects. Under this arrangement Britain and Spain were placed under the jurisdiction of the Prætorian Prefect of the Gauls, each of these two countries being ruled by a deputy-governor, vicar, or vicegerent. Besides this civil governor there were in Britain three military commanders, who acknowledged as

³ EBURACUM, LEGIO VI. VICTRIX, in Hübner, *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, vol. vii. p. 61. Lingard (ed. 1837, vol. i. p. 48) says positively that the "Vicar of Britain resided at York." For this statement there is no authority in any ancient author. As regards Britain no authority whatever can be quoted for the ordinary residence of the governor. Richard of Cirencester, whom Lingard too frequently quotes in

this first chapter of his history, has now been proved not to be the author of the work *De Situ Britanniae*, which for a century has been generally accepted as his work. It was first published in Denmark in the years 1757-1758, and appears to have been a clever and serviceable compilation, fabricated by Charles Julius Bertram, professor of the English language at the Royal Naval School, Copenhagen.

their immediate chief the Master of the cavalry or of the infantry stationed on the banks of the Rhine. The whole of the Roman army of occupation in Britain was under these three officers. First came the Duke of Britain, having under his command some 14,000 foot and 900 horse. Of these 8,000 foot and 600 horse were set apart for the defence of the great northern wall. The Duke of Britain may be said to have commanded from the northern boundary to the river Humber. Then came the Count of Britain, having under his command some 3,000 foot and 600 horse. His command covered the rest of England, with the exception of the eastern and south-eastern coast. The Count of the Saxon Shore came next, who had under his command some 2,200 foot and 200 horse, distributed in nine garrisons. These approximate numbers are taken from Schöll's valuable synopsis of the Roman administration, given in the form of an appendix to the third volume of his History of Roman Literature. He thus, after Panciroli, estimates the Roman army in Britain, A.D. 400, at 19,000 foot and 1,700 horse. It is impossible, however, at the present day to fix these numbers with any degree of accuracy. Hübner, in his learned article on the Roman dominion in Britain, published in the sixteenth part of the German Classical and Archæological Review called *Hermes*, puts down Claudius's army in Britain at 60,000 men. When Plautius, says Lingard, first undertook the reduction of the island, he was at the head of four legions, with their auxiliaries, a force which, at a moderate calculation, would exceed 50,000 men. So incidental are our means of information concerning the state of affairs at this early time, that we are indebted for the very term of *Exercitus Britannicus*, the Romano-British army, to the chance discovery of one or two inscriptions and to an occasional coin. No classical author in any passage preserved to us has left record of a name that must in ancient days have sent a thrill through the breast of many an officer and private when he heard of some new glorious achievement of that band of men which the Romans must in ordinary conversation have called their British army. Tacitus, in his History (iv. 74), makes use of the expression, *Exercitus quibus Germani Britannie arceantur*. But the term *Exercitus Britannicus* occurs but seldom—once in an inscription of the first century, where we read of a certain Valerius Paternus, who was a SPECULATOR EXERCITUS BRITAN.

(C. I. L. VI. n. 3358, cf. 3357 and 3359); again in an inscription found in Holland (V. Stuart's *Caledonia Romana*, Pl. vi.), and in two coins of Hadrian, given in Camden, Tab. III. p. xcvi., and in Speed, p. 57.

Now, in the fortieth chapter of the Western Notitia, we read that there was under the disposal of His Excellency the Duke of Britain, besides the Prefect of the Sixth Legion and a goodly array of lesser prefects and of tribunes, the Prefect of Night-Watchers or Fire-men at Concangii (n. 24). The Latin words are: "Sub dispositione viri spectabilis ducis Britanniarum....præfectus numeri vigilum, Concangios."

The fact of there being a NUMERUS VIGILUM at all stationed in Britain is in itself well-nigh unique in the military annals of ancient times; for the only other instance on record of a similar force is that mentioned by the Notitia of a detachment or auxiliary force of *vigiles* at Ofen, the Roman Buda, the old capital of Hungary: *auxilia vigilum contra Acinco in barbarico* (Valer.), where the word *solo* should be understood (Not. Oc. xxxviii. 47).

We must first, however, inquire as to the position of Concangii, Concangium, or Concangies, for by all these three names is this place known to modern writers.⁴ My lamented friend, the late Rev. Daniel Haigh, of Erdington, in a learned article in the fourth volume of this *Journal*, p. 63, says that "Concangies is a name almost identical with Cunce-ceastre, Chester-le-street." "Once, indeed," says Camden,⁵ "I was of opinion that Kendal was the old Roman station, Concangii, but time has informed me better." Bishop Gibson still thought Concangii identical with "Water-crook, below Kendal, where on the east side of the river [Can] is an old square fort, the banks and ditches whereof are still visible. That it was Roman, the discovery of *Coins*, broken *Altars*, and other pieces of *Antiquity*, will not give us leave to make the least doubt; which seems to some to fix the *Concangii* rather here than in any other place, because in the *Notitia* it is plac'd as it were in the very middle of the Northern Stations. For whereas between *York* and *Derwent* the *Notitia* speaks of fourteen stations, the *Concangii*

⁴ Alciatus reads Concagios. The anonymous geographer of Ravenna, who has been identified by Fr. Haigh with Venantius Fortunatus, has Coganges, or Coganges (v. 31). *Vide* Otto Seeck's edition of the Notitia, taken from the

Spire MS., now lost. Berolini. 1876. In the Berlin Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, vol. vii., n. 1204, we have Ceangi, and n. 1206 Ceang.

⁵ Britannia, ed. 1722, col. 985.

is the seventh; and the very next that come after it are *Lavatræ* (Bowes), *Verteræ* (Brough), and *Brovoniacum* (Browham): the two last in Westmoreland, and the first upon the edge of it. But, after all, this *Concangii*, which the *Notitia* makes the station of the *Præfectus Numeri Vigilum*, is most probably to be sought for nearer the wall, and perhaps on the north side of that fortress." (*Loc. cit.*) Elsewhere Camden, Gibson (p. 83, cf. 436), and Gough (vol. i. p. 82), place the Cangi in Somersetshire. But others suppose the Cangi may have been in many places at once.⁶

In another place further on, col. 680, Camden changes his opinion, and places *Concangii* in Cheshire, although, as he says, "antiquity has so far buried all memorials of the Cangi, that there remain not the least foot-steps, whereby to trace them." Brady says, at p. 44 of the first volume of his *History of England*, ed. 1685, "I rather think, according to the report of their [the vigiles] names and offices, that *Concangies* was somewhere nearer to the wall [than the Baronie of Kendal], and perhaps on the north side of it, some place not yet made out." Böcking, in his *Commentary on the Notitia* (p. 866 *et seq.*), places *Concangii* at Cockermouth, in Cumberland. In Smith's *Ancient Geography* *Concangii* is again identified by Latham with Kendal, and Horsley places it at, or near, Kendal, while Pancirolus refers it to the Cangi *interiorem Valliæ partem ad occidentem incolentibus* (*vide Tacitus, Annals, xii. 32*), and perhaps connects it with a promontory called *Kαγγανῶν*, placed by Ptolemy in Britain (ii. 3). Dr. McCaul, however, in his *Britanno-Roman Inscriptions* (p. 36), agrees with Latham in Smith's *Dictionary* in thinking North Wales the seat of the Cangi.

Mr. Lees suggests that *Concangium* stood probably either at Greta Bridge or at that point north of Catterick near Middleton Tyes, where from the Roman road leading to the wall from York *viâ* Piercebridge another turned off north-west to Bowes.⁷ Mr. Phillips, the eminent geologist, in his *History of Yorkshire*, places *Concangium* in Yorkshire. So does also Mr. Hodgson Hinde.⁸

Mr. Nicholson concurs with Mr. Baxter in thinking that the Cangi were the herdsmen of the day. They were not a nation, but a class, and were found in parts of the country most fit for pasturage. (Cumberland and West-

moreland *Archæological Journal*, vol. iii. p. 173.)

⁷ Mr. Ferguson in *Cumb. and West. Arch. Soc. Journal*, vol. iii. p. 94.

⁸ *Ib.*, p. 184.

In a letter which I have received from Mr. Thompson Watkin, dated 28th April, 1883, he writes as follows:—"In 1870, in my paper 'On the Tenth Iter of Antoninus and some of the *Notitia* stations in the North of England,' I gave my reasons for fixing *Concangium* at Greta Bridge (*Archæological Journal*, vol. xxviii.), and I believe my view has been generally accepted since. At any rate, Mr. Longstaffe, in the *Archæologia Æliana*, and Mr. Ferguson, in the Cumberland Society's Transactions, fix upon the same station as its site."

Mr. Ferguson, Mayor of Carlisle, tells me by letter, "My suggestion that *Concangium* was Greta Bridge was a mere *obiter dictum*; I was more concerned to show that it was *not* Kendal." Mr. Longstaffe, however (*Arch. Æl.*, vol. viii. p. 288), writes as follows: "We can hardly refuse to recognise the primary claims of Greta Bridge to be *Concangium*, the easternmost of the stations occupied by the four parties of scouts."

"The country between the Swale and the Tees," says Mr. Taylor, in *Old Yorkshire*, 1st series, p. 19, "was considered by the Romans a military position of the highest importance for the secure possession of the north of England. It was therefore carefully strengthened by entrenched camps, and traversed by a military way. . . . The important points of the above-mentioned district between the Tees and the Swale—the key of the military position—were defended by permanent camps, or stations, as at Cataractonium, where the great road crossed the Swale; at Pierse Bridge, where the road, passing the Tees, entered the county of Durham; at Greta Bridge, near the confluence of the Tees and Greta; and at Bowes (*Lavatræ*)."

Mr. T. Watkin himself says (*Arch. J.* xxviii. p. 127): "Greta Bridge, which I thus fix upon as *Concangium*, is a fortress of from four to five acres in extent, was strongly walled, and has yielded ten inscriptions, but none of them afford any clue as to its garrison; the Roman road from Catterick to Bowes runs through it. From this station to Pierse Bridge the whole country abounds with British and Roman remains. There are seven undoubted Roman camps and several immense irregular entrenchments." He conjectures further that the station at Greta Bridge, which was a standing camp (*castra stativa*), was probably formed by

Severus. Hence its omission in the Antonine Itinerary, which dates from A.D. 138 to 144.

Hodgson also, in his History of Northumberland (*l. c.*), places Concangium at Greta Bridge. Assuming then this allocation to be correct,⁹ Horsley in his *Britannia Romana*, p. 486, writes of this place as follows: "There has, no doubt, been a Roman fort and town near Greta Bridge, situated in a *lingula* near the confluence of the Teese and Greta. The fort is yet very visible (A.D. 1732), and of the usual regular figure. The rampart is quite round, and the four entries are conspicuous."

Whitaker, in his History of Richmondshire (vol. i. pp. 147, 148), thus speaks of the hamlet of Greta in the parish of Rokeby, which latter name he renders the Dwelling near the Rock:¹⁰ "Greta Bridge is on the site of a Roman *trajectus* over that stream, on the line of that branch of the great Roman road which branches off towards Bowes, and thence north-westward to Carlisle. On the northern bank are the distinct remains of a rectangular station, containing about four acres, through which, as usual, the road has passed from gate to gate. . . . This station was planted for the first time by Severus, Caracalla, and Geta, on their march to, or return from, the Caledonian expedition, yet its peculiar situation certainly pointed out Greta Bridge for a station from the first Roman settlement of Britain. On the bank of a principal stream, and near the confluence of that stream with one of smaller account, at the point of separation between

⁹ "GRETA BRIDGE hamlet, Brignall, Rokeby, and Wycliffe parishes, North Riding of Yorkshire, 3 miles south-east of Barnard Castle, which is 246 miles by road from London, on Watling Street and River *Greta*, which runs to River Tees. Roman coins and an altar have been found." (*A New Gazetteer*. By James A. Sharp, London. 1852.)

¹⁰ This derivation, says our author, is not weakened by the three rocks in the coat armour of the ancient and celebrated family of Rokeby, who derived their name from this place. "Bounded by the rocky limits of the Teese on the one hand, and by the equally rocky bank of Greta on the other, it seems scarcely possible to assign to this peculiar name any other origin." The town of Rugby, very differently situated, was called in Domesday Book *Rocheberie*, and up to the reign of Elizabeth, Rokeby. The

manor passed from the early Earls of Warwick to an ancient and important family of Rokeby, which seems distinct from the Yorkshire family of that name. So at least I am informed by the Rev. H. R. Rokeby, of Arthingworth Manor, Northants, who quotes an unfinished history of the town in his possession by N. Harris Nicholas, who, discarding the coat of arms as given in Vincent's "*Ordinary*," "*Ermine on Escutcheon Azure*," and also by Dugdale, in his *Antiquities of Warwickshire*, "*Gules on Escutcheon Or*," suggests one found in the same folio in a hand apparently in the time of Henry VIII. in Lansdowne's MSS., "*a cross engrailed, in the dexter chief a mullet*," corroborated to some extent by Edmundson's statement that, "*or, a cross gules with a martlet in the chief dexter quarter were the arms of Rohesbe or Rockbey*."

the two great divisions of the *street* northward, and at the usual distance from Catteric south, and Auckland to the north, it might have been expected that this should have been found in the first line of stations. On the whole it seems to have been an afterthought of these Emperors, by which they established a convenient resting-place for the legions on the direct northern line of march, between Cata-ractonium and Vinovium, while on the other they left it optional to the soldiers who passed over Stanemore, according to the weather or other circumstances, to repose at Lavatræ, or to push forward to the warmer and more comfortable resting-place on the bank of Greta. The outline of the fortress itself may still (1823) be distinctly traced, and measures from four to five statute acres. The Roman street and *trajectus* seem to have coincided with the present bridge and turnpike-road, leaving about two-thirds of the station to the west, and one, which is within Rokeby Park, to the east."

Sir Walter Scott, in his poem of "Rokeby" (Canto IV.), derives the name of Greta from the Mæso-Gothic GRIDAN, *strepere*. Dr. Whitaker, however, differed from the poet who has done so much to illustrate the neighbourhood, in which he for some time resided, and derives it from Greet, which in Suio-Gothic is *rock*, and "ea," the Saxon term for water.

Watson, in his "History of Halifax" (p. 200), says of Greetland that it may have had its name either as being the Great land, or from the number of stones in it, which, in the Islandic language, were called Grioot, or Griot, or from the Saxon *lpyr*, or *lpeot*, sand or gravel.

Difficult as it has been to locate Concangii, it is still more difficult a task to discover the nature of the Roman soldiers stationed there by the Notitia. Two hundred years ago the industrious Brady wrote thus concerning the Greta Bridge Vigiles in a note on page 44 of the first volume of his History: "These watchmen were first instituted by Augustus, as a remedy against fire, thieves, and other inconveniences and mischiefs, in the great and populous city of Rome, and had their several circuits appointed for this night-service; they were afterwards soldiers, and distributed into seven cohorts, from whence the name was derived unto the soldiers abroad in the Provinces, whose duty might be somewhat alike."

Pancirolus was more cautious, and said these soldiers were styled Watchmen, because they kept watches.¹¹ At this surmise Böcking cannot but smile, and says: "Truly watchmen watch, but I should rather conjecture that they were sailors, that is, marines acting as soldiers, employed against the Scots, who were pouring over from the Irish coast, just as the barge-men, at Arbeia on the River Tees, were employed."¹² Hodgson, in his "History of Northumberland," Part II., vol. iii. p. 162, speaks simply of the "Prefect of the band of Night-Watchers at Concangium."

At the period of which we are now treating, the ancient constitution of the Roman army had undergone considerable change, so that none of the ancient writers, who have treated of Roman military affairs, Polybius, Tacitus, Dion Cassius, or even Vegetius, can now be taken as our guide.¹³ The decay of the Empire, and the throes brought on by intestine struggle for command, conducted in the face of barbaric hordes who were breaking across the borders on every side, may furnish some explanation of this relaxation of discipline and the lapse into desuetude of many time-honoured institutions. The extraordinary nature of military circumstances at this period of the Roman Empire cannot be better exemplified than by the strange and novel designations given in the Notitia to some of the bodies which formed the permanent garrison of Britain. Thus, in the fortieth chapter of the Western Notitia we have, "under the disposal of his excellency the Duke of Britain," besides the band of Night-Watchers at Concangii, a band of *exploratores*, or scouts, at Bowes on Stanemore, in Yorkshire, a band of *directores*, or guides, at Burgh under Stanemore, in Westmoreland, where, says Horsley, they were much needed, and of *defensores* at Brougham. Of these, Horsley says in a note at p. 477, "Whether the *directores* might often be employed as guides, and the *defensores* in defending passes, or what else, I cannot determine. The places, where they

¹¹ Vigiles, quod vigilias obire consuevissent, sunt denominati. (Pancirolus de Præfecto Vigilum, U. C. P.)

¹² Sane vigiles vigilant; nautas, i.e., navales milites Scotis ex Hibernia irruptibus oppositos fuisse conjectaverim, scilicet atque barcarii Arbeenses. (Böcking, Notitia, Bonnæ, 1839, vol. ii. p. 866.) In the Oxford, Paris, Vienna, and

Munich MSS. of the Notitia, for Præfectus vigilum we have Præfectus vigiliū.

¹³ In Smith's Classical Dictionary we read, "The number of ancient writers now extant, who treat professedly of the military affairs of the Romans, is not great, and their works are, with one or two exceptions, of little value" (*sub voce Exercitus*).

were posted, are proper enough for such purposes." Schöll, however (*Geschichte*, III^{er} Band, Nachtrag), thinks the *defensores* were a reserve force to support an army pursuing another in rout.

Then we have the sea forces, which in times of emergency seem to have been used for the defence of the northern stations of the island against the incursions of the Picts and Scots. Besides the fixed stations of the marines, or of the galley-men who manned the fleet that kept up communication between Gaul and Britain, such as may have existed at Dover and Lymne, in Kent (*Classiarii Britannici*), we have evidence of Roman marines being established at Tynelaw, at the mouth of the Tyne, and of a number of bargemen (called perhaps from their services in Asia on the Tigris, *numerus barcariorum Tigrisiensium*), at Piersebridge, or, to judge from remains, at some point nearer the mouth of the Tees. To add a name that strikes strangely on our ears, we may mention the *Equites Cataphractariorum*,¹⁴ stationed by the Notitia at Morbium, in Britain (wherever that may be), who may have been Asiatic cavalry armed cap-à-pie.

To these strange-sounding names, most of which were unknown in the campaigning days of Cæsar, Cicero and Horace, we may add the *Exculcatores*, of whom there were young and old, *Juniores* and *Seniores*, and some styled in addition British (*Britannici*), most probably from their connection with the Roman military establishment in Britain, though they were placed by the Notitia amongst the *auxilia Palatina* or household troops. These *Exculcatores* we can only surmise were the same as *Excursatores* or pioneers, of whom Ammian says, *Excursatores quingentos et mille sensim præire disposuit* (xxiv. 1). Other strange terms introduced in these later days of the Roman Empire, were the *Speculatores*, *Protectores*, *Curatores*, *Scutarii*, *Scurrae*, *Bucellarii*, *Parasiti*, &c., &c. Cf. Böcking in his notes on the Eastern Notitia, vol. ii., p. 208, and De Vit, *Lexicon totius Latinitatis sub his vocibus* (six vols. Prato, 1858-1880).

¹⁴ From the Greek word *καταφράκτης*, signifying a breastplate made of iron. Hence Ammian likens these soldiers to the crocodile, armed with its impenetrable scales (xxii. 15). In the acts of the Senate in Lampridius, under Alexander Severus (ch. 56), we have *Cataphractarios, quos illi clibanarios vocant, decem*

millia in bello intereminus. Then we read in Nazarius's Panegyric on Constantine (ch. 22), *Operimento ferri equi atque homines pariter obsepti, clibanariis in exercitu nomen est*. (Cf. Tacitus Hist., l. i., c. 79, and Annals, l. iii., c. 43; also Livy, l. xxxvii., c. 40.)

Then Constantine established in his new capital a body of 950 *Lecticarii*, whose duty it was to attend to the gratuitous burial of the dead. They were afterwards increased to the number of 1100. This institution also was soon introduced into Rome, where the *Lecticarii* had their *castra* in the fourteenth region.

That the *Vigiles*, of whom we are now treating, were not common sentinels, must be apparent to all. To quote the words of Sir James Turner, in his *Pallas Armata*, p. 133, "You have the Roman guards exposed by three several words common in authors, and though all three signified guards in some sense, yet if I mistake not (with submission to others) these three several words signified three several things. *Excubiæ*, *Vigiliæ*, and *Stationes* are the three words. *Excubiæ*, I answer, signified the men who kept guard and sentinel; *Vigiliæ*, the several distinct times, in which they kept guard and sentinel; and *Stationes* were the places where they kept guard and sentinel, which we call ordinarily Posts."

As every legion and separate body in the Roman service had an organized system of patrols, sentinels and night-watchers, it would seem superfluous to have a cohort exclusively formed of sentinels or watchmen engaged in garrison duty at a ford or bridge of a small Yorkshire river. Our *VIGILES* therefore must not be confounded with the sentinels or night-watchers of a Roman camp. The latter, as they took the watch by turn, could not receive any distinctive appellation making them into a separate arm of the service, just as we have not a regiment of sentinels, or a troop of horse called patrols. Sentinel and patrol duty would fall to the lot of all by turn. We know that before the Roman head-quarters, a whole maniple of soldiers, that is, a hundred men, kept guard and watch, particularly by night. As Eschenburg says in his *Classical Literature*, p. 280, "Every maniple was obliged to place four men upon guard, so that two hundred and forty men were always on the watch in a camp of two legions. The night was divided into four parts, of three hours each, and called watches, at the end of which the guards, *vigiles*, were relieved by a new set. The legions of the auxiliaries had also their guards and watchmen. It belonged to the cavalry to inspect the watch

on duty and make the formal round (*circuitio vigilum*) and visit the several posts or stations."

Moreover, from very early times, viz. 211 B.C., as we are informed by Livy (xxvi. 4; cf. xxxviii. 21), there was a separate corps in the Roman army, styled *Velites* or *Procubitores*, who had much the same duties to perform as would fall to the lot of the ordinary sentinels or *Vigiles*, if they were given a separate organization. The *Procubitores* were employed on outpost duty whenever the Romans were encamped before an enemy, and, as Polybius says, kept watch by night and day all along the whole extent of the rampart, while they were stationed in bodies of ten to watch the camp-gates. Hyginus, in his *Castremetation*, appoints a distinct place for each separate corps. Thus the Scouts, *Exploratores*, were appropriately quartered by him at the extremity of the camp nearest to the Prætorian gate, and close to the Pioneers. He assigns no such special place to the *Vigiles*.

The term *Vigiles* is not new in the Roman annals; it had already for a long time been appropriated to the body of men existing perhaps in almost every large city, and established primarily to perform the office of a modern Fire Brigade. To this office of protecting the city from fire were added the duties of night-police.¹⁵

In the days of Republican Rome the safety of the city was committed to certain *Triumviri*, on whom devolved the duty of extinguishing any sudden conflagration. From the night-watches they had to keep, they received the surname of Nocturnal. The danger and labour of this civic duty was sometimes shared by the *Aediles* and *Tribunes* of the people. On the duties of these *Tres Viri Capiales*, or *tres viri nocturni*, as they were commonly called, or still more frequently *tres viri*¹⁶, see Mommsen's *Römisches Staatsrecht*, vol. ii., p. 580, one of Herr Marquardt's valuable hand-books of Roman Antiquities now in course of

¹⁵ While revising these lines for the press, I read in the *Standard* of January 7, 1884, a telegram from the Roman correspondent, who is describing the re-intombment of the body of King Victor Emmanuel, in the Pantheon, in which I find these words: "The operations of breaking down the wall and raising the coffin into the niche were performed by the 'Vigili,' an ancient

historic corps of Roman firemen."

¹⁶ *Triumviris capitalibus mandatum est, says Livy, ut vigilias disponent per Urbem, servarentque, ne qui nocturni coctus fierent; utque ab incendiis cavetur, adjutores triumviris quinquéviri, uti eis Tiberim suæ quisque regionis aedificiis præcessent* (xxxix. 14).

(*cf.* *Sectus flagellis hic triumphalibus, etc.* (Horace, *Epodes* IV., 11.)

publication at Leipzig, of which seven stout volumes have already appeared.

On the occurrence of any conflagration the *Triumviri Nocturni* hastily summoned the public servants near the gates, and made whatever other efforts they could to secure the services of passers-by.¹⁷ Velleius (iv. 91) tells us expressly of firemen established by private enterprise, and, no doubt, the great Roman families had special organizations and appliances in case of need. The marshalling of servants for this purpose is clearly to be gathered from a text of Juvenal :

Dispositis prædives hamis vigilare cohortem
 Servorum noctu Licinus jubet, attonitus pro
 Electro signisque suis Phrygiaque columnâ
 Atque ebore et lata testudine.

(*Sat.* xiv., v. 305—308.)

Alarmed, however, by the growing frequency of conflagrations in the Imperial City, the Emperor Augustus took the matter into his own hands, increased the number of night-watchers, and gave them a regular military organization. The immediate occasion of this step was, as we are told by the jurisconsult Paulus in the Digest, the occurrence of several fires on one day,¹⁸ by which whole quarters of the city were destroyed A.D. 6. The danger of fires in these early times was greatly increased by the narrowness of the streets and by the fact that the houses were commonly built of wood. Suetonius, in the life he wrote of that Emperor (Octav. xxx.) expressly says, *adversus incendia excubias nocturnos vigilesque commentus est*, and Dion Cassius (lv. 26) sets down the event in the year from the foundation of Rome, 759. Zell,¹⁹ in his learned disquisition on the various branches of the Roman army, says, that Augustus took the firemen already in existence, equipped them as soldiers, and made them guardians of public safety both as regards persons and property.

¹⁷ Apud vetustiores incendiis arcendis Triumviri præerant, qui ab eo, quod excubias agebant, Nocturni dicti sunt. Interveniebant nonnunquam et Aediles et Tribuni plebis. Erat autem familia publica circa portam et muros disposita, unde si opes essent, evocabatur; fuerant et privata familia quæ incendia vel mercede vel gratia extinguerent. (Böck-

ing, vol. ii., p. 180.)

¹⁸ Augustus maluit per se huic rei consuli, pluribus uno die incendiis exortis. (L. iii. princ. ff. de of. Præf. Vig.)

¹⁹ Wurden von Augustus vermehrt, militärisch organisirt als Feuerwehr und Sicherheitsgarde. (Anleitung zur Kenntnis der Römischen Inschriften. Ch. vi., p. 308.)

The VIGILES gathered together and increased in number by Augustus were formed into seven cohorts,²⁰ and were distributed by him throughout Rome, in the proportion of one whole cohort (divided into two corps) for each two of the fourteen districts into which the Imperial City was divided. By the Latin writers they are called *cohortes vigilum*, and by the Greek Night-guardians or Night-watchers, *νυκτοφύλακες*. The discovery in recent times of one or two of the Excubitoria or guard-houses belonging to certain of these fourteen stations has been one of the most interesting events of modern archæology. From some splendid remains of one of these stations themselves we have been enabled to ascertain the exact composition of a Roman cohort of VIGILES, the proportion of officers, the exact strength of rank and file, and the designation of all the characteristic officials attached to each, from surgeons down to water-carriers.

However, the writers of classical antiquity have not left us entirely without record of the rank and character of the Roman VIGILES. As we learn from Tacitus (*Ann.* xi. 35), they were commanded by a prefect who was of equestrian rank. Various emperors sought to render the service of the Roman firemen popular by granting to those of Italian race who enlisted in the corps, all the privileges of Roman citizenship, at first after six years' service, and then after only three.²¹ But, however, as Dion Cassius observes (*lv.* 26, *lix.* 2), the corps itself, in consequence of its being raised from amongst the class of *libertini*, was regarded as holding a position inferior to that of the regular soldiers. Tacitus, in his *History* (*iii.* 64), calls the Roman firemen the servants or henchmen of the wealthy classes, and Suetonius (*ib.* 25) alludes to them with the expression *libertino milite*. See the texts gathered together in De Vit's *Lexicon*, under the word VIGILES. From the time, however, of Severus, as is remarked by Marquardt, the greater number of the *vigiles* were free citizens.²²

In 1858, John Baptist de Rossi, the prince of Christian archæologists, from various *indicia* supplied by the ancient topographical notices of Rome, particularly by medieval writers,

²⁰ Hence is shewn the spuriousness of the inscription given by Orelli, *n.* 3499, in which mention is made of an *eighth* cohort of VIGILES. This shows how forgers in order to be successful must be

thoroughly acquainted with history.

²¹ So says Ulpian in the *Digest*, *iii.*, 5.

²² *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, vol. ii. p. 469.

determined with certainty four out of the fourteen stations or headquarters of the *VIGILES* within the boundaries of the Imperial City, and a fifth was fixed with some probability by Lanciani, the actual superintendent of the excavations now going on in Rome, and the well-known correspondent of the London Athenæum. (See his account published in the *Bulletino Archeologico Municipale* for 1873, p. 252.) In 1866 an *excubitorium*, or guard-house, that belonging to the seventh cohort, was discovered, together with numerous inscriptions.

Having received a letter on the subject from Commendatore de Rossi (whom I have to thank for various personal kindnesses shown me when in Rome) under date Dec. 16, 1883, in which his opinion is expressed without ambiguity, I think it will be best to give his words textually translated from the original Italian. "It is necessary to discriminate carefully the *excubitoria* of the *VIGILES* from their *stationes*. What I myself determined were the *stationes*. After this publication of mine, the discovery was made of the *corps de garde* of the cohorts vii. in the Trastevere. The municipal authorities were of opinion they had come upon a *statio*: but Henzen afterwards shewed conclusively that what they had discovered was a mere *excubitorium*. Indeed, the proportions of the edifice are on a very modest scale, and have nothing of the grandeur and magnificence of the *stationes*, of which facts you are aware from my paper on the subject, and from other notices of the learned.

"As for the discovery announced by Lanciani in the London Athenæum of Aug. 18, 1883, p. 218, it was thought to apply to an *excubitorium* of the *VIGILES*, but only by way of conjecture. It would appear, however, that there is question here only of a *horrea*, namely of a store-house or magazine. The thing remains, however, in great uncertainty."

This latter statement of De Rossi is made in reference to a question I had put to him concerning Signor Lanciani's notice in the Athenæum, which was as follows: "On the south side of the mansion of the Nummii Albini, [discovered in the 16th century by the Barberini on the site of the present church of S. Caio, near the new Ministry of War,] there is an enormous brick building, the plan and the architecture of which belong either to an imperial ware-house (*horrea*) or to a barrack, perhaps to the head-quarters of

the third battalion of police (*vigiles*), which was stationed in the Sixth Region."

But the most remarkable of all modern discoveries connected with the Roman VIGILES was that made in 1820, when two great blocks of marble were unearthed in the grounds of the Villa Mattei on Monte Celio, near the church of S. Maria in Vallicella. This fortunate event did much more than determine the position of one of the lost stations of the Roman VIGILES. It revealed to us the complete muster-roll of an entire cohort, and the information gathered therefrom was so important that Kellermann, one of the many German archæologists who have made Rome their second home, thought well to embody it in a small quarto which he published in that city in 1835 under the title *Vigilum Romanorum latercula duo cœli-montana*.

The inscriptions discovered in the Villa Mattei cover three sides of two tri-lateral marble pedestals, upon which were erected statues to the Emperor Caracalla.²³ They are of a dedicatory nature, and embrace the names of the whole of the fifth cohort of the VIGILES, who wished thus to do honour to their patron. As the titles and actual names of each member of the corps are legible, these inscriptions are evidently of extreme interest. From them we learn that the fifth cohort was at that time commanded by a prefect, a sub-prefect, and a tribune. We know, from other sources, that there were, in all, seven tribunes amongst the Vigiles, one for each cohort, and in each cohort seven centurions, or altogether forty-nine.²⁴ Fœa, in his *Framenti de' fasti consolari*, a volume in folio, published in Rome in the very year of these discoveries, gives an inscription under Number LXXXI., from which it appears that six centurions of the VIGILES, of whom there is there made mention, were from six different cities of Upper Pannonia. The names of the common soldiers written on the three sides of one of these blocks of marble²⁵ amount to upwards of 1100, thus giving us the full strength of a cohort of VIGILES. According to Kellermann, on the first

²³ Similar dedicatory inscriptions to Caracalla have been found in the 1st, 2nd, and 4th Stations of the Roman Vigiles, though these stations were in existence before the time of that Emperor, as inscriptions have been found in them belonging respectively to the years 111, 113, 156, and 191.

²⁴ The English offices of Colonel, Lieutenant-colonel, Major, and Captain in a regiment may give some idea of the relative position though not of the duties of these four Roman officers in a cohort.

²⁵ *Latercula duo*, pp. 22, 24.

stone of the Villa Mattei are the names of 110 officers and of 815 rank and file, making a total of 925. On the second stone are the names of 104 officers, and of 904 common soldiers, to which must be added the tribune and four doctors (*medici*), making in all a total of 1013.²⁶ Here we have proof that the cohorts of *VIGILES* were of equal strength with the *Prætorians*.²⁴ The urban cohorts were 1500 strong.

As an interval of several years had elapsed between the setting up of these two inscriptions, Kellermann was led very ingeniously to observe the order in which certain promotions had taken place in the interim, and was enabled to draw up the order of precedence followed in the main body of the *VIGILES*.

1. *MILES*—the common soldier or private.
2. *CODICILLARIUS TRIBUNI*—perhaps quartermaster's sergeant, orderly-room clerk, or secretary to the Tribune.
3. *SECUTOR TRIBUNI*—attendant on the Tribune—an orderly.
4. *BENEFICIARIUS TRIBUNI*—one exempted from ordinary duties or designed for promotion by favour of the Tribune.²⁷
5. *TESSERARIUS CENTURIONIS*—he who receives and distributes the watch-word from the Centurion.
6. *OPTIO CENTURIONIS*—a lieutenant or assistant of the Centurion.
7. *VEXILLARIUS*—a standard-bearer or ensign.
8. *OPTIO BALNEARI*—deputy-keeper of the baths.
9. *BENEFICIARIUS SUBPRÆFECTI*—exempted by favour of the Sub-prefect.

The fact of surgeons or physicians being attached to each cohort of *VIGILES* is an evidence of the efficient manner in which the Romans carried out any organization they under-

²⁶ Gellius tells us (xvi., 4) there were in each legion 6,000 soldiers, 600 in each cohort, divided into three maniples. In Vegetius's time the number of soldiers in a legion being increased, the number in a cohort was raised to 555 foot soldiers, and 66 horsemen.

²⁷ It is unknown whether the *Beneficiarius* was one who was exempt from sentry-duty, as is to the present day the servant of an English officer, or was exempt in the sense of a gentleman

yeoman of the guard, or of the henchman of a highland chief, who was exempt from military duties in consideration of the personal services he rendered his master. The adjunct Tribune or Prefect denotes the officer to whom he looked for all promotion. Tacitus in his life of Agricola (c. 19) mentions how this general would never consent to advance soldiers (*ascire milites*) from private or particular views, nor upon the recommendation or entreaty of the captains.

took.²⁸ The mention of the four MEDICI in the dedicatory marble pedestal discovered in 1820 is not the only record of this interesting circumstance. Gruter, in his Inscriptions, records other instances, in which the medici of the VIGILES are mentioned, at page 128, 5, and page 293, 3.²⁹ Other offices, the names of which have like the others been disinterred by Kellermann, or rather evoked by him from those enigmatical abbreviations which baffle the ingenuity of the most learned of modern scholars, are CACUS, an orderly; CORNICULARIUS, adjutant of the prefect or sub-prefect, or sergeant-major.

But the strangest and most surprising of the names recorded by the marbles of Monte Celio are those of some of the lower officials. Amongst these we read of certain SIPONARII and AQUARII. The former, we can only conjecture, made use of the pumps, or directed the tubes which threw water on the buildings that were on fire. These were probably helped by the *Aquarii*, who kept the *Siponarii* supplied with water. If the *Siponarii*, who were so called from the use of the *sipho*,³⁰ really employed what we understand in modern language by a siphon, this fact will shew how an expedient commonly had recourse to by sailors in modern days on the occurrence of a fire at sea was known and understood in very early times.

From certain graffiti found in the Trans-Tiberine guard-house of the VIGILES discovered in 1866, it would appear

²⁸ Compare this provision of ancient times with the statement made by the Rev. Mr. Jackson in his article on the Battle of Towton (Old Yorkshire, 1st Ser. p. 74), "We do not find in any history that I know of any account of the medical staff attached to the armies of the time, or even whether there was a medical staff at all!" During the middle ages, as in the crusading, so in the English armies, the monks served as leeches. Cf. Kenelm Digby's *Mores Catholici*, Bk. iii. ch. 5; vii. 9; x. 15.

²⁹ See Marini, in his *Iscrizioni Albanesi*, in 4to, Rome, 1785, p. 207, where he quotes Gori, *Inscr. Etr.*, t. i. p. 125, 129, and Muratori, p. 876, n. 3; 877 n. 1, Cf. *Medicus legionum* apud Orelli, 448, and 4996. After Machaon and Poladeirius, the two sons of Æsculapius, the leeches of the Grecian army, who are mentioned by Homer as being highly prized, and consulted by all the wounded

chiefs in the early age of the Trojan war (*Iliad*, ii. 730), the first mention of army-surgeons in any extant Greek writer seems to be where Xenophon speaks of eight surgeons being appointed on the arrival of the Ten Thousand at certain villages, where they halted for three days that they might dress the wounds of the soldiers (*Anabasis*, l. iii., c. 4, s. 30). Dioscorides was a *medicus* who followed the Roman legions in the age of Pliny, under Nero.

³⁰ Langius, in his notes on the younger Pliny, quotes the definition of a siphon from Hesychius: Σίφων ὄργανόν τι εἰς πρόεσιν ὑδάτων ἐν τοῖς ἐμπρησμοῖς. A double-acted forcing pump was discovered in the last century at Castrum Novum, near Civita Vecchia, and supposed to have been used for pumping up water into the public baths of that town.

that a certain number of the *VIGILES* were on horseback. These horsemen were no doubt used for giving alarm and for carrying messages from one part of the city to another. Dr. Henzen puts down the Trans-Tiberine inscriptions as dating from A.D. 215 to 245, from Caracalla to Phillip.³¹

But we must look elsewhere if we would discover all the expedients made use of by the Romans for extinguishing conflagrations. From sparse and brief allusions scattered here and there we may gather that amongst the chief contrivances employed by the Roman firemen were wet-cloths, pumps, ropes, poles, axes, ladders, and buckets. That rags or cloths were wetted and sometimes steeped in vinegar, we know from the words of Ulpian in the Digest.³² Cloths steeped in vinegar were thrown over the ships in naval warfare to protect them from missiles and from fire.³³ Cæsar, in his Commentary on the Civil War, speaks of these cloths being used as a protection for the walls of a wooden and brick tower against the darts shot by a machine ;³⁴ and in another place he tells us that his soldiers improvised for themselves, out of these cloths, garments, shields, or coverlets, as a protection against the rain of arrows from the enemy.³⁵

Hence Bücheler, in the *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* for 1879, p. 342, explaining a proverb of Plautus, says, "*Veteribus linthea similiaque tegumenta, centones saga cilicia, in usu fuisse ad domandos ignes arcendumque incendium volgo notum est, quinetiam centonarii appellati sunt nomine ab illo apparatu ducto penes quos cura fuit incendiorum sedandorum.*"

But another curious circumstance still remains to be recorded. It appears that the Roman Firemen were often

³¹ See the *Annali dell' Istituto di corrispondenza archeologica*, the German Institute of Rome, vols. for 1858 and 1874, for de Rossi's and Henzen's communications.

³² *Acetum quoque quod incendii extinguendi causa paratur, item centones, siphones, perticæ, scalæ.* (Digest, 33, 7, 12, 18.)

³³ *Puppæ aceto madefactis centonibus integuntur.* (Sisenna in Nonius Marcellus, ii., 177.)

³⁴ *Eamque contabulationem summam lateribus lutoque constraverunt, ne quid ignis hostium nocere posset: centonesque*

insuper iniecerunt, ne aut tela tormentis missa tabulationem perfringerent, aut saxa ex catapultis lateritium discuterent.

. . . . *Super lateres coria inducuntur, ne canalibus aqua immissa lateres diluere posset. Coria autem, ne rursus igni ac lapidibus corrumpantur, centoni- bus conteguntur.* (De B. C. ii., 9, 10.)

³⁵ *Magnusque incesserat timor sagittarum, atque omnes fore milites aut ex coactis (felted cloth), aut ex centonibus, aut ex coriis tunicas aut tegimenta fecerant, quibus tela vitarent.* (Ibid. iii. 44.)

called by the common people Sparteoli. Hence the Scholiast on Juvenal at the 305th line of the fourteenth satire, says: "*Per translationem disciplinæ militaris, Sparteoli Romæ, quorum cohortes in tutelam urbis cum amis et cum aqua vigiliis curare consueverunt vicibus.*" It is of these Sparteoli that Tertullian suggests (*Apolog.* 39, *a med.*) that the smoke from a certain supper given in honour of Serapis was so dense that on seeing it they would think the kitchen was on fire, and their services would be required: *Ad fumum cænæ Serapiacæ Sparteoli excitabuntur.*

Now the Sparteoli seem to have been so called from the Esparto grass, of which they made some particular use. It is well known that the Romans obtained this material from the coast of Spain, near Carthagera, hence called by Pliny (xxx. 43, 2) *Espartaria*, and by Appian *σπαρταγενής*.³⁶ Some think that the name Sparteoli was given to the Roman Firemen on account of the shoes or tunics made of Esparto grass, which were worn by them.³⁷ Others derive the name from the ropes of Esparto grass of which they made a great use in some unknown way while engaged in checking conflagrations.³⁸ But Du Cange thinks the name derived from

³⁶ De Rebus Hisp. XII. Vide De Vit's ONOMASTICON, tom. ii. page 146, *sub voce* Carthago in Hispania. In the eighth chapter of the nineteenth book of his Natural History, Pliny after speaking of hempen cords—In sicco præferunt e cannabi funes—proceeds to speak of Esparto grass, which was brought from Spain. He says, it is simply marvellous how common its use has become in every country, for the rigging of ships, for builders' scaffolding, and for other wants of daily life. At spartum aliter etiam demersum, veluti natalium sitim pensans. Est quidem ejus natura interpolis; rursusque quam libeat vetustum novo miscetur. Verumtamen complectatur animo, qui volet miraculum æstimare, quanto sit in usu, omnibus terris, navium armamentis, machinis ædificationum, aliisque desideriis vitæ. Ad hos omnes usus quæ sufficient, minus triginta millia passuum in latitudinem a littore Carthaginis novæ, minusque C in longitudinem esse reperientur (*Hist.* xix, 8). Strabo also speaks of the arid soil suitable for the growth of Esparto. Τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ μέγα καὶ ἀνδρον, τὴν σχοινοπλοκικὴν φύσιν σπάρτον.—(*Lib.* iii., p. 60.)

³⁷ Pliny tells us that peasants wore both shoes and clothes made of Esparto

grass. Hinc strata rusticis eorum, hinc ignes facesque, hinc calceamina, et pastorum vestes (*Hist.* xix. 7). Cf. Vegetius (*I Veterin.* xxvi. 3). Sparteæ calciare curabis, and Columella, Bos sparteæ calceata (*De Re Rustica*, vi. 15).

³⁸ Cato, *de Re Rustica*, III. *in fine*, and Columella, lib. xii. cap. 52, speak of Funes cannabini et spartei. Apuleius also speaks of traces, ropes or breast straps made of Esparto grass: Defectum alioquin helcio sparteo dimoto, nexu machina liberatum applicat præsepio (*Metamorphoses* IX.). Helcio tandem absolutus (*ibid.* *a med.*). In Spain and on the Mediterranean reins are even now sometimes made of the twisted fibres of the aloë.

The origin, however, of the word Esparto is as old as Homer. It comes from the Greek word *σπερπειν*, which like the Latin word *serere*, means not only to put seed in the earth, but also to plait or join together. Hence Homer's mention of the plaited ropes used by the Grecian sailors, Καὶ δὴ δοῦρα σέσηπε νεῶν. καὶ σπάρτα λέλυνται (*Iliad*, ii. 135). Paley refers to Eschylus, Agamemnon, l. 188, and renders σπάρτα as *πείσματα* in the sense of ropes, cordage, which have become loose, unravelled and insecure, as being made of

vessels made of Esparto and covered with pitch, in which they carried water.³⁹

The ancient Greeks, it is well known, had acquired the art of weaving basket or wicker work so finely and closely as to be capable of carrying liquids, as wine and oil. Thus in Homer (Il. xviii. 568) Polyphemos lets the milk coagulate to cheese in baskets (τάλαρος πλεκτός).

The use of the axe was evidently for breaking an entrance into places on fire, or for cutting away connecting links, as beams, between one part of a building and another. The ladders were no doubt used for gaining access to the higher parts of the buildings whence to cast down water, or for affording a means of escape. The use of the poles and of the ropes is more difficult to determine. They may have been for handing up buckets on to the walls, for affording a means of escape, or for keeping back the people. The most frequent mention, however, is made of the water-buckets with which the VIGILES had to perambulate the town.

The Roman jurisconsult Paullus says in the Pandects (i. 15, 3): *Sciendum est, præfectum Vigilum per totam noctem vigilare debere et coerrare calciatum cum amis et dolabris*, etc. Hence Petronius, in the seventy-eighth chapter of his *Satyricon*, where he narrates that as the Roman Firemen were passing near the house of Trimachio, and heard an unusual noise, says they immediately rushed on the scene with buckets of water and axes, and busily began to break down the gate: *Vigiles qui custodiebant vicinam regionem rati ardere Trimalchionis domum effregerunt januam subito et cum AQUA SECURIBUSQUE tumultuari suo jure cœperunt.*

some coarse vegetable material, perhaps. "Sapped are the timbers of our ships and rotted is the tackle." (Newman.)

From the fact that the word σπάρτη means not only the city of Lacedæmon, but also a rope (Vossius has a bed-cord,

Etwas von Spart anbinden sollt' Ich meiner Stadt?

Nicht meiner Bettstatt, wenn's noch anders Gurten giebt),

we have Euelpides exclaiming in the *Birds* of Aristophanes (815-6),

Σπάρτην γὰρ ἂν Θείμην ἐγὼ τημῇ πόλει ;
οὐδ' ἂν χαμεύνη πᾶν γε χειρίαν ἔχων.

Spartam nomen ut ego imponam urbi

meæ? ne grabato quidem sparteos funiculos, si modo junceos habeam (Brunckius).

In Meinike's *Fragments of Greek comic poets*, we have in the *Nemesis* of Cratinus, n. 9 (ed. Didot, p. 25),

Σπάρτην λέγω τὴν Σπαρτιάδ', οὐ τὴν σπαρτίνην

which line is thus rendered :

Spartam dico Spartanam, non funem sparteum.

³⁹ Sparteoli a vasis sparteis pice illitis (Mediaeval Glossary). Cato (*de Re Rustica*, xi.) speaks of urnas sparteas sex, amphoras sparteas quattuor.

There are two very curious graffiti inscriptions made perhaps in jest by one of the Vigiles on the walls of the guard-house belonging to the seventh cohort, which was discovered in 1866 by Baron Visconti⁴⁰ in the Piazza di Monte Fiore, near the church of S. Crisogono in the Trastevere, on the site of an ancient church, hence called San Salvatore de Curte (viz., de cohorte), which is now called Santa Maria della Luce. The first of these inscriptions belongs to the year 219, the emperor M. Aurelius Antoninus Heliogabalus and Q. Tineius Sacerdos, both being consuls for the second time. It concludes as follows :—

FLAVIVS ROGATIONVS MIL COH ET. < SS
SEBACIARIA FECIT. MEN MAI
SCRIPSI IIII KAL JUNIAS TVTA
AGO GRATIAS EMITVLIARIO.

The second inscription appears to have been scratched upon the wall a few years later, namely, under the consulship of M. Aurelius Severus Alexander. It concludes thus :—

RVBRIVS DEXTER
SEBACIARIA FECIT MEN
SE MAIO NOMINE
CLAVDII (*Fortu?*)
NATI
OMNIA TVTA
SALVO EMITVLIARIO
FELICITER.

It will be observed that these two inscriptions give us the names of two officials of the VIGILES, the *Sebaciarius* and the *Emitulianus*. If not for the freak of idle soldiers, who amused themselves in scratching these words upon the plaster of the walls in this out-lying station of the Roman VIGILES, these two names would never have been handed down to us. The former occurs, however, about a dozen times in these graffiti, the latter only twice. The Sebacia-

⁴⁰ The result of his discoveries was published for the first time in 1867, at Rome, in an octavo vol. entitled *La Stazione della Coorte VII de' Vigili e i ricordi*

storici segnati a graffito nelle pareti di essa. See also the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, vol. i. n. 2998-3091, p. 748, &c.

rius was the soldier who was appointed during one month to make the links or torches, that were carried by the *Vigiles* through the streets of Rome on dark nights. In the first inscription he comes in and reports all safe, and gives thanks to the Emitularius. In the second inscription another man made the lights during the same month of May and reports, all safe and well done, and amongst his comrades he makes special mention of the safety of the Emitularius. In another inscription mention is made of the safety of his comrades in general : *Salvius dativus 7. Deodori Sebaciaria fecit mense Augusto, salvis commanupulis*. In another it is : *Sevacia* (the mistaken spelling of an illiterate soldier) *tuta fecit, salvis commannuculis mense Augusto, omnia tuta*. These frequently repeated expressions of delight, or records of a safe return home, without any untoward accident, give an insight into the feelings of common men engaged upon an arduous duty, which will be appreciated by the well-tried and energetic members of a modern metropolitan fire-brigade.

But what was the Emitularius? This new word was taken to De Vit, the learned lexicographer, who has spent the whole of his long life in the preparation of the largest Latin dictionary in existence, which it took him more than twenty years to carry through the press. After due examination, he pronounced the word as a derivative from *amus* and *tulo*, just as *opitulo* is derived from *opem* and *tulo*. How *amus* or *hamus* could take the form of *emi*, was a point not difficult to show. In Latin words *a* and *e* are often found convertible, whence we find for *edax*, *egens*, *vesperascit*, *adax*, *agens*, *vesperescit*. Thus in the version of Holy Scripture called the ancient *Itala*, we read in the apocryphal third book of *Esdras*, ch. i., v. 12, *Et hostias coxerunt in emolis et in ollis*. Here the word *emola* certainly stands for *amola* or *amula*, the diminutive of *ama*, a bucket. Now, if instead of *amula* we may say *emola*, there is nothing surprising, if instead of *ama* the vulgar may have said *ema*, and therefore in place of *Amitularius*, the soldier who carried the water-bucket, they may have said *Emitularius*, or *Emitularius*, the custom of introducing the *i* before *arius* having become common in the second age of the empire.⁴¹

⁴¹ Thus for *arbitrarius* we have *arbitrarius*, for *triticarius* *triticarius*, for *circenses* we find *circienses*, as for *calcar-*

ienses we have *calcarensis*. So also for *sacerdotalia*, we find *sacerdotalia*, and for *fulgurator* *fulguriator*.

This explanation of the learned Rosminian did not convince critics of the German School. Hence Dr. Löwe of Gottingen⁴² tried to derive the word *emitularius* from the Greek ἥμισυ and τύλος, half and cushion, and the present writer, during one of the weekly meetings of the German Institute, near the Capitol in Rome, which he had the good fortune to attend during the year 1881-1882, heard a discussion on the subject between such authorities as Henzen, Mommsen, De Rossi, and Barnabei, when the venerable professor Ussing of Copenhagen seriously proposed to solve the difficulty by suggesting that the *Emitularius* was the soldier who shared the couch with, or was the bed-fellow of the *Sebaciarius*, the soldier who carried the torch. After the brisk correspondence and pamphlet warfare that has been carried on upon the subject between De Vit and his opponents, the former may well be considered to remain master of the field. For if the *Sebaciarius* means the man who in the nightly rounds of the *VIGILES* carried the light to show the way, surely history, analogy, and philology point to the conclusion, that *Emitularius* was a comrade who carried the appointed water-bucket.⁴³

Let us now see what we can learn about the ancient Firemen from the instructions given to their chief.

From a passage in the Roman Digest it appears that the Prefect of the *VIGILES* was enjoined to keep a strict watch over the inhabitants, and if he found any careless in the use of fire, he was to give them a severe reprimand, and even administer chastisement with the rod. Moreover, he was to warn all house-holders lest any danger of fire should arise

⁴² Just after these words were written the telegraph apprized the world of the sad accident that befell this celebrated Latin scholar in the University building itself of which he was the Librarian, an accident which resulted in his death.

⁴³ Still more strangely than the German Philologists the learned Frenchman Desjardins (*Mém. de l'Académie d'inscriptions*, l. xxviii. 2^e partie p. 13), supposes the word *Emitularius*, may be a hybrid, made up of the Greek ἥμισυ and of the Latin verb *fero*, and thus makes it mean the man who did half the work of the *sebaciarius*: *Il nous semble, d'après le contexte des deux documents épigraphiques*

où ce mot est employé, qu'il n'est pas trop téméraire de lui attribuer le sens de compagnon de corvée. Dr. Löwe's derivation from ἥμισυ and τύλη, τύλος, or τυλεῖον is in itself more reasonable and is based on analogy with the words *tritolum* and *epitolum* (one MS. the Wolfenbüttel, has *emitolum*) read in the Tironian notes, first published by Gruter in his *Thesaurus Inscriptionum*, p. 158. The Northern philologist thinks the cushions thus spoken of may have been used not only for spreading on the ground and thus breaking the shock of those who fell upon them from the upper storeys, but also like the *centones* for throwing on the flames.

through their negligence, and that each one should have a supply of water in his dining-room (*cœnaculum*).⁴⁴

The danger prevalent in modern, as well as in ancient, times of ill-disposed persons taking advantage of the misfortunes of their neighbour to enrich themselves, was not overlooked by the regulators of the Roman civil administration and police. Hence Justinian says, in a rescript concerning the *VIGILES* established in the new capital of the empire, "If, however, it should sometimes happen, a thing we sincerely deprecate, that any fire should occur in this city, the *Vigiles* must be present thereat, and lend their services, and they must have especial care lest thieves and pilferers should seize the property of the unfortunate victims."⁴⁵

Indeed, the custody of the property of the citizens and their protection from thieves at night-time soon came to be looked upon as by far the most frequent duty the *VIGILES* had to perform. As the jurisconsult Paullus says in the book he wrote on the office of the Prefect of the *Vigiles*, "He is to take cognizance of incendiaries, burglars, robbers, thieves, receivers, unless the crime should be of such a nature as to be referred to the Prefect of the City."⁴⁶ So likewise Harmenopoulos declares that the office of Prefect of the Roman Firemen was instituted to protect the city from fires, and to take cognizance of incendiaries, burglars, thieves, and receivers.⁴⁷

The question now arises, how far this system of train-bands of Firemen was extended to the other cities of the empire. The following is all the information I have been able to gather on the subject; but the absence of specific record of this institution in the great cities of the Eastern and Western Empire is no proof that the protection of firemen was unknown within their boundaries. For we find express, though casual, mention of the existence of a corps

⁴⁴ Et quia plerumque incendia culpa sunt inhabitantium, sub fustibus castigat eos, qui negligentius ignem habuerunt, aut severa interlocutione commotos fustium castigatione remittit. (L. i. tit. 15, iii.) And again § 4, Ut curam adhibeant omnes inquilinos admonere, ne negligentia aliqua incendii casus oriatur, præterea ut aqua unusquisque inquilinus in cœnaculo habeat, jubetur admonere.

⁴⁵ Si vero aliquando contigerit, hoc quod non optamus, fieri aliquod in hac civitate incendium, oportet eos præsentibus

esse et ministrari et maximum hoc opus habere, ne fures et subtrahentes infelicitissimorum res diripiant. (Novell. xiii.)

⁴⁶ Cognoscit Præfectus Vigilum de incendiariis, effractoribus, furibus, raptoribus, receptatoribus, nisi si qua tam atrox tamque famosa persona sit, ut Præfecto Urbis remittatur. (Digest i. 15.)

⁴⁷ Officium Præfecti Vigilum ad incendia arcenda institutum, et de incendiariis, effractoribus, furibus et receptatoribus cognoscere. (Tit. de dignitat. § 3.)

of *VIGILES* in various well-known places. The example set by Augustus by organizing so many as 7,000 men, divided into what were practically fourteen separate fire brigades, for the protection of the city of Rome, could not but produce result elsewhere. Whether or not Augustus himself planted this organization elsewhere, during his various journeys through the empire, is not recorded. Suetonius, however, in his *Life of Claudius*, says, that the latter emperor established separate fire brigades in the flourishing sea-ports of Ostia and Pozzuoli.⁴⁸ To these names must be added Nemausus, the modern city of Nîmes, in France, where inscriptions and remains of a Roman fire brigade have been discovered.⁴⁹ From various passages of the *Digest* we gather, however, that the Roman Firemen were established here and there in various municipia throughout the Empire, though, as is the case with many other institutions known to have existed, no trace of their establishment can now be found. In 1848, however, an inscription was found cut upon a stone of the foundation of the Caliph's house in Aïn-Béida, between Tebessa and Constantine, which goes to show that a Prefect of *VIGILES*, with his men, made their nightly rounds for the protection of Cirta, the ancient capital of Numidia. It must also be mentioned that Maffei, in his *Museum of Verona*, has an inscription belonging to the town of Turuza, in what is now called Tunis, which would point to the same conclusion. It is dedicated by an illustrious body, evidently the senate, of that town, probably for his very valuable services, to Catius Alcimus Felicianus, Vice-Prefect of the local or some other fire brigade: *VICEPRAEFECTO VIGILVM OB EXIMIUM AMOREM IN PATRIAM SPLENDIDISSIMUS ORDO TURZETanus* (*Mus. Ver.* p. 462).

To these monumental evidences I may add some scattered notices gathered from history, which go to prove that the absence of remains at the present day is no criterion that

⁴⁸ *Puteolis et Ostiæ singulas cohortes ad arcendos incendiiorum casus collocavit.* (c. xxv.)

⁴⁹ Von ähnlichen Corps von Vigiles zu Ostia, zu Puteoli, und zu Nemausus (Nîmes) hat man Kenntniss (Zell, *Anleitung*, p. 309). Vide also Kellermann, *op. cit.*

The *Prefecti Vigilum et Armorum* are

recorded in many inscriptions that have been found at Nîmes. Vide Gruter, 385, 6; 413, 8; Muratori, 813, 4; 838, 1; and 2025, 4; Donati, v. i. p. 89, 2; Orelli 2542; Reinesius, 424, 60.

The prefects of the *Vigiles* in the municipia of the Empire were also called *Nyctostrategi*.

the Roman VIGILES had not an existence in any given place. Cassiodorus tells us, that the fire brigades, after having fallen into desuetude, were re-established by the Gothic King Theodoric in Rome and in Ravenna (*Variar.* l. vii.). But the VIGILES in Rome had evidently a long and continued existence. Paullus, in the Digest, speaks of them as existing in his own day, namely, under Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, when, we may suppose, they held the same posts in Rome that had been given them by Augustus.⁵⁰ Ulpian, another jurisconsult, informs us that Caracalla, M. Aurelius Antoninus, and his father L. Septimius Severus, took fresh measures against fires in the Imperial City.⁵¹ No doubt the fresh impulse given to the Roman VIGILES, and the favours bestowed upon them by Caracalla, furnish an explanation of the various statues erected, and dedicatory inscriptions put up in Rome by various cohorts of the Vigiles, A.D. 208.⁵² At the transference of the capital of the Empire to Constantinople, the institution of the Roman Firemen was introduced into the latter city, and the Praefectus Vigilum, U. C. P. appeared in due course in the Notitia. About this time the term *Matricarius* came into use to express the city firemen, of whom 300 are ordered to attend the praetors in case of any fire arising in the city.⁵³

An institution so comprehensive in its nature, so calculated to give a sense of security to the inhabitants, and of such obvious utility, could not fail of being widely adopted in other cities besides those of Rome, Constantinople, Ravenna, Ostia, Pozzuoli, Nismes, Cirta, Turuza, where their existence has been indicated to us by a record so scant and accidental, that, in the case of the two last-mentioned, the evidence in hand does scarcely more than point to a probability. That the streets of the Jewish cities were patrolled at night by watchmen, we may gather from the words of the Beloved in the Song of Solomon, "The watchmen, who guard the city, found me."⁵⁴ No doubt, in case of fire these night-patrols would render valuable services, and after the organization

⁵⁰ Itaque septem cohortes opportunis locis constituit, ut binas regiones urbis unaquæque cohors tueatur (L. iii. princ. ff. de of. Pref. Vig.).

⁵¹ L. ult. *ib.*

⁵² Vide Fea, p. lxxxiii. and Kellermann, *op. cit.*

⁵³ Sin autem incendium in Urbe fuerit, factum, interesse praetores oportet vicinos habentes secum milites et tricenos matricarios (Julian, *Antecess.* Constit. xxv. i.).

⁵⁴ Invenerunt me vigiles, qui custodiunt civitatem (Vulgate, Cant. iii. 3).

given them by Augustus with special appliances for extinguishing sudden conflagrations, the system must have approved itself to large communities, and have come perhaps pretty generally into use. However, there is a letter of Pliny on the subject, which cannot fail to be of the highest interest to any one treating of the present subject.

Pliny relates how, while on a progress in a distant part of the province entrusted to his charge, a great fire broke out in Nicomedia, by which many private dwellings, together with the senate and the temple of Isis, were totally destroyed. The flames seemed quickly to have spread on every side, partly owing to the strong wind then blowing and partly owing to the supineness of the inhabitants, who stood by motionless and paralyzed by fear on discovering that there was no public water-pump kept in readiness, and not a bucket or instrument of any kind for putting a check to the conflagration. These appliances, however, Pliny promises shall be forthwith provided. He then appeals to the emperor, urging him to establish a local fire brigade, if only of a hundred and fifty men.⁵⁵ No doubt the well-informed governor was aware that such bodies of men were already provided at the public cost at Rome, and perhaps in many of the chief cities of the empire.

Trajan, however, his austere master, thought otherwise, and hence he wrote in reply: "It has seemed good to you, after the example of many others, that a body of artizans having a special constitution should be established in Nicomedia. But we cannot but bear in mind that this province in particular, especially in the towns, has been caused some trouble by the factious spirit hence engendered. . . . Let it therefore be enough for you in this case to provide those things which may be of use for suppressing fires, and to admonish all landlords that they exert themselves in the matter to the utmost; and then, if necessary, let the common people be made use of."

We find from various inscriptions preserved to us, that

⁵⁵ Est autem latius sparsum [incendium]; primum violentia venti, deinde inertia hominum, quod satis constat otiosos et immobiles tanti mali spectatores perstitisse: et alioqui nullus usquam in publico siphon, nulla hama, nullum denique instrumentum ad incendia compescenda.

Et hæc quidem, ut jam præcepi, parabuntur. Tu, Domine, dispice, an instituendum putes collegium fabrorum, dumtaxat hominum CL.; ego attendam, ne quis, nisi faber, recipiatur, neve jure concessio in aliud utatur. Nec erit difficile custodire tam paucos (Ep. xlii. (xxxiv.)).

there were so-called *Collegia fabrorum*, with a *Praefectus Fabrorum*, established in many cities for the purpose of extinguishing any fire that might break out.⁵⁶ Trajan, however, was afraid lest these artizans thus enrolled should be diverted from their original institution, and, becoming nothing else than what the Greeks called *ἐταῖροι*, or associates banded together for mere purposes of pleasure, should make use of their organization for political intrigue.

The inscription found in 1848 in Africa, which dates from the reign of Trasamundus, king of the Vandals, who having married the sister of Theodoric, was led perhaps by his relation with Italy to introduce into his own country, together with other Roman institutions, that of a fire-brigade, sets forth in a quaint and striking manner the duties which the Prefect of the Vigiles was expected to perform. It was, indeed, a common custom with the Romans to engrave their laws and decrees on tablets of bronze or marble, so that they might be seen by all and be preserved to distant ages. We have a remarkable example of this custom in an inscription of the time of Constantine the Great, which is found registered in the Theodosian Code, and another regarding the Roman VIGILES, setting forth a law made by the emperors Severus and Antoninus, which can be read in the Digest.

The inscription on the stone in the Caliph's house of Aïn-Beïda, first published in the *Inscriptions Romaines de l'Algérie*, Paris, 1855, in folio, and reprinted in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, vol. viii. (Berolini, 1881), under the number 2297, runs as follows :—

ERIS SECURITAS SOPORANTION
MUNIMEN DOMORUM, TUTELA CLAUSTRO
RUM, DISCOSSOR (sic) OBSCURUS, ARBITER
SILENTIOSUS, CUI FALLERE INSIDIANTES
FAS EST, ET DECIPERE GLORIA.

The words *soporantion* for *soporantium* and *discossor* for *discussor* prove this inscription to belong to a time of decadence. Willmanns, who republished the inscription in the *Corpus*, says of it, "Who this person may be who is thus

⁵⁶ Hence Symmachus says (x. Ep. 27, *alias* 34), *Sunt qui fabriles manus augustinis operibus accommodant, per alios fortuita arcentur incendia.*

spoken of, I do not know ; it may refer to some animal (fera) kept instead of a watch-dog." It was reserved for De Vit in 1868 to show the identity of this inscription with a passage of the seventh letter, seventh book, of Cassiodorus, containing the warrant or formula of the *Præfectus Vigilum* in Rome.⁵⁷

To show the meaning of these five lines in the African inscription, I will translate the whole context, as I find it in the works of Cassiodorus, the minister of Theodoric, king of the Goths in Italy from the time that the latter fixed his residence in Ravenna (A.D. 493-526). It may be well to observe that the great design Theodoric proposed to himself in the government of his new kingdom was to re-establish as far as possible the system of administration of the ancient Republic of Rome, at least such of it as remained embodied in the government of the later Emperors of the West. Hence he elected senators, named consuls, appointed prefects, reestablished the fire-brigades, &c. For each one of these offices Cassiodorus was instructed to draw up a regulation, which contained in brief the scope and duties of the new dignity confided to each. Thus, then, he writes in his instructions to the Prefect of the Vigiles at Rome :—

"Wherefore be solicitous about thieves, whom although the laws do not allow thee to punish, they give thee power to pursue and find out. . . . By thus doing thou wilt be the safety of those who sleep, the guardian of houses, the protector of sacred enclosures, watching in the dark night, and judging without appeal those whom thou mayest apprehend ;—thou, whose duty it is to over-reach the cunning of evil-doers, and whose glory it is to ensnare those who plot mischief. Thy office is to perform a nightly hunt, &c. Keep a sharp watch on the birds that prey at night ; be not deceived by appearances ; and as they find food in the dark, so canst thou find thy meed of praise. Be therefore faithful in the discharge of thy office. Suffer not thyself to be deprived by bribery of what thou canst earn by industry, for, although all that thou dost seems to be done in the deepest darkness, there is no action whatever that can be hid." ⁵⁸

⁵⁷ See his article published in the *Bulletino dell' Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica* for 1868, pp. 62-4. *Vide*

also *Britanni e Cimbri*, p. 391.

⁵⁸ Cassiodorus, *Opera omnia*, Coloniae Allobrogum, 1656, p. 240.

And to the Prefect of Vigiles at Ravenna he says :—

“To thee is committed the safety of fortunes, the monuments of the city, the welfare of all, namely, that thou shouldst carry on a covert war against the invaders of our houses, if ever thou shouldst hear that any of the citizens is to be attacked. Guard the fortunes of all : as long as thou art on the watch, we may sleep in safety, and no danger is apprehended. In a time of peace, thou gainest a victory over the thief in the night-time. At break of day, the defended city rejoices in thy laurels, and, while it regards thy prisoners, knows it has got rid of a secret enemy. Daily thou earnest a triumph, if thou watchest well : and since the glory to be obtained in warlike strife is rare, it is easily procured for thee by the discovery of thieves.”⁵⁹

It seems, then, but natural to infer that no large Roman town unprovided with a garrison sufficiently numerous to undertake the office (and instead of being confined within the walls of fortified cities, says Gibbon, which the Romans considered as the refuge of weakness or pusillanimity, the legions were encamped on the banks of the great rivers, and along the frontiers of the barbarians), would be left without its complement of night-watchers or firemen, an institution which may then have been well known in such important towns of Britain as York, Verulam, London, Colchester, and Richborough. So sparse and desultory is the information accidentally left to us of the inhabitants and functionaries of the hundred cities of Roman Britain, that we cannot be surprised if a small brigade of VIGILES existed in each of them without any record of them being left to us.

The Roman firemen were then a body trained to arms and accustomed to exact and rigid discipline. To explain, therefore, the existence of a cohort or numerus (for at that time the two terms were used promiscuously) of VIGILES at Greta Bridge, in Yorkshire, we may suppose with some foundation

⁵⁹ Ib. p. 241. In one of the laws of the Emperor Justinian (Novell. xiii.) we read that the charge of Prefect of the Constantinople Fire-Brigade fell into complete discredit upon the discovery that that worthy official had an understanding with the thieves who plied their trade at night and whose profits he succeeded in sharing. Thereupon the Emperor sup-

pressed the office and handed over the care of the Constantinople police to a Prætor of the people. Augustus in his original institution had provided for danger from both fires and thieves, for besides the seven cohorts of *Vigiles* he established in Rome, four other cohorts called *Urban*, each of 1500 men, for the purposes of police.

that the Firemen scattered through the different cities of Britain may have been gathered together into a separate corps, and thrown forward for the support of the numerous forces engaged in defending the northern frontier against the continual invasions of the Picts and Scots.

What a *numerus* was in the Roman army cannot very well be ascertained, as we find no definition of the term in the authors of that time. In the first ages of the Empire, the *numerus* appears to have been a body of irregular soldiers taken from some province independently of the fixed and regular levy ; or else the *numerus* may have meant a body of men detached from the cohorts or *alæ* for some special service ; or again a number of men enrolled for some special emergency, as the erection of fortifications, or the quelling of a sudden revolt, at the end of which they were disbanded. When however the *numeri* came to have fixed stations, as at the time when the *Notitia* was compiled, they were no longer irregular bodies of men, but acknowledged divisions of the army, as cohorts or *alæ* were. This agrees with what we learn from Zozomen, that in the fourth century the Roman cohorts began at that time to be called *Numeri*, though the two names continued to exist contemporaneously side by side : τὰ Ρωμαίων τάγματα ἄ νύν ἀριθμοῦς καλοῦσι (H. E., i. 8 ; cf. Vegetius, de re militari, ii. 9).

RICHMOND CASTLE.

By GEO. T. CLARK.

THE Swale, one of the principal tributaries of the Yorkshire Ouse, and the stream in whose waters Paulinus of York is said to have baptised 10,000 Pagan Saxons, rises in the north-western quarter of that County, in a wild and spacious tract of moor and moss, studded over with heights ranging from 500 ft. to 1,500 ft., and even reaching 2,000 ft., from all parts of which a number of becks and gills converge upon the old town of Muker, to form there a considerable volume of water in its brightest, purest, and most attractive form. From Muker the Swale takes, with many windings, an eastern course, down a dale, wild and lovely even among Yorkshire dales, past the town of Reath, beneath many a scaur and across many a holm, past places whose names fall strange upon the southern ear, by many a camp of unknown antiquity, and by abbeys now venerable in ruin, until, about 18 miles below Muker, it emerges in ample volume from one of the most charming of its gorges, and in one of a succession of bold and graceful curves, sweeps round a tall and precipitous headland of rock, which, rising on the left or northern bank, projects about 130 ft. above the stream, and seems fitted by nature for the site of a mediæval fortress. Such at least was the opinion of earl Alan, when, five years only after the coming in of the Normans, in the centre of a brave and insubordinate population, here, upon the tabular summit of the rock, he founded the celebrated Castle of Richmond, the seat of a great northern earldom, an Honour, and the capital of a Shire of five wapentakes, to all of which it gave its name.

While the castle occupied the broad summit of the promontory, and was protected naturally on the west, south, and eastern faces by a cliff, the river, and a steep slope, the neck of the peninsula to the north, not above 50 yards in

breadth, connected the castle with the town which speedily rose up under its protection. Besides works in masonry, there seems originally to have been a ditch across the neck, including a narrow esplanade, or place of barriers, covering the main entrance to the Castle. This is now, in great measure, filled up and built over, though the line of the depression may still be traced. Around the Castle, beyond the town and river, the ground rises to greater heights, so that the fortress stands within an amphitheatre of higher ground, though at distances far beyond the reach of the artillery of the eleventh or twelfth centuries, or even of the cannon of the fifteenth or sixteenth. A short but charming summary of the position and features of Richmond Castle will be found in Freeman's "Norman Conquest" (vol. iv., p. 296).

Before the Conquest this territory, under some unremembered name, was the inheritance of the English Earl Edwin, whose "aula" or hall was at Gilling, about one mile and a half east-north-east of the village of that name, and about the same distance from the Castle. Here the earthworks that usually marked the great English residences long remained, though now they have disappeared under the plough and spade. Gilling, by Bede called "Ingetlingum," being the "ing" or meadow of Guille, is a place remembered for the slaughter there of Oswi, King of Northumberland, in A.D. 621. That historian also tells that an expiatory monastery was built, where prayers were offered up for both murderer and murdered. Of all this nothing is locally remembered, but the actual site of Earl Edwin's residence is still called Gilling Castle, and is in a field attached to Scales farm, near a way known as Gilling Lane. Earl Edwin's "aula," though commanding a noble view, had no natural advantages for defence, and therefore, Earl Alan, on obtaining the soke of Gilling, moved the chief seat from hence to the place which was then named, not inappropriately, Richmond.

It is not probable that a position so marked out by nature as a rock of defence was neglected by the early inhabitants of the district. A formidable entrenchment known as the Scot's Dyke, is still traceable from Gilling village southwards to the Swale, south of which it sweeps round to the west so as to protect the castle rock. At a distance of half a mile,

Roman remains, coins, and pottery have been found between the rock and the river. There is, however, no evidence that the site of the Castle was ever actually occupied by either Briton or Roman.

Alan, surnamed Fergaunt, was the second son of Eudo, and, in succession to his father, Earl of Bretagne. He was present at Hastings, and,—by a charter preserved by Camden, granted by William while besieging York, and therefore at Christmas, 1069-79,—received the land of Earl Edwin in Yorkshire. The grant is specified in Domesday as the “*Terra Comitum Alani*,” containing 199 manors, of which 108 were waste. The roll begins with “*Ghellinges habuit Edwinus Comes*.” Domesday also mentions the Castle. The “*Registrum Honoris de Richmond*” informs us that Earl Alan founded the Castle there, which, no doubt he did after his return from the harrying of Northumberland, and built the encircling wall as quickly as possible,—it is said in 1071, as without it he could not long hold the place. He also attached the chapel of his castle,—probably that which still remains,—and with it the parish church, to the house of St. Mary at York. Alan married the Conqueror’s daughter Constance, but died 1089, childless. Dugdale says he held, in divers counties, 452 lordships. The soke of Gilling was geldable under Earl Edwin, but it was afterwards enfranchised in favour of the Norman lords. Alan was succeeded by his brother Alanus Niger, Alan the Black, Earl of Bretagne and Lord of the Honour of Richmond. He died, in 1093, leaving a son or a brother,—

Stephen, Earl of Bretagne,—who died there, 1137. He is said to have been succeeded by his second son,—

Alan, who is styled “*Comes Britanniae et Angliæ*.” He also held the Earldom of Cornwall. He died, probably 1145-6, leaving a son,—

Conan le Petit, Duke of Bretagne and Earl of Richmond, the first so called. He died 1171, and is generally regarded as the builder of the keep in 1146. He gave to St. Mary’s the tythe of the Castle mills. He married Margaret, sister to William, King of Scotland, and he left by her a daughter, his heiress. At his death the Honour fell into the hands of Henry II. 18 Hen. II., 1171-2, the Honour of Earl Conan was let in farm by the King, and

the farmer had to account for the manors, the service of the Drengages, and the third part of Gipeswic, besides the scutages of the knights. The number of the latter had, however, not been correctly ascertained. The fees were scattered widely through many counties.

Constance, Duchess of Bretagne, married thrice,—first, in 1166, Geoffrey, fourth son of Henry II., by whom she had Arthur, whose death in 1203 has been dramatised by Shakspeare. Geoffrey was killed at a tournament in Paris in 1186-7. Her second husband was Ranulph Blundeville, Earl of Chester, from whom she was divorced. Her third was Guy, Vicomte de Thouars, who became tenant by the courtesy, and who died in 1213. By the last she had two daughters, of whom the eldest, Alice, was the final heiress.

Alice was in ward to King John, who was in no hurry to give up her possessions. At the opening of the reign, the earldom contained 140 fees, on which the Countess of Bretagne paid 280 marcs for the first scutage in the new reign. This may, however, have been Constance, the time of whose death is uncertain. 2nd John, the Honour was in the king's hands. 4th John, 1203, Guido de Toure [Thouars] was "*quondam Comes Britanniaë*," so that Constance must then have been dead. His acts in the earldom regarding certain fines are confirmed by the king. In 1204 John appointed bailiffs for the Honour. 1205 he informs the tenants that he has granted the Honour, late that of "*G. Comes Britanniaë*," to R., Earl of Chester, the Earl from whom Constance was divorced. John was at Richmond on the 14th and 15th of February, 1206.

8th John, 1207, Hugh de Nevill, held the castle as constable during pleasure. He superseded Roald Fitz-Alan, who was constable in 1205, and had a considerable grant of lands. Roald had been disseized for refusing to swear touching the thirteenths, and gave 200 marks and four palfreys to be quit of his fine and to have his office restored, and besides to have letters patent enabling him to distrain upon the knights of the Honour for their castle-guard.

1209, 10th John, Alice, Duchess of Bretagne and Countess of Richmond, invited her Breton vassals to support King John. She was probably still a minor. April 29th in this year, John was again at Richmond, and again 15th June, 1212, in which year, and 1213, he still held the Honour,

and in 1215, Roald was constable. Soon after, 17th John, 1216, the constable of Richmond Castle was directed to obey the orders of Ranulph, Earl of Chester, and to discharge from prison the knights and men belonging to Roald Fitz-Alan, who, therefore, in the short intervening time seems to have fallen under suspicion and then to have cleared himself. The Earl of Chester probably succeeded him, for in 18th John, 1216, he is ordered, if he cannot hold the castle, to destroy it utterly. Countess Alice married Peter le Dreux, of the blood royal of France, who in 1219 had livery of the Honour. 14 Hen. III. he is styled Duke of Bretagne and Earl of Richmond. By his adhesion to French interests in 1235-6, he forfeited his English honours. He died childless in 1250.

In 1241, Henry granted the Honour to Peter of Savoy, uncle to Queen Eleanor; he held the Honour and Shire of Richmond till his death in 1268 when, under a power granted him by the king in 1262, he bequeathed them to the queen, who compounded for an annuity of 2,000 marks. Henry then, in July 1268, granted the Honour to John le Dreux, son and heir of the preceding Peter.

John le Dreux, Duke of Bretagne, succeeded to the earldom in 1268, but passed it to his son. He died 1286.

John le Dreux had the earldom from his father in 1268, and by licence from Henry III., his father-in-law, in 1269. He also became Duke of Bretagne. He married Beatrix, daughter of Henry III., and was killed at Lyons, 1305. This earl, on his departure for Palestine in 53 Hen. III., founded a chantry for six priests in his chapel of Richmond, which could not very well have been the Norman chamber, a mere oratory, in which six priests could barely find room to stand. They were to be lodged near the great chapel, but to leave the castle during war. Duke John left Arthur and John.

John, the second son, succeeded by grant from Edward I., 1306. He was summoned as "John de Britannia, Comes Richmond." He was taken prisoner while in the king's service in Scotland (17 Ed. II.), and the king, failing to obtain money for his ransom from Parliament, addressed a letter to the tenants of the Honour, adjuring them, for the sake of natural justice and by their duty and fealty, to contribute according to their holdings. The appeal seems to

have been successful, for next year the earl was free. He died unmarried, 1334, and was succeeded by the son of his elder brother,—

John le Dreux, Duke of Bretagne, and Earl of Richmond from 1335 to his death, childless, in 1341, when the earldom escheated to the crown. Upon his inquest it is stated, "*Et est apud Richmond quoddam castrum quod nihil valet per annum infra muros, nec in fossa ejusdem castri, sed multum indiget in reparatione domorum et murorum dicti castri.*" He had licence to wall the town, and houses were cleared away for it; but it is doubtful whether anything more was then done. The gateway between the castle and the river bridge seems of about this date, and may very probably have been part of an intended wall.

John le Dreux, half brother to the last earl, and Comte de Montfort, became Duke of Bretagne, and had a grant of the Earldom of Richmond in 1341. He died 1345, leaving a son; but, probably by some arrangement with the king, the Earldom was granted to John of Gaunt, who was created Earl, but resigned the whole into his father's hand in 1372.

John le Dreux, the "Valiant," Duke of Bretagne, Comte de Montfort, son of the last Earl John, received the Earldom from Edward III. in 1372, and is styled Earl of Richmond. His French interests were very great, and (7 Ed. II.) he forfeited those held in England. His sister Joan, widow of Ralph Basset, had a grant of the Honour, as afterwards had Ralph Neville, first Earl of Westmoreland. It was then held successively by John, Duke of Bedford, Edmond of Hadham, and Henry VII., with whom ceases any remarkable interest in the owners. The title, an evident but scarcely creditable proof of the estimation in which it was held, was conferred by Henry VIII. and Charles II. upon their illegitimate children.

DESCRIPTION.

It is to be remarked that there are here no traces of such earthworks as accompany Norman castles when built upon the sites of English works. Here, as at Knaresborough and Scarborough, there is nothing that can be attributed to an occupant earlier than the Conquest. Such works, whatever they may have been, were at Gilling; all here is

floors. The building has the usual characteristics of a Norman keep, though with certain peculiarities. At the base are the usual footings suited to the irregular levels of the ground, but from these the wall rises quite plain about 10 ft., nearly to half the level of the first floor. Here, from this stage as a plinth, rise the usual broad flat pilasters, one at each end covering the angle, which is solid, and supporting the usual four rectangular turrets above. These pilasters, however, are peculiar, in that they partially cease at a string which marks the base of the parapet of the curtain. Above this the outer half of the pilaster is continued as a narrow strip, which dies into the wall of the turret at the base of the parapet.

On the north and south, or wider fronts, two pilasters, somewhat narrower than the flankers, intervene. On the east and west faces there is but one, and that a much narrower one, in the centre. These are all stopped by the string at the base of the parapet. Besides this string, the tower has exterior indications of its several stages. The first floor is indicated by a bold half-bead carried round the three outer faces of the keep. At the level of the second floor is a set-off of about 6 in., and a similar one marks the level of the third. These are continued round both walls and pilasters, reducing the wall by about 1 ft. in thickness. There do not appear to be any sets-off within to carry the floors. There is one other peculiarity. The south or inner front is not so wide by about 7 ft. as the north, and the east front is 4 ft. less than the west. This is caused by a recess, or rather a nook or hollow angle, occupying the south-east angle, and measuring 7 ft. by 4 ft., in which, at the first-floor level, where the recess begins, is the entrance-door. The base of the parapet and lower part of the turrets seem original and of Norman date; the embrasures both of turrets and curtains are probably modern. One turret, at least, has the original Norman doorway opening on the rampart, with a square head beneath a semi-circular arch of relief. The whole has been repaired, but there are indications that the original pattern was preserved. These turrets had an upper floor, as was usual, the holes for the beams of which remain. Part of the basement of the keep and the two floors above it are of excellent ashlar work. The upper floor is of inferior, though of sound work. It is an addition.

The inner or southern face differs considerably in its basement from the rest. Here is a large, lofty, round-headed archway, of 11 ft. opening, plain, but with recesses for two flanking columns, nook-shafts, on each side, inside and out, with ornate capitals, eight in all, and a very bold rebate, showing that the doors opened outwards, a fact corroborated by the position of the bolt-holes. Moreover, the whole of this basement face is of a very rough rubble. It is clear that here was a low building against the keep, part of its original design, and that this archway opened from the basement of the keep into an exterior chamber, now removed, possibly with an exterior doorway.

Originally the floors were all of timber, and no stair in masonry connected the basement with the floor above. The well, of the date of the keep, was central, as at Coningsborough. In the Decorated period, a large, strong, eight-sided pier, upon a square base, was built over the well, which is reached by means of a lateral arched recess in the east face of the pier. From the four main faces of the pier spring four ribs dividing the chamber into four bays, each of which is also ribbed diagonally with cross springers, plain, but producing an excellent effect. The wall shafts are half octagons with square bases. This chamber is 32 ft. by 21 ft. It has no lights, vents, or recesses. In its south-west corner, barely touching the wall, is built a thin cylindrical shell of masonry, containing a spiral stair, which ascended to the first floor. The door of this is to the north-west, and it is lighted by a loop to the east, both opening from the chamber in which it stands. This staircase is an addition, probably of the date of the vault. There is something very similar to it, also an addition, in the Norman keep of Arques. It is now disused and closed at its upper end. Probably it always stopped at the level of the first-floor. This is a curious example of the conversion of the basement of a Norman keep into a late Decorated chamber. The first-floor of the keep of Brougham has undergone a similar change.

The regular and original, and now the only entrance to the first floor of the keep, is by a square-headed door of moderate size, flanked by detached columns, now gone, which supported a round-headed recessed arch. This door is in the south face, close to the east end, in the hollow angle

formed there by six chaplains supplied from Egliston. Below this, at the ground level, is a flatter segmental arch, now walled up. These may have been fireplaces, but they do not look like it. The lower certainly had nothing to do with a postern. On the outside of the curtain is what seems a Decorated buttress. The curtain here has been broken down, and rebuilt, so that these arches may be and probably are insertions, perhaps of the Decorated period.

The south-west angle is capped by a rectangular turret of moderate size, and of Norman origin, with later additions. It stands upon the cliff, which here commences. From hence, along about three-quarters of the south front, the curtain appears to have rested upon a revetment wall, filling up the natural irregularities of the rock, and crowned probably by a low parapet, a high wall here being scarcely necessary. Part of this wall has fallen down the cliff. This seems to have been apprehended, for other parts of the wall have buttresses which savour of the Decorated period.

The principal domestic buildings, hall, kitchen, and chapel, stood near the south-east corner of the ward, and were built against either wall. They extended about forty-five yards along this southern front, the curtain being raised to support them. Of these buildings the most perfect is the great hall, "Scollands Hall." This is an oblong of about two squares, the curtain forming its south side. The basement, probably a store, has a door near the middle of the north side, and is furnished with a line of loops along the south side, six from the main store room, and two from a compartment walled off at its end. The upper floor, being the hall, was entered by a large round-headed doorway, with flanking Norman columns, in the north side, near the west end. This was approached by an exterior stair. The hall, 26 ft. by 79 ft., was lighted by two ranges of coupled round-headed windows, five in the outer or south wall, and four in the north wall, of which the easternmost has been partially enlarged and replaced by a round-headed recess and window, probably of Decorated date. In the west end are three windows, the central long and narrow, the lateral ones shorter and lower down, the whole forming a triplet. The piers between them have been replaced, in modern times.

In the north-west corner is a well staircase ascending from the hall-floor level to the roof. There is no fireplace.

The floor was of timber, and the roof probably flat. Along the top of the south wall is a Norman corbel table, composed of small round-headed arches springing from either heads or corbels of a Norman pattern. On the north side this table is gone. At the floor level of the hall, but outside the south wall or curtain, about 30 ft. above the ground, is a range of square holes, probably for the support of a timber balcony or *brétasche*, for the defence of this important quarter. The hall is certainly of Norman date, but its triple west-end windows have decidedly an early English character. There are traces of buildings west of the hall, and the curtain there, between its Norman pilasters, seems to have been rebuilt.

At the east end of the hall is a sort of long rectangular tower, which fills up the south-eastern angle of the main ward. It measures 52 ft. north and south by 22 ft. east and west. Its basement is occupied by a postern, between two mural chambers, one in the north end, now walled up, and one in the south end 14 ft. by 12 ft., and rather handsomely vaulted, and with a loop to the east. The postern passage is 6 ft. broad and vaulted. The actual doorway has been rebuilt, but evidently after the old pattern. There is no portcullis. This postern is certainly original and of the age of the curtain. It is approached from within through a sort of antechamber walled off from the east end of the room under the hall, and entered by a round-headed doorway in the north wall. The floor above the postern, 32 ft. by 15 ft., is the withdrawing room from the hall, and has a doorway which probably opened from its gallery. The work at this level has an Early English character, especially shown in a window of two lights in its south end. The floor of this chamber is formed of solid masonry resting on the vault of the postern. At the north end of it is a small and nearly rectangular tower, of which the upper part is of Decorated date.

North of the east end of the hall and of the postern building, placed against the east curtain, is an apartment on the ground level, 40 ft. by 20 ft., and having on its western side a large fireplace. This was probably the kitchen. Above it was a room of the same dimensions, also with a

fireplace, above and on one side of the former. This room opened from the withdrawing room at one end, and into the great chapel on the other. Most of its west wall is broken down. Its east wall is the curtain. It was evidently one of the suite of apartments between the hall and the chapel. North of this apartment is the chapel, 21 ft. by 13 ft. As the curtain formed its east end there is no east window. The entrance from the lodgings and withdrawing rooms was in its south wall, and in the door-jamb is a sort of hagioscope, and east of it a trefoil-headed piscina. There seems to have been a large west window or windows, of which parts of the jambs remain. This chapel had an open roof and a wooden floor, and beneath it, at the ground level, was a chamber, probably a store room of some kind. The chapel and kitchen seem to be Decorated additions.

The curtain against which they are built, and which extends from the south-eastern angle to the keep, is at least as old as any part of the castle. It is a mass of rude, irregular, and by no means excellent, masonry, 9 ft. thick, and from 30 to 35 ft. high, duly battlemented. In its inner face are six small doorways. The first, or most southern, is 8 or 10 ft. above the ground, and seems to have led into a tower of which the ruins encumber the outside of the wall. Above it is a two-light Decorated window, which lighted a room, now destroyed, next north of the great chapel. Next is a doorway opening into an L-shaped mural passage, probably a garderobe. Next is a doorway, now walled up, and next to it a similar door, similarly closed. Either of these doorways may have opened into a mural stair ascending to the rampart, as in the shell keep of Tamworth. Then follow two L-shaped passages, gardrobes. All these doors are of the age of the curtain and within the wall. Near its upper part, from the outside, is seen a broken arch, probably part of a mural staircase. Both doors and passages are of very rude work, and the passages, or some of them are not vaulted, but covered in with inclined slabs of stone.

North of all these doorways is another, about 3 ft. below the natural surface of the soil, small and narrow, opening into the small chapel or oratory. This is a small room, 12 ft. long by 10 ft. 6 in. broad, occupying the base of a mural tower, on the outside of the curtain. The door-

chamber, also vaulted, forming the first floor of the tower, and there seems to have been a second floor. The tower at the rampart is about 18 ft. deep by 14 ft. broad, and projects outwards from the curtain 10 ft. From this tower to the keep the old curtain is masqued inside by a broad modern ramp, which forms above an inclined road to the keep, and below is occupied by prison cells, also of recent date.

The outer ward, known as "the cockpit," is now a garden. It lies to the south-east of the Castle, and its wall abuts upon the eastern curtains, one end springing from the postern tower, and the other from the curtain, about 50 yards distant to the north. This is the breadth of the ward. Its length eastward towards the river is about 70 yards. It occupies a moderate slope, but it does not come nearer than from 60 to 80 ft. to the river bank. The wall is thick and lofty, and tolerably perfect. To the south and east it is protected by the fall of the ground and by the river, but to the north a deep ditch has been cut, which extended not only in front of this outer ward, but was prolonged in front of the curtain of the main ward up to and along the wall of the barbican. The entrance to this ward is from the north, only a few yards from the main curtain. The gateway is a Norman arch, once flanked by columns, but otherwise plain. There is no trace of a gatehouse or portcullis. From this ward, and from the pathway leading to its entrance and thence to the postern, is a good close view of the main curtain and its tower. The wall near its summit is much broken down, and an arch, possibly of a staircase, within the wall, is disclosed.

It seems perfectly clear from the internal evidence afforded by the remains of the curtain that Alan Fergaunt on receiving the lordship lost no time in selecting this new site, and in walling in the area very substantially. Most of the existing wall, the three mural turrets, the postern, the hall, the oratory, and what remains of the barbican, seem to be his work, and the original chapel, not that near the hall, but that abutting upon the west curtain.

Whether Earl Alan began the keep is uncertain. Mr. Milward, in an excellent account of it in the *Arch. Journal*, v. 52, supposes its date to be about 1170, and it is usually attributed to Earl Conan, who died in that year. This

may very possibly be the correct view, but the lower part of the keep appears earlier, possibly the work of Earl Alan Fergaunt. The keep is small, compared with the importance of the Honour and fortress, the walls are very thick, the ornaments few and simple, and so far as can be seen, there is no trace of fireplace, sewer vent, or portcullis. The straight staircases are somewhat similar to those seen at Chepstow, Ludlow, Carlisle, Bamburgh, and Prudhoe, keeps of various dates, though all Norman. By whom the keep was raised a story is also unknown. The work is of the Norman period, but scarcely by the original builder of the keep, being of inferior quality. If Earl Alan built the keep, Earl Conan probably raised it, but if Conan was the builder, the addition must be due to Geoffrey, or the Earl of Chester, his next successors.

The trifling Early English additions seen about the south-east angle of the main ward, may be due to any of the lords who held the place during the close of the reign of John or that of Henry III. The Decorated additions are far more important, and being late in the style, may be the work of John of Gaunt before 1372. They include the chapel near the hall, with its contiguous buildings, and the vault of the basement of the keep. The princes of the House of Lancaster were great builders, and have usually left their marks in the castles which came into their possession.

In the "*Registrum Honoris de Richmond*" is a birdseye view of the Castle, of uncertain date, showing groups of buildings, and upon each building a banner of the arms of the knight whose duty it was to defend it. On the keep are, barry of ten, or and gules; FitzAlan of Bedale; and sable, a saltire or. Over the mural oratory, or, a chief indented, azure, FitzRandolph. Over the postern, argent, a cross engrailed sable; this may be Conan, FitzHenry, or Manfeld. On the hall, barry of six, or, and gules. On the kitchen, west of the hall, azure, three chevrons brased, and a chief, or; FitzHugh. Over the south curtain, vair, a fess, gules; Marmion or fitzGernegan. The tower at the south-west angle carries nothing. Over the west curtain is argent, or a fess three bezants. The feudatories said to be represented by these arms, but whose names do not tally with them, are thus placed:—Ranulph FitzRobert, "*Placea in Castro Richmondi ad Capellam St. Nicholai*"; the Con-

stable, "In claustro turris"; Brian FitzAlan, "In aula de Scolland"; Torphin, filius Robt. de Mansfeld, "Inter coquinam et bracinam"; Ranulph FitzHenry, "In parte occidentali aulæ"; Conan, filius Helias, "Juxta clausum turris ex parte orientali extra muram. Placea Camerarii ex parte orientali de Scoland Hall juxte furnam." Thom. de Burgo, "ex parte occidentali majoris capellæ ad canonicos in maris." Each tenant *in capite* had a quarter appointed, and each had two specified months during which he was to serve.

It seems singular that a family so powerful as that of the old Earls of Bretagne should allow a town founded by them, and under their protection, to remain exposed to the dangers of fire and sword in a district in which the old English feeling was strong. Possibly the town did not immediately follow upon the building of the Castle, but so it was that it was not till the time of John le Dreux, who was Earl from 1335 to 1341, that we read of town walls. This Duke had licence to wall the town, and he cleared away the houses that stood in the way, but the actual walling was a later work. That it was done appears from Leland. The town was small, for the area enclosed did not much exceed that of the Castle, which formed part of the general *enceinte*. There were three gates, of which Leland saw the remains, French Gate on the north, Frinkel Street Gate on the west, and Bar Gate towards the south, and by the Swale Bridge, at one time crossed by a chain. In the town or its immediate suburbs, were the parish church and chapels of St. James, Trinity, St. Anthony, and of a female anchorite, besides the chapel in the Castle, "with strange figures on the walls of it." There was also the Grey Friars. Grose gives a moderate account of the Castle, with a plan and two views in 1786. He shows some buildings close west of the hall, of Norman aspect, and others north of the chapel, all now gone. Whittaker, in his valuable history of the Shire, gives a view of the keep, and a history of its descent.

Very much of this description was printed many years ago in the *Builder*, whence, by the ready courtesy of its editor, it has been transferred. The plans and sections are, however, new, and are from an excellent detailed plan supplied by the courtesy of Lieut.-Col. Walker, of the Royal Engineers.

PAVER'S MARRIAGE LICENSES.

PART II.

(CONTINUED FROM P. 304, VOL. VII.)

Date.	Name and description.	Name and description.	Where to be Married.
1592	²³ Slater, John.....	Lowther, Jane, of York ...	Trinity, Goodramgate, York.
1592	Ratcliffe, Nicholas, of Thornhill, Gent.	Baty, Margaret, of Almondbury, Wid.	Thornhill.
1592	Foster, Ralph, of Sprotbore'...	Egley or Hegley (<i>sic</i>), Dorothy, of Edlington	Either place.
1592	Ramshaw, Henry	Robinson, Catherine, of Bransby	Bransby.
1592	Burton, Anthony	Marshall, Margaret, of Tadcaster	Tadcaster.
1592	²⁴ Croft, Edward.....	Garth, Alice, of St. Denis, York, Wid.	St. Denis, York.
1592	Herbert, John, Gent.	Clayter, Margaret, of York...	
1592	Haxby, Thomas, of Kirkby Malzeard	Markenfield, Ellen, of Ripon, Wid.	Hampthwaite.
1592	Grant, William	Bland, Jane, of Castleford...	Castleford.
1592	²⁵ Burdett, Thomas.....	Burdwicke, <i>alias</i> Burditt, Alice, of Featherstone	St. John's, Micklegate, York.
1592	Whitton, Michael	Burnwell, Ann, of Stainton-in-Cleveland	Stainton - in - Cleveland.
1592	Marshall, Gervas, of Crowle, co. Lincoln	Lund, Elizabeth, of Hambleton, in Par. of Brayton	Cawood.
1592	Benson, Robert	Broomhead, Dionysia, of Wakefield	Wakefield, or Ardsley.
1592	Wallis? (<i>sic</i>), George, of Skircoat	Read, Mary, of Norland, Wid.	Halifax, or Sowerbybridge.
1592	Slater, Robert, of Tickhill ...	Bower, Dorothy, of Maltby .	Maltby.
1592	Wright, John, of Leven	Janson, Jane, of Brandsburton	Either place.
1592	Narbrooke? (<i>sic</i>), Philip	Bewick, Susan, of Hull.....	Drypool.
1592	Boesville, Thomas, Esq.	Pollard, Ann, Wid.....	
1592	Miles, Michael, of East Harlsey	Dunn, Thomasin, of Sigaton	
1592	Kay, <i>alias</i> Benson, Robert ...	Norris, Jennet, of Wakefield	Wakefield, or Horbury.
1592	Lougher, Thomas, Clk.....	Barfe, Ellen, of Warter, Wid.	Warter.
1592	Constable, Gabriel, of Kayingham, Gent.	Kirkby, Joan, of St. Sepulchre's, in Par. of Hendon	Headon - in - Holderness.
1592	Wastell, Adam	Kirkman, Isabel, of Kayingham	Kayingham.
1592	Richardson, John	Clerke, Mabel, of Castle Sowerby, Wid.	Castle Sowerby, or Penrith, in Dio. of Carlisle.
1592	Wilkinson, George.....	Prestwood, Rachel, of Hull .	
1592	Kay, John? of Almondbury	Cowper, Jennet, of Felkirk .	Felkirk.
1593	Waddington, James	Smithyes, Rosamund.....	Downham, in Prov. of York.

²³ Took place 19 Feb. 1592-3.

²⁵ Took place 21 Feb. 1592-3.

²⁴ Took place 20 Feb. 1592-3, where only the wife's christian name is given.

Date.	Name and description.	Name and description.	Where to be Married.
1593	Armitstead, William	Gibson, Margaret, of Gisburn, Wid.	Gisburn.
1593	White, Roger	Thistlethwaite, Margaret, of Knayton, in Par. of Leake	Leake.
1593	Douthwaite, James	Hall, Isabel, of Coxwold ..	Coxwold.
1593	Bayne, Lawrence	Rayner, Ellen, of Leeds	Leeds, or Whitkirk.
1593	Bussey, John, of Leeds	Townend, Agnes, of Mirfield, Wid.	Mirfield.
1593	Keresforth, Thomas, of Barnsley, Gent.	Lindley, Elizabeth, of Leathley, Wid.	Barnsley.
1593	Hall, Jo? Rector of Rise	Haldenby, Margaret	Reeford, or Patrington.
1593	Barker, Andrew	Richardson, Margaret, of Hull, Wid.	Hull or Howden.
1593	²⁶ Barre, Francis	Mitchell, Margaret, of Thurne	Thurne.
1593	Dodson, Thomas, M.A., Rector of Goodmanham	Fowberry, Catherine, Gent.	
1593	Greathhead, George, of York	Wearon, Elizabeth, of Widdington, in Par. of Ouseburn	St. Olave's, York.
1593	Wainwright, John, of Emley	Goder, Frances, of Elland, Wid.	Either place.
1593	Ayresley, Francis, Curate of Wilberfoss	Kidson, Jane, of York	St. Margaret's, York.
1593	Bray, William, Alder ²⁷ , of Hull	Smith, Ann, of Hull, Wid.	
1593	Shepherd, William	Robinson, Ann, of Hickleton.	Hickleton.
1593	Darnton, Henry, Curate of Carlton	Harrison, Ann, of Carlton ...	Faceby.
1593	Dunning, Richard	Deane, Mary, of Helmsley..	Helmsley, or Harome.
1593	Jobson, William, Vicar of Aldbro' in Holderness	Clerke, Mary, of Siggles-thorne, Wid.	Siggles-thorne.
1593	Bell, Robert, of Topcliff	Belte, Margaret, of Leake	Sessy, Topcliff, or Leake.
1593	Suttle, Ralph, of Hamps-thwaite	Elsworth, Isabel, of Kirkby Malzeard	Huntington.
1593	Hutchinson, John	Wilson, Jane, of Ripon, Wid.	Ripon.
1593	Brabiner, William, of Malton	Dales, Agnes, of Driffield ...	St. Michael's, New Malton, or Great Driffield.
1593	Mattison, Christopher, of Bishop Monkton	Simpson, Elizabeth, of Ripon, Wid.	Ripon.
1593	Millington, Richard, of Everingham	Jobson, Jane, of Holme-on-Spaldingmors	Holme-on-Spaldingmors.
1593	²⁷ Hungate, William	Sothaby, Mary, of Watton..	Watton.
1593	Smith, Thomas, of Hoveden	Horner, Jane, of Wakefield, Wid.	Wakefield.
1593	Dent, Stephen	Hewitson, Jane, of Stamford	Stamford Bridge.
1593	Bainton, William, of Middleton, in Par. of Ilkley	Walsh, Frances, of Leeds, Wid.	Ilkley.
1593	Sterk, George, of Wintringham	Galloway, Bridget? (sic), of North Newbald	Either place.

²⁶ Took place 9 April, 1593.²⁷ Took place 12 May, 1593.

Date.	Name and description.	Name and description.	Where to be Married.
1593	Hey, William, of Bracewell...	Hammerton, Ellen, of Bol ton-by-Bowland	Bracewell.
1593	Pate, Christopher	Biggin, Ellen, of Egton, Wid.	Egton.
1593	Frear, Thomas, of Thorpe Basset	Candler, Jane, of Seamer ...	Thorpe Basset.
1593	Vernon, William, Gent.....	Rateliffe, Friderwade, Wid.	Dewsbury, or Woodkirk.
1593	Shepherd, William.....	Harslewood, Ellen, of Bub- with	Bubwith.
1593	Loncaster, Peter, of Rooss in Holderness	Thompson, Margaret, of Swine, Wid.	St. Margaret's, York.
1593	Hustler, Thomas, of Adding- ham	Pollard, ———, of Bradford	Addingham.
1593	Thruscross, Henry, Clk., M.A.	Towthie, Elizabeth, of Hull, Gent.	
1593	Barker, John, of Hull	Hartley, Hester, of Sowerby- bridge	Sowerbybridge.
1593	Dales, Roger	Thorley, Alison, of South Dalton	Holme-on-the- Wolds.
1593	Bennington, Rowland, of Easington	Oglethorpe, Mary, of At- wick	Atwick.
1593	Denton, Henry, of Lonsbro'	Brogden, Jane, of Gargrave.	Gargrave.
1593	Emonson? (sic), William, of Barnoldswick	Varley? (sic), Catherine, of Barnoldswick	Barnoldswick.
1593	Constable, George, of Evering- ham, Gent.	Aske, Helen, of Ryther, Gent., Wid.	Everingham.
1593	Fairbank, George, of Hepton- stall	Farrer, Mary, of Erringden.	Heptonstall.
1593	Smith, Thomas, of York	Akeroyd, Sarah, of Heming- boro'.	
1593	Bowes, Thomas, of Angram Grange, Gent.	Topham, Edith, of Cover- ham	Coverham.
1593	Pearson, Thomas, of Skeck- ling	Knowles, Elizabeth, of Heaton	Skeckling, Burst- wick, or Hea- don.
1593	Savage, William, Alder". of Pontefract	Gascoigne, Susan, of Roth- well	Rothwell.
1593	Webster, W——	Owston, Joan, of Stillington	St. Michael-le- Belfrey, York.
1593	Earle, William	Stapleton, Isabel, of Leeds.	Leeds.
1593	Muddleton, John	Cooke, Frances, of Askern...	Campsall
1593	Harrison, William, of Knares- boro'	Forrest, Ellen.....	St. Helen's, Stone- gate, York.
1593	Arnold, Richard, of Leeds ...	Blackburn, Edith, of Whit- kirk, Wid.	Whitkirk.
1593	Talbot, William.....	Savage, Ann, of Pontefract, Wid.	Felkirk.
1593	Parsons, Richard, Vicar of Tybshelf, Dio. of Lichfield	Fulwood, Elizabeth, dau ^r . of Thomas F., of Brimsley, in Par. of Greas- ley	Greasley, co. Notts.
1593	Yewdale, John, of York, Gent.	Townend, Ann, of Mirfield, Wid.	Mirfield.
1593	Beek, William, of Foster-on- the-Wolds	Harwood, Grace, of New Malton	St. Michael's, New Malton.
1593	Lodge, Christopher, of Maple- ton	Lister, Ellen, of Beverley, Wid.	Mapleton.
1593	Wray, Richard, of York	Truslove, alias Lodge, Eliza- beth, of Maple- ton.	Mapleton.

Date.	Name and description.	Name and description.	Where to be Married.
1593	Storke, Henry, now or late of Wharram Percy	Hall, Hannah ? (<i>sic</i>), of Rillington, Wid.	Either place.
1593	Easterby, Richard, of Spoforth	Ellis, Ann, of Kirkby Overblows	Kirkby Overblows.
1593	Pease, William, of Swillington	Goodaile, Helen, of Whitkirk.	Either place.
1593	Butler, Alexander	Winder, Alice, of Stangrave	Stangrave, or Noning ⁿ .
1593	Brackenbury, Thomas	Feather, Bridget, of Altofts, Gent.	Normanton, or Featherstone.
1593	Ellis, George	Graves, Agnes, of Bradfield	Bradfield.
1593	Wadeson, Philip	Alderson, Ann, of Newton.	
1593	Crowther, Richard.....	Horner, <i>alias</i> Lacy, Jane, of Warley	Halifax.
1593	Smales, Roger, of Kilvington	Harland, Alice, of Leake ..	Kilvington.
1593	Bubwith, Richard, M.A., Vicar of Rothwell	Swift, Elizabeth, of Carlton, in Par. of Rothwell, Wid.	Rothwell.
1593	Moyes, Geoffry, of All Saints', Pavement, York	Hodgson, Grace, of All Saints', Pavement, York	All Saints', Pavement, York.
1593	Bronne, John ? of Bridlington, Gent.	Bradley, Mary, of Bridlington	Bridlington.
1593	Carter, John	Buck, Margaret, of Sowerby	Sowerby, in Par. of Thirsk.
1593	Kettlewell, Christopher, of Doncaster	Jayke, Elizabeth, of Selby, Wid.	Selby.
1593	Dobson, Christopher, of West Heslerton, Gent.	Dalton, Barbara, of Osgorby, in Par. of Seamer.	Seamer.
1593	Jefferson, John	Hildreth, Ann, of Whitkirk.	
1593	Mangham, John	Capes, Elizabeth, of Hull, Wid.	Drypool, or Sculcoates.
1593	Smith, Thomas, of Himsworth	Green, Ann, of Cawthorne .	Himsworth.
1593	Barnard, Henry, of Ellerker	Tyndale, Ann, of Sandholme	Brantingham, or Ellerker.
1593	²⁸ Pulleyne, Peter	Wynne, Ann	St. Helen's, Stonegate, York.
1593	Maddison, Ralph, of Rogerlay, co. Durham, Gent.	Milburn, Isabel, of Hinder-skelf.	Hinderskelf.
1593	Milner, Adam.....	Beeston, Frances, of Beeston, in Par. of Leeds, Wid.	
1593	²⁹ Lutton, Ralph, of New Malton	Kay, Elizabeth, of Hugget .	Holy Trinity, Goodramgate, York.
1593	Craven, John	Heslop, Frances, of Barwick-in-Elmet	St. Martin's, Micklegate, York.
1593	Ivington, Edward	Lacksmith ? (<i>sic</i>), Jane, of Helmsley	Helmsley.
1593	Holmes, Thomas, of Kirkhampton ?	Waterhouse, Mary, of Halifax	Halifax.
1593	Heslerton, Richard, of Hutton-on-Derwent, Gent.	Mansfield, Margaret, of Hutton-on-Derwent	Hutton-on-Derwent.
1593	Dove, Robert, of Aughton ...	Robinson, Christiana, of the Dio. of York, Wid.	Aughton.

²⁸ Took place 27 August, 1593.²⁹ Took place 2 September, 1593.

Date.	Name and description.	Name and description.	Where to be Married.
1593	Clapham, John	Metham, Catherine, of Feliskirk, Gent.	Feliskirk.
1593	North, Peter, of Butterwick	Wildon, Isabel, of Terrington.	Terrington.
1593	Fordon, Christopher, of York	Gosling, Elizabeth, Wid. ...	St. Mary's, Castle-gate, or St. John's, Micklegate, York.
1593	Ellison, John, of Doncaster...	Marshall, Alice, of Doncaster	Doncaster.
1593	Gateforth, John, of Sneaton	Sayer, Agnes, of Whitby, Wid.	Sneaton.
1593	Ambler, Thomas	Brigg, Agnes, of Keighley...	Keighley.
1593	Lough, William, of Ripon ...	Carter, Elizabeth, of Danby-Wisk	Danby-Wisk.
1593	Lanskar, Thomas, of Sessay	Robson, Elizabeth, of Whitby, Wid.	Whitby.
1593	Bethell, William, of Ellerton	Akeroyd, Elizabeth, of Fogathorpe, Wid.	Bubwith, or Ellerton.
1593	Rokeby, Ralph, of Hotham, Gent.	Hall, Joan, Wid.....	Eastrington, or South Cave.
1593	Danby, William, of Kirby Knowle	Robinson, Catherine, of Bolton-on-Swale	Either place.
1593	Young, John, of Methley.....	Leigh, Ellen, of Bradford, Wid.	Methley.
1593	Fearnley, Nicholas, of Hemsworth	Fletcher, Alice, of South Kirby	Hemsworth.
1593	Sisson, John	Hill, Ann, of Darfield	Darfield.
1593	Johnson, Thomas, Gent. ...	Marshall, Elizabeth, of Flambrø', Wid.	Flambrø'.
1593	Cowper, William, of St. Martin's, Micklegate, York	Whittington, Rosamand, of St. Martin's, Micklegate, York, Wid.	St. Martin's, Micklegate, York, or Tadcaster.
1593	Robinson, James, of Woodmansey	Dodsworth, Constance, of Swine, Wid.	Swine.
1593	³⁰ Palliser, James, of Cayton, in Par. of Stainley	Nussey, Isabel, of Ripley, Wid.	St. Helen's, Stonegate, York.
1593	Artush, John, of Burton-on-Trent, Gent.	Holland, Isota? (sic), of Mattersey	Mattersey, Burton, or Ayton.
1593	Sanderson, Robert.....	Baxter, Dorothy, of Santon	Santon.
1593	Waterhouse, Richard, of Barnbrough	Jessop, Elizabeth, of Melton	Barnbrough.
1593	Ayrton, John, of Leeds	Ridinge, Alice, of Calverley.	Leeds.
1593	³¹ Williamson, John	Aske, Ann, of Aughton ...	Holy Trinity, Goodramgate, York.
1593	Harper, William, of Ganstead	Clipindale, Elizabeth, of Ganstead	Swine, or Sutton.
1593	Marton, Christopher	Fawcett, Elizabeth, of Leeds, Wid....	Leeds.
1593	Hall, John, Clk.	Jefferson, Elizabeth, of Skipby	Skipby, Skidby, or Skipsea?
1593	Bussey, John, of Leeds.....	Spink, Mary, of Tadcaster, Wid.	Tadcaster.
1593	Levett, Charles, of Scrayingham	Ampleforth, Grace, of Kirkby Overblows	Kirkby Overblows.
1593	Wickham, Martin	Nettleton, Mary, of Frickley	Frickley, or Marr.
1593	Holmes, William	Birstall, Frances, of Ryall, in Par. of Skeckling, Wid.	Skeckling.

³⁰ Took place 13 October, 1593.³¹ Took place 20 October, 1593.

Date.	Name and description.	Name and description.	Where to be Married.
1593	Marshall, George, of Chapel-town	Pickering, Elizabeth, of Leeds.	Leeds, or Featherstone.
1593	Rogers, William, of Bingley...	Banister, —, of Barnoldswick	Either place.
1593	Jackson, John	Parlington, Isabel, of Norton Priory	Burghwallis.
1593	Appleyard, Robert.....	Rodley, Ann, of Lofthouse, in Par. of Rothwell	St. Martin's, Micklegate, York.
1593	Clark, William	Bambrough, Agnes, of Hull.	
1593	Newlove, William, of Kirkburn	Dale, Elizabeth, of Egton...	Kirkburn.
1593	Robinson, John, of Bempton	Carter, Mary, of Boynton ...	Boynton.
1593	Constable, Marmaduke, son and heir of Christopher C., of Everingham, Esq.	Metham, Frances, eldest dau ^r . of Thos. M., Esq.	The house of Thos. Metham, Esq.
1593	Gamble, William, of Rothwell	Robinson, Catherine, of Scrayingham	Scrayingham.
1593	Frear, Robert	——, Elizabeth, of Acklam	Acklam, or Thornaby.
1593	Hill, John, of Sessay	Maxwell, Ann, of Tanfield .	Sessay.
1593	Dronfield, John	Whalley, Ann, of Batley, Wid.	Batley.
1593	Smith, Richard, of co. Lincoln, Gent.	Burgess, Alice, of Whitgift, Wid.	Whitgift.
1593	Beverley, William, of Mowthorpe Grange, Gent.	Dibney, Ann, of Wansforth, Wid.	North Grimston.
1593	Hayton, Robert, Rector of Burnby	Ashton, Elizabeth, of Cheri-burton.	
1593	Pickering, Thomas, Vicar of Bishop Wilton	Buck, Margaret, of Middleton - on - the Wolds	Middleton - on - the-Wolds.
1593	Harrison, Richard	Lowde, Elizabeth, of Long Preston.	
1593	Rusby, Thomas, of Snaith ...	Anby, Catherine, of Sandall	Sandall.
1593	Cotterell, Roger, of Beverley	Lutton, Margaret, of Meux.	St. John's, Beverley
1593	Ellerton, Christopher, of Foxholes	Callam ? (<i>sic</i>), Ann, of Butterwick	Foxholes.
1593	³² Goodricke, Robert	Wilson, Margaret, of St. Olave's, York.	St. Olave's, York.
1593	Barker, William.....	Bayne, Eleanor, of Skipton.	
1593	Humfrey, Thomas, of Hull, mercer	Farrey, Frances, of Humbleton	Humbleton.
1593	Sheppard, Gervas	Crawshaw, Agnes	Silkstone, or Rotherham.
1593	Carr, William, Gent.	Wordsworth, Elizabeth, of Rotherham, Wid.	Rotherham.
1593	West, Francis.....	West, Elizabeth, of Kirkburton.	Kirkburton.
1593	Willis, Robert	Pape, Catherine	St. Maurice's, York.
1593	Jowcey, Robert	Hudson, Alice, of the Dio. of York	Kildale.
1593	Leetham, Robert, of Osbaldwick	Hill, Elizabeth, of Marston .	Marston.

³² Took place 5 December, 1593.

Date.	Name and description.	Name and description.	Where to be Married.
1593	Heber, Thomas, of Stainton	Ferrand, Eleanor, of Carlton-in-Craven	Carlton-in-Craven
1593	Watkins, James	Chapman, Elizabeth, of Hull	Holy Trinity, or St. Mary's, Hull.
1593	Oglethorpe, Robert, of Brāha[m], Gent.	Marshall, Ann, of Holme, co. Notts.	
1593	Moone, Martin	Preston, Martha, of Hull ...	Nafferton.
1593	Farrer, Robert, of Humbleton	Chapman, Ann, of Headon, Wid.	Humbleton.
1593	Constable, Arthur, of Sherburn, Gent.	Mainprize, Ann, of Thwinge	
1593	Lepington, William	Blacklock, Margery, of Hunmanby	Hunmanby, or Folkton.
1593	Mitchell, Henry	Middleton, Frances, of Stockeld	Spofforth.
1593	Burnett, Robert, of Breakhouse	Cooper, Mariola, of Acklam-in-Cleveland	Acklam-in-Cleveland.
1593	Agar, Thomas, of Huntington, Gent.	Booth, Theophan	Huntington, or the Cathedral.
1593	Eastburn, Christopher, of Leeds	Marsden, Isabel, of Almondbury	Almondbury or Marsden.
1593	Spink, John, of Ledsham.....	Jackson, Jane, of Whitgift .	Ledsham.
1593	Harrison, Robert, of Eakton	Fletcher, Alice, of South Kirby, Wid.	Featherstone.
1593	Snowdon, Francis	Taylor, Elizabeth, of Doncaster	Doncaster.
1593	Stephenson, Robert	Haywood, Elizabeth, of Burstwick, Wid.	Skeckling.
1593	Prough, Thomas, of Kirkby Overblows	Nettleton, Agnes, of Leeds.	
1593	Walker, John, of St. Helen's, York	Hewitson, Jane, of St. Helen's, York, Wid.	St. Helen's, York.
1593	Fleming, John?	Roo, Elizabeth	Womersley, or Kellington.
1593	Langdale, William, of Newby Wisk	Mason, Jane, <i>alias</i> Janet, of Thirkleby, Wid.	Thirkleby, or Sowerby.
1593	Stables, John, of All Saints', North Street, York	Gamble, Elizabeth, of All Saints', North Street, York, Wid.	All Saints', North Street, York.
1593	Smith, John, of Northburton	Rudston, Elizabeth, of Bessonby	
1593	Marmaduke, Thomas	Walker, Agnes, of Hull, Wid.	Holy Trinity, Hull, or Paull.
1593	Richmond, Marmaduke.....	Richmond, Margaret, of Ripon.	Ripon.
1593	Brok, Robert, of Dewsbury...	Briggs, Mary, of Kirkby Overblows	Kirkby Overblows.
1593	Chambers, George, of Baxby [? Bagby], Gent.	Thomlinson, Catherine, of Hovingham	Hovingham.
1593	Isherwood, Robert.....	Foster, Ann, of Appleton ...	Stillingfleet.
1593	Dowson, Robert, of Bempton	Preston, Eleanor, of Bridlington	Great Hatfield. ³³
1593	Oughtred, John, of St. Olave's, York	Smith, Margaret, of St. Olave's, York.	St. Michael-le-Belfrey, York.
1593	Saltmarshe, Thomas, of Thicket, Gent.	Gorrell, Ellen, Wid.	Thorganby.

³³ Now in the Parish of Sigglethorpe. The churchyard exists.

Date.	Name and description.	Name and description.	Where to be Married.
1593	Gamble, Roger, of Sutton-under-Whitstoncliff	Deane, Alice, of Bagby	Bagby.
1593	Whitecroft, Thomas	Jackson, Jobia? (sic), of Scrayingham	Scrayingham.
1593	Popley, George, of Pickering, Gent.	Iles, Ann, of St. Saviour's, York, Wid.	St. Saviour's or St. Cuthbert's, York.
1593	Brigg, William, of Cookridge	Whalley, Elizabeth, of Adell	Adell, or Harwood.
1593	Page, John, of Thirsk	Wayte, Alice, of York	Holy Trinity, Goodramgate, York.
1593	²⁴ Barrett, William, of Rygh-ton, Gent.	Smales, Ann, of St. Mary's, Beverley	Either place.
1593	Robinson, Henry, of Brother-ton	Moore, Jane, of Doncaster .	Doncaster.
1593	Ellerker, Francis, of Youlton, Gent.	Nelson, Elizabeth, of Hel-perby, Wid.	Brafferton.
1593	Clarke, Nicholas	Williamson, Elizabeth, of Sneaton	Sneaton, or Whitby.
1593	Ashley, Francis, Gent.	Welbury, Millicent, of Gis-boro', Wid.	Gisboro', or Kil-dale.
1593	Wood, Anthony, of Copman-thorpe, Gent.	Sisson, Isabel, of Wetherby, Wid.	Askham Richard, or Askham Bryan.
1593	Thackray, William, of Moor Monkton	Day, Janet, of Moor Monk-ton	Moor Monkton.
1593	Fairfax, Gabriel	Foster, Margaret, of Moor Monkton	
1593	Spencer, Richard	Spencer, Susannah, of Hum-bleton	St. Mary's, Bever-ley, or Aud-boro'.
1593	Hebden, Richard	Consett, Jane, of Weston ...	Weston.
1593	Hardy, Mathew, of Bridling-ton	Preston, Helen, of Bridling-ton	Bridlington.
1593	²⁵ Goodricke, Thomas.....	Skipsey, Ann	St. Olave's, York.
1593	Wasse, John	Waire, Ann, of Cowsby, Wid.	Cowsby, or Scaw-ton.
1593	Harrison, Richard, of Kirkby Overblows	Hill, Grace, of Kirkby Over-blows	Kirkby Over-blows.
1593	Brok, George, of Huddersfield	Saltonstall, Agnes, of Hud-dersfield	Huddersfield.
1593	Barfoot, George, of York, Gent.	Coniston, Catherine, of Hornby, Wid.	Hornby.
1593	Browne, George	Forrest, Elizabeth, Wid.	
1593	Conyers, Nicholas, of Whitby	Trotter, Catherine, of St. Michael's, Spurriergate, York.	St. Michael's, Spurriergate, York.
1593	Wilkinson, Robert.....	Brayshaw, Janet, of Gres-sington	St. Crux, York.
1593	Jackson, James, of Sherburn in Elmet	Shepperd, Mariola, of Don-caster	Doncaster.
1593	Moor, Ralph	Dobson, Alice, of Rothwell .	Rothwell.
1593	Nelson, William, of Newland	Preston, Frances, of Hove-den	
1593	Graves, John, of Hull, Merch'	Murton, Margaret, of Sewer-by, Wid.	Bridlington, or Bransburton.

²⁴ Took place 6 February, 1593-4.²⁵ Took place 10 February, 1593-4.

Date.	Name and description.	Name and description.	Where to be Married.
1593	Feather, Thomas, of Altofts	Wills, Ann, of Normanton...	Featherstone.
1593	Webster, Edward, Minister of Wistow, or Cawood	Herdman, Margery, of Scoles, in Par. of Barwick, in Elmet, Wid.	Wistow, or Cawood.
1593	Mycock, John ? of Aston ...	Briggs, Elizabeth, Wid.	Whitkirk.
1593	Browne, George, of Beeston...	Beeston, Dorothy, of Whitkirk	Whitkirk.
1593	Scalay, —————	Nettleton, —————	Kirby Grimdalyth.
1593	Broadbent, Robert.....	Wemall ? (<i>sic</i>), Alice	Huddersfield.
1593	Goldwell, Ralph	Lynn, Grace, of Beverley ...	Mapleton.
1593	Wataon, Roger, of Thorlby, in Par. of Skipton	Ellia, Ellen, of Barnoldswick	Skipton, or Barnoldswick.
1594	Matthew, Thomas, of Hutton, in Par. of Rudby	Simpson, Elizabeth, of Northallerton.	Either place.
1594	Bowsfield, Philip	Moon, Ann, of York	St. Denis, York.
1594	Fawcett, John	Dobson, Margaret, of Rothwell	St. Margaret's, York.
1594	Robson, Christopher	Beane ? (<i>sic</i>), Jane, of Bridlington	Bridlington.
1594	Amerson, William, of Bolton Percy	Dickenson, Margaret, of Stillingfleet	Either place.
1594	Trimingham, Christopher, of Arncliffe, in Par. of Snaith	Westby, Bridget, of the Dio. of York.	Snaith, or Doncaster.
1594	Orme, Humfrey, of Bridlington	Coleman, Elizabeth, of Sherburn	Boynton, Sherburn, or Hartwith ?
1594	Kirkby, William	Dakins, Catherine, of the Dio. of York.	Sexton.
1594	Jaques, Edward, of Scarthingwell	Jaques, Margaret, of York	Sexton.
1594	Beilby, Thomas	Wyville, Frances, of Cayton, Wid.	Edston.
1594	Woodroffe, James, of Wolley, Gent.	Freeston [? Frieston], Elizabeth, of Altofts	Normanton.
1594	Darcy, Coniers, of Hornoy Castle	Bellasyse, Dorothy, dau ^r . of Henry B., Esq., of Newburgh	Coxwold.
1594	Beverley, Thomas, of Wistow, Gent.	Brooke, Mary, of Mirfield...	Mirfield.
1594	Watson, Christopher, of Marton	Windle, Agnes, of Thornton-in-Craven	Either place.
1594	Harrison, Thomas, M.A., of Scrayingham	Carver, Joan, of Crambe ...	Crambe.
1594	Dixon, John, of Flambro', Yeo.	Browne, Effamia, of Bridlington, Wid.	Either place.
1594	Stockton, Arlington, of Flambro'	Duke, Dorothy, of Flambro' ? (<i>sic</i>)	Flambro'.
1594	Curtis, Henry, of Leeds	Whittaker, Agnes, of Bir-stall	Either place.
1594	Sanderson, William, of Whixley	Clerk, Mary, of Greenham-merton	St. Lawrence's, York.
1594	Parker, Henry	Salkeld, <i>alias</i> Sawghwell, Elizabeth	Doncaster, or Campsall.
1594	Collin, Peter	Garforth, Alice, of Kildwick	Kildwick.
1594	Waugh, William	Copley, Agnes, of Kirkheaton, Wi d.	Kirkheaton.

Date.	Name and description.	Name and description.	Where to be Married.
1594	Smith, Thomas, of York, Merch ^t .	Hungate, Maud, of the Dio. of York.	Selby.
1594	Jackson, Thomas	Pawson, Barbara, of York ...	St. Michael-le-Belfrey, York.
1594	Bearpark, John, of Whitby ...	Bell, Jane, of Gisboro'	Gisboro'.
1594	Robinson, William.....	Tocketts, Margaret, of Hil-ton	Deighton.
1594	Horseman, Thomas	Storme, Elizabeth, of Coltingham, Wid.	Coltingham, or Ferriby.
1594	Hodgson, Peter, of St. Martin's, Micklegate, York	Middleton, Phillida, of St. Martin's, Micklegate, York.	St. Martin's, Micklegate, York.
1594	Braithwaite, William	Metcalf, Barbara, of Kirkby Malzeard	Massam.
1594	Cockerell, George	Cholmley, Elizabeth, of the Dio. of York, Gent.	? Scarborough, or Whitby.
1594	Hopkinson, Anthony, of Aston	Lumby, Ann, of Rothwell...	Rothwell.
1594	Barkston, Peter, of Sherburn	Hewit, Elizabeth, of Leeda, Wid.	Sherburn.
1594	Peacock, Robert.....	Richardson, Frances	St. Martin's, Micklegate, York.
1594	Turner, Reynolds	Hildreth, Elizabeth, of Pontefract	Pontefract.
1594	Cocker, Lancelot	Popplewell, Alice, of Warmworth	Doncaster.
1594	Newton, Richard	Waterhouse, Ann, of Tickhill	Tickhill.
1594	Bayfoot, Christopher, of Leeds	Gibson, Ann, of Rothwell...	Either place.
1594	Marshall, Thomas	Cornwall, Elizabeth, of Brayton.	Brayton.
1594	Wharome, Thomas, of Fridaythorpe	Lambe, Ann, of Rillington.	
1594	Stephenson, William	Styan? (<i>sic</i>), Mary, of Thorner	St. Michael-le-Belfrey, York.
1594	³⁶ Dawson, Marmaduke	Wilson, Elizabeth, of Crambe	Crambe, Holy Trinity, Goodramgate, York.
1594	Bate, William.....	Harperley, Elizabeth, of Eston	Eston.
1594	Crosley, William, of Holy Trinity, King's Court, York	Palliser, Joan, of All Saints', York.	Either place.
1594	Jefferson, William	Edwin Empsen? Isabel, dau ^r . of Giles E., of Yokeslect, Gent.	
1594	Fairfax, Thomas, son of Sir Thomas F., Kn ^t .	Constable, Catherine, dau ^r . of Sir Henry C., Kn ^t .	Sprotley, or ———.
1594	Dobson, Anthony, of Oulton	Rimington, Frances, of Sandall Magna	Wakefield, or Rothwell.
1594	Frobisher, Mathew, of Rowsby, Gent.	Forster, Frances, of Hinderwell, Wid.	Rowsby, in Par. of Hinderwell.
1594	Pocklington, John? of Ellerton	Carr, Isabel, of Gunby.	
1594	Brandling, Robert, Esq.	Wortley, Jane, of Wortley, Gent.	

³⁶ Took place 14 June, 1594.

Date.	Name and description.	Name and description.	Where to be Married.
1594	Lambert, Josias, of Kirkby Walham	Heber, Ann, of Gargrave, Gent.	Either place.
1594	Smith, Richard, of Askham...	Garth, Catherine, of York ...	St. Michael - le - Belfrey, York.
1594	Harrison, Anthony	Murton, Susan, of Hull	Hull.
1594	Chambers, John, of Baxby ...	Thomlinson, Agnes, of Raskelf	Raskelf.
1594	Hebden, Christopher, of Helmsley	Masterman, Rachel, Wid....	Brandsby, or Helmsley.
1594	Adam, Thomas, of Paull	Roberts, Elizabeth, of Sutton-in Holderness	Either place.
1594	Pickering, Thomas	Sawer, Ann	Kirby Wharfe, or Wetherby.
1594	Ferrand, Thomas, of Carlton in Craven, Gent.	Dudley, Mary, of Barton, in the Dio. of Carlisle	Either place.
1594	Shan, John, Gent.	Killingbeck, Isabel, of Leeds, Wid.	Leeds.
1594	Heyther, Robert	Chapell, Catherine, of Cawthorne	Cawthorne.
1594	Wright, John.....	Layton, Catherine, of Middleton	Middleton.
1594	³⁷ Carleil, Thomas, of Bensonby	Wensley, Frances	St. Michael-le-Belfrey, York.
1594	Ellison, Robert	Silson, Isabel, of Litton, in Par. of Arncliffe	Arncliffe.
1594	Watson, Richard	Huggin ? Scitham, of Wortley	St. Sampson's, York.
1594	Clapham, Robert	Currier, Ann, of Bedale, Wid.	St. Sampson's, York.
1594	Leigh, Gillert, of Middleton, Gent.	Wyerley, Dorothy	
1594	Worthy, John, of Butterwick	Edmunds, Agnes, of Rudston	Rudston.
1594	Saltmarsh, John, of Thorganby	Conyers, Isabel, Wid., Gent.	
1594	Etherington, Thomas, of Skerne, Gent.	Sothaby, Elizabeth, of Bishop Wilton	Bishop Wilton.
1594	Hammond, Christopher, Gent.	Prestwood, Rebecca, of Goodmanham	Goodmanham.
1594	Horner, Robert, of Kirkby Malzeard	Webster, Mary, of Hellifield	Long Preston.
1594	Flintoft, Francis	Coates, Margaret	Hawnby, or Kirkdale.
1594	Youle, Henry.....	Bouke, alias Watkin, Elizabeth, of Snaith	Drax.
1594	³⁸ Bainbrigg, John.....	Constable, Mary, of Sutton-on - Derwent, Gent.	Sutton - on - Derwent.
1594	Ellison, John, of Long Marston	Lindley, Elizabeth, of Otley	
1594	Tadcaster, Roger, of Stainhaw, in Par. of Skelton	Lawnde, Alice, of Egton ..	Egton.
1594	Steele, Michael, of Skelton ...	Kaye, Elizabeth, of the Dio. of York, Wid.	
1594	Cundall, Francis.....	Marsden, Ann.....	Rotherham, or Wath.
1594	Gunson, Thomas, of Adlingfleet, Gent.	Waterhouse, Susan.....	Harthill.

³⁷ Took place 9 July, 1594.³⁸ Took place 1 August, 1594.

Date.	Name and description.	Name and description.	Where to be Married.
1594	³⁰ Terry, Thomas	Teale, Elizabeth, dau ^r . of Anthony T., of York, Gent.	Catlon.
1594	Barrow, William, Vicar of Missen	Dickenson, Frances, of Missen	Missen.
1594	Clay, Robert, of Elland	Winterbotham, Mary, of Huddersfield.	Huddersfield, or ———.
1594	Rawson, George, of Pontefract	———, Catherine, of Pontefract	Pontefract.
1594	Deale, Charles, of Thornbro'	Simarson, Margaret, of Bagby	Bagby.
1594	Ferrand, John	Bradbury, Catherine, of Saddleworth, in Par. of Almondbury	Almondbury, or Huddersfield.
1594	Thompson, Thomas, of Rowsley? (<i>sic</i>), Rowsby	Wilkinson, Agnes, of the Prov. of York	Gisboro'.
1594	Questead, Daniel	Norton, Alice, of Anstrop...	Garforth.
1594	Welburn, John, of Leberston	Lyghton, Janet, of Moscroft, Wid.	St. John's, or St. Nicholas'. Beverley.
1594	Robinson, Patrick, of Seamer, Clk.	Casson, ———, of Wighill.	Wighill.
1594	Shepperd, Thomas, of Newbiggen	Thompson, Jane, of Gisboro'	Kildale.
1594	Sharow, Thomas.....	Chippendale, Mary, of Spenithorne	Well.
1594	Purton, John	Hewit, Ann, of Everton, Wid.	Everton.
1594	Sleightholme, Ralph, of Sneaton	Boyes, Margaret, of Whitby	Either place.
1594	Field, John.....	Wilkinson, Mary, of Halifax	Halifax or Bradford.
1594	Bibby, Ralph, of Kirkby Overcar	Stockton, Ann, of Kirkby Overcar	Kirkby Overcar.
1594	Saville, Robert, of Wrenthorpe	Webster, Margaret, of Methley	Methley.
1594	Dickens, Thomas, of Sturton-in-Clay	Stringer, Mary, of Sheffield.	
1594	Robinson, James, of Hull.....	Wright, Elizabeth	Arksey.
1594	Frankland, Lionel	Procter, Margaret, of Arncliffe	Arncliffe.
1594	Simpson, John, of St. John's, York	Dighton, Emote, of St. Martin's, Micklegate, York.	St. Martin's, Micklegate, York.
1594	Cookson, Thomas, Vicar of Brodsworth	Thorpe, Elizabeth, of Marr, Wid.	
1594	Stark, John?	Elwen, Agnes, of Paull	Paull.
1594	Waller, Ambrose	Jackson, Elizabeth	Thornton - le street.
1594	Crosland, Edward, of Merfield	Harrison, Elizabeth, of Almondbury	Almondbury, Huddersfield, or Mirfield.
1594	Marsingale, Thomas, of Boroby	Hodgson, Jane, Wid.....	Lithe.
1594	Boyes, Abraham, of Leeds	Coppindale, Ann	
1594	Manckyn [? (<i>sic</i>), Mancklyn] Anthony	Sowden, Isabel, of Leeds ...	Leeds.
1594	Spetch, Thomas.....	Bland, Catherine, of New Malton.	Old Malton.

³⁰ Took place 19 August, 1594.

Date.	Name and description.	Name and description.	Where to be Married.
1594	Dawson, Christopher, of Longstrother	Wyn, Margaret, of Askrigg.	Either place.
1594	Hopkinson, George, of Elland	Stainton, Margaret, of Halifax	Elland, Illingworth, or Harworth.
1594	Farrer, Abraham	Crowther, Elizabeth, of Elland	Bradford, or Elland.
1594	Beckwith, Thomas, of Aykerton, Gent.	Milburn, Barbara, dau ^r . of John M., Gent., of Hinderskelf	Hinderskelf.
1594	Court, Hugh, of Settle	Willan, Alice, of Dent	Giggleswick.
1594	Linley, Nicholas	Wilton, Elizabeth, of Hull .	Askrigg.
1594	Haxby, Thomas, of Kirkby Malzeard	Whitehead, Jane, of Hampsthwaite	Hampsthwaite.
1594	Ingram, Thomas, of North Dalton	Smith, Alice, of Burnby, Wid.	North Dalton.
1594	Goodyear, Anthony	Cookson, Elizabeth, of Thorner	Thornton, ? Thorner.
1594	Fleming, Thomas, of Wakefield, Gent.	Bowling, Maud, Wid.	
1594	Hall, John, of Rushton	Bovell, Ann, of Hayton, ? Cayton	Wykeham.
1594	Thackray, Francis	Ellis, Agnes, of Stainburn...	Stainburn, in Par. of Kirkby Overblows.
1594	Smith, Christopher, of Wigglesworth	Deane, Isabel, of Kirkby Malham, Wid.	Long Preston, or Kirkby Malham.
1594	Thornhill, Lancelot, of Ardington	Smith, Catherine, of Bramham	Bramham.
1594	Blackburn, Henry, of Fleet Street, Co. Midd ^x .	Nelson, Dorothy, of St. Olave's, York	Carlton - in - Lindrick, co. Notts.
1594	Calvert, Richard	Green, Isabel, of Hull	Skipby [? (sic), Skidby, or Skipsea?].
1594	Barnes, John	Rawson, Mirabella, of Headon, Wid.	Headon or Bilton.
1594	Thompson, William, of Gisburn	Wigglesworth, Ann, of Gisburn	Gisburn.
1594	Walsh, William	Watson, Catherine, of Pontefract	Pontefract.
1594	Clarkson, Roger	Holdsworth, Ann, of Wakefield	St. Helen's, Stonegate, York.
1594	Coulson, Robert	Cooke, Jane, of Hutton Bushel	Hutton Bushel.
1594	Hogge, Christopher	Clerke, Mercy, of Hull, Wid.	Holy Trinity, Hull.
1594	Booth, Hugh, of York	Simpson, Elizabeth, of Leeds	Leeds.
1594	Seaman, George, of Swanland	Kaye, Agnes, of Kirk Ella...	Kirk Ella.
1594	Skipwith, Thomas, of Cottingham, co. Lincoln, Esq.	Latham, Eleanor, dau ^r . of Ed. L., of Ottringham, Gent.	Ottringham.
1594	⁴⁰ Milner, Hugh, of Castleford	Lake, Ann, of Featherstone, Wid.	Featherstone.

⁴⁰ Took place 10 December, 1594.

Date.	Name and description.	Name and description.	Where to be Married.
1594	Jackson, John, of Dio. of York	Saville, Elizabeth, of Bradley. dau ^r . of Mr. John ? S., of same.	Halifax, or Elland.
1594	Wallis, James	Richardson, Avice, of Holmpton	Holmpton.
1594	Liversedge, James	Mann, Alice, of Hartshead	Hartshead.
1594	Tascher, William, of Tewston	Green, Dorothy, of Idle.....	Fewston, or Kirk Deighton.
1594	Saville, Francis, of Haigh. in Par. of Cawthorne, Gent	Beaumont, Grace, of Mirfield, Gent.	Cawthorne, or Mirfield.
1594	Catterall, William, Gent.	Hawksworth, Barbara, of Giggleswick	Giggleswick.
1594	Nelson, John, of Newland ...	Bew, Isabel, of Brotherton	Selby, or Brayton.
1594	Smith, George, of Pateley-bridge	Scott, Ann, of Middlesmore	Pateleybridge, or Ripon.
1594	Knowles, William	Broadbent, Isabel, of Beckwithshaw	Parmall.
1594	Metcalfe, Edward, of Sculcoates	Winchester, Elizabeth, of the Dio. of York	Sculcoates.
1594	Taylor, Charles	Johnson, Alice, of Easingwold	Easingwold, or Newton.
1594	Campion, Robert, of Dunsley, in Par. of Whitby	Cooke, Margery [? (<i>sic</i>), Margaret]	Lewisham.
1594	Carter, Thomas, of Helperby	Wade, Ellen, of Alne	Alne.
1594	Broadley, John, Clk.	Wade, Mary, Wid.	
1594	Woodward, Lancelot.....	Greenbury, Ann, of Bishophill	
1594	Cripling, William	Acklam, Eliam ? (<i>sic</i>), of St. Cuthbert's, York	St. Cuthbert's, York.
1594	Dale, Richard, of Thornton in Pickering Lithe	Wilkinson, Margaret, of Whitby	Whitby.
1594	Blome, Thomas, of Darfield...	Dickons, Ann, of Sturton.	
1594	Hargraves, Ambrose, of Ludingden	Craven, Bridget, of Halifax.	Ludingden, or Elland.
1594	Bulmer, Thomas, of Egton ...	Stonehouse, Jane, of Brotton	Kildale, or Egton.
1594	Potter, John	Turpin, <i>alias</i> Empson, Elizabeth, of Saxton	Saxton.
1594	Warde, James.....	Bonnick, Alice, of Hull	Holy Trinity, Hull.
1594	Atkinson, Thomas.....	Dale, Alice, of Hartoft	Simington.
1594	Hysaine, John.....	Banister, Ann.....	St. Michael-le-Belfrey, York.
1594	Taylor, Thomas, of Newland	Knowles, Alice, <i>alias</i> Alison, of Wreasele, Wid.	Wreasele.
1594	^a Cookson, William, Clk.	Hobson, Mary, of York	St. Margaret's, York.
1594	Harrison, William, of Kirkby Overblows	Breakes, Ellen, of Kirkby Overblows	Kirkby Overblows.
1594	Burton, Robert	Lyn, Grace, of Hull	St. Martin's, Conney St., York.
1594	Swire, John	Simpson, Jennet, of Ripon ..	Ripon, or Easingwold.
1595	Shutt, William, of Spofforth...	Redman, Maud, of Kirkby Overblows	Tadcaster.

^a Took place 18 February, 1594-5.

Date.	Name and description.	Name and description.	Where to be Married.
1594	Raysing, Thomas, of Broughton	Briggs, Susan, of Barton ..	Barton-le-Street.
1594	Atkinson, John? of Settrington	Peacock, Mary, of St. Michael's, New Malton	St. Michael's, New Malton.
1594	Layton, Charles, of Sexhow...	Milner, Mary, of Hutton Rudby	Hutton Rudby.
1594	Mease, William	Drye, Ellen, <i>alias</i> Eleanor, of Ruyston, Riston	Rugston [! Royston, or Riston, E.R.].
1594	Auckland, Thomas, of Saxton	Simpson, Ann, of Saxton ..	Saxton.
1594	Brockbank, William	Hodgson, Isabel, of Farn-dale	Kildale.
1594	Pearson, John, of Hornsey ...	Etherington, Frances, of Hornsey	Hornsey.
1594	Wright, James	Roantree, Elizabeth, of Leake	Sowerby.
1594	Maske, Mathew	Carr, Hester, of Rise.....	Rise, or North Skirley.
1594	Burthan, Thomas	Tennyson, Catherine, of Foston	Foston.
1594	Reade, Roger, of Errington ...	Carnaby, Isabel, of Errington	Errington, or Hexham.
1594	Hall, Thomas	Carnaby, Agnes, of Errington	
1595	Hunt, Gilbert, of Wrigglesworth, in Par. of Rothwell	Raggett, Alice, of Hambleton, in Par. of Brayton	Brayton.
1595	Kitching, Alexander	Hunter, Susan, of Calverley.	Calverley.
1595	Bagnall, Francis, of Barnsley	Porter, Ellen, of Barnsley ...	Barnsley.
1595	Atkinson, Robert	Harrison, Ann, of Sladeburn	Sladeburn.
1595	Battersby, John	Bate, Alice, of Sladeburn ...	Sladeburn.
1595	Todd, Edward, of Sutton	Spencer, Susan, of Humbleton	Humbleton.
1595	Kilbeck, Richard, of Laughton, a. Lincoln, Gent.	Thornton, Jane, of Hutton, in Par. of Birdforth	Thormanby or Birdforth.
1595	Fairfax, Thomas, of Steeton, Gent.	Swawdell, Dorothy, of Sledmer	Sledmer.
1595	Gilliot, John	Wyrall, Dionysia, of Eggesfield	Eggesfield.
1595	Foster, John	Blake, Dorothy, of York ...	St. Helen's, Stonegate, York.
1595	Allanbridge, Edward, of Idle	Slater, Agnes, of Bayldon ...	Bayldon.
1595	Lumley, Robert, of Holmer or Spalding, Gent.	Lepington, Ann, of Hunmanby	Hunmanby.
1595	⁴² Killingbeck, Thomas	Moore, Ann, of Leeds, Wid.	
1595	Kendall, Richard, of Acaster	Higgins, Mary, of York ...	Bishopshill.
1595	Farnholme, Roger	Rawden, Elizabeth, of Brandsby	Brandsby.
1595	Pearson, <i>alias</i> Simpson, John, of Burstwick	Cullingworth, Dionysia, of Welwick	Either place.
1595	Swale, George, of Aberford ...	Nutbrown, Audrey, of Stillingfleet	St. Margaret's, York
1595	Lindley, Robert, of Maltby ...	Hirst, Jennet, of Rotherham	Maltby.
1595	Cropper! (<i>sic</i>), Robert, of Ripon	Elsworth, Ann, of Kirkby Malzeard	Ripon.
1595	Gibison, Anthony	Cowper, Isabel	Appleton - le - street.

⁴² Took place 15 May, 1595, at St. Martin's, Coney Street, York.

Date.	Name and description.	Name and description.	Where to be Married.
1595	Thornton, William, of Newton, Esq.	Robinson, Frances, of Burmeston	Burmeston.
1595	Allanson, Thomas	Topham, Jane, of Cundall...	Cundall.
1595	Dion? (<i>sic</i>), Fr. ——— of Nottingham	Hopper, Elizabeth, of Stokesley	Stokesley.
1595	Flening, Luke, of Castleford	Regill, Ann, of Ackworth, Wid.	Holy Trinity. Goodramgate, York.
1595	Burray, William, of Snainton	Carr, Jane, of Wintringham	Wintringham.
1595	Wykeham, Martin, of Rowhall, in Par. of Kellington	Nettleton, Mary, of Thorner	Thorner.
1595	Taylor, William, of Helmsley	Pybus, Margaret, of Helmsley	Helmsley.
1595	Gledhill, Michael, of Ripponden	Tempest, Dorothy, of Birstall	Either place.
1595	⁴³ Otway, Roger, of Middleton, co. Westm ^d , Gent.	Hebblethwayte, Ann, of New Malton	
1595	Pease, George.....	Rimingham, Ann, of Hull...	Holy Trinity. Hull.
1595	Harvey, L.L.D. ? Norwich ...	Farmer, Margaret, of Brayton, Wid.	Brayton.
1595	Turnbull, Thomas	Walker, Jane, of Leeds	St. Helen's, York.
1595	Peel, Henry.....	Dickson, Agnes, of Kildwick	Kildwick.
1595	Brolton, William	Hall, Catherine, of Skelton	Kildale, or Skelton.
1595	Fletcher, Nicholas, of St. John's, Beverley	Thompson, Dorothy, of St. John's, Beverley	St. John's, Beverley.
1595	Thweng, John, of Hull.....	Watts, Ellen, of Halsham ...	Halsham.
1595	Lister, John, of Cudsworth, in Par. of Royston	Sharpe, Ann, of Darfield ...	Darfield.
1595	Gott, Thomas, of Siggles-thorne	Don, Margaret, of Siggles-thorne	Siggles-thorne.
1595	Smallwood, Henry, of Hutton Cranswick	Johnson, Elizabeth, of Atwick - in-Hol-derness	Hutton Cranswick.
1595	Brewster, William, of Pontefract	Hesslewood, Frances, of Hunmanby	Hunmanby.
1595	Siddall, William.....	Arthington, Ann, of Tadcaster, Wid.	Bramham.
1595	Robinson, Christopher	Smirke, Ellen, of Ripon ...	Ripon.
1595	Slade, Philip, of Thornhill ...	Cooke, Margaret, of Dewsbury, Wid.	Thornhill.
1595	Preston, Thomas	Beane, Isabel, of Kirkby Malham, Wid.	Kirkby Malham.
1595	Smith, John, of Easingwold, Miller	Cowper, Jennet, of Crake...	Raskelf.
1595	Calvert, Gabriel, of Woolhouse, in Par. of Bolton Percy	Foster, Mary, of Tadcaster...	Tadcaster.
1595	Westhrop, William, Gent. ...	Witham, Elizabeth, ? Long Marston	Lost Marshes, Long Marston [? Lg. Marston].
1595	Metcalfe, Robert, of Boroby	Smith, Catherine, of Ottrington	Ottrington.
1595	Lowther, William, Clk., M.A.	Booth, Priscilla, of Methley	Rothwell, or Ledsham.
1595	Paley, Anthony, of South Cliffe, in Par. of North Cave	Deane, Margaret, of South Cliffe, in Par. of North Cave, Wid.	South Cliffe.

⁴³ Took place 22 June, 1595. "Roger Otwaye & Ann Hebblethwhaite, being Sunday, apud Grimston, per Elcenciam, St. Michael's, Malton."

RIBSTON AND THE KNIGHTS TEMPLARS.

THIRD PORTION.

By the Rev. R. V. TAYLOR, B.A.

THE following is the third and for the present the concluding portion of the Ribston Deeds ; though there is still a large box full of them left, some of which, it is to be hoped, will be given at a future time, as they elucidate the history of Ribston and the people connected therewith, from the earliest times down to the present. The forty-five Deeds now given, in these three portions, contain many interesting facts respecting " Ribston and the Knights Templars," with numerous notes on the places in the neighbourhood, and on the principal witnesses to the various deeds, which will be most useful for historical purposes. A brief summary might now be given, by way of introduction, respecting Ribston and its people in the ancient times. The extracts from Domesday Book, concerning the places in the neighbourhood, are given in the notes. This narrative is chiefly personal and local ; and after the subjugation of the kingdom, it centres itself mainly in the history of two great families, those of Percy and De Ros. Speaking broadly, we may say, that when the spoils of Conquest came to be shared the lands of Cospatric and Gamelbar went to the Percy ; those of Merlesweyn, with one or two removes, to the De Ros. This arrangement seems to have held in all the three Ridings. Percy immediately planted one of his seats at Spofforth, and another at Seamer, near Scarborough. Ralph Paganel obtained the lands of Merlesweyn. He represented a Norman family of good repute. Like Percy, he obtained large possessions in the North and East Ridings. Of his domestic and private affairs but little is known. He had a seat at Wartre, in Holderness, and also seems to have resided at Ingmanthorpe. Ordericus Vitalis, speaking of the affairs

of Normandy, mentions Geoffrey, the son of Paganus ; and we know that in 1114, Geoffrey Fitz-Pain gave the Chapel of All Saints, Skewkirk, to Nostel Priory. There cannot be any doubt that this Geoffrey was the successor of Ralph Paganel. Geoffrey Fitz-Pain, *alias* Trussebut, who founded the priory of Wartre in 1132, had a son, William, who left three daughters, Rose, Agatha, and Hillaria. Rose Trussebut married Everard de Ros. Her sister, Agatha, married Wm. de Albini, and Hillaria married Robert de Bullers. In Robert de Ros, the early Crusader, and father of Everard, the Order of Knights Templars, on their first establishment, obtained a firm and generous friend. The first Master of the Order was Hugh de Payn, or as the monkish historians call him, Hugh Paganus, who bore the same name as Geoffrey *filius* Pagani. At the death of his father, Everard de Ros was a minor, and in the wardship of Ralph de Glanville, the great Norman lawyer. Everard died about the year 1180, and was most probably buried in the Priory at Kirkham, founded by his ancestor, Walter l'Espec, in 1121. His son, Robert de Ros, or Tursan, as he was sometimes called, succeeded him as a minor, who appears to have come of age in 1189, when he paid 1,000 marks fine to the Crown for livery of his lands. In the Rawlinson MSS., Bodleian Library, is a series of charters of lands given to St. Leonard's Hospital, in York, and a few extracts from them relating to this district will indicate the old landmarks, many of the old people, and show, as in a living scene, the state of the country about this date :—

William, son of Osbert de Ribbestain, gave Ralph de Ribbestain, with all the lands which he held of William. Robert de Ribbestain gave the land in Ribbestain, which was Godwin's in toft and croft. Peter, son of Nigel de Plumpton, gave a toft in Parva Ribbestain, near the toft of Malger and under Loslay ; 5 roods of land which lie between the land of Robert, son of Uckman de Plumpton, and the land of John Beaugrant, of Ribbestain ; and $1\frac{1}{2}$ roods in LINLANDES. William, son of Waltheof, gave 1 bovat in Ribbstayn, which Malger, son of Godwin, held, with 2 tofts, which the said Malger held in exchange for 14 acres of land in the fields of Ribstain, of which 7 acres are in CORTHWAIT and 7 in ESTRIDENGES. This transaction took place between 1191 and 1206. John, son of William de Beaugrant, gave all his lands in Ribbestain, which Malger had of William, his father. Robert, son of Ralph de Ribstan, gave a toft in Ribstan, nearest on the south side to the toft which Simon held of the Church of Spofforth, and 13 acres of land in the field of Ribstan, of which 5 lie in WHITEFLAT, &c.

William Trussebut confirms all the land which Nigel de Stockeld gave, viz., all the culture called ULICROFT, with all its appurtenances and the land in my fee on the west part of the way which leads from CRALVETT towards WERREBY, up to the fee of William Percy. I give to the said hospital $7\frac{1}{2}$ acres of land in the western part of my manor of Dicton, near the said culture, and common of pasture in the fields of Dicton; and the hospital shall hold of me and my heirs in fee, returning 8s., four at Pentecost and four at St. Martin in winter (11th Nov.), for all service which belongs to one carucate of land in Dicton.

We now come to the charters of Wm. de Ros, and also to the establishment of the Preceptory of Knights Templars, which took place 2 Henry III., 1217. Of course, William Trussebut was then dead, but he may not have been dead long, for his charter is witnessed by Hipolitus de Braam, and Matthew his son, whereas Matthew at a later period was himself a donor to the hospital. Wm. Trussebut's death, the above gifts, and the establishment of the Preceptory, must therefore have all occurred during the manhood of Matthew de Braam.

William de Ros gave the homage of Thos. de Stockeld, with the services of his court, and the lands and tenements which Thos. held in South Dicton, the hospital to pay 8s. annually for all services, at Pentecost and Martinmas. Richard, son of Thos. de Stockeld, for his homage and service, gave all the lands which Thomas, his father, held in Dicton. Matthew de Braam, for the good of his soul, and the soul of Elena, his wife, gave to the Hospital of St. Peter of York, half a carucate of land, of which one bovat is in the territory of Braam; and another bovat in Spofford, which was in the fee of Trussebut, and held by Waltheof de Braam; and the 20 acres in the territory of Follifayt, with a toft, and a part of my garden in the same town, which Waltheof also held. Walter, his son, confirms this. William de Ros gave to the poor of St. Leonard's, of York, one skeep of corn every year from his manor of Ingmanthorpe.

Robert Plumpton gave to the Hospital of St. Peter 2 tofts and 2 crofts in the town of Ribstain, viz., 1 toft and 1 croft which Thomas the clerk formerly held, and 1 toft and 1 croft which Odo Prat held, without any easements, and free from all secular exactions. Peter, son of John Beaugrant, gave to the hospital of St. Peter, 1 toft in the town of Ribestain, lying near to the GRENE, and an essart in the territory of the same town near to CREMPEL; 2 acres of land in the Great Essart, and 3 acres in the fields of the same town towards the west.

Henry the Clerk, son of Robert de Ribestayn, gave to St. Peter's 1 toft in the town lying near the GRENE, and one Essart that lies near the water of CREMPEL, and $18\frac{1}{2}$ acres in the territory of the town of Ribbestayn, &c.

Peter, son of John Beaugrant, gave to St. Peter's a toft and croft, containing 2 acres and 1 rood, in Ribbestayn, near the toft of Robert de

Stiveton on the east, with a certain perch of land in the corner near the gate of the said Robert, and 9 acres and $1\frac{1}{2}$ perches in the territory of Ribbestayn. William, son of Robert de Plumpton, gave a toft and croft, containing 1 acre 1 rood, in Ribbestain, near the toft of Robert de Stiveton on the west, with a perch in the corner near the gate of the said Robert, and $9\frac{1}{2}$ acres in the territory of Ribbestain, &c.

A better glimpse of the long, faded past it has never been our fortune to obtain. From the surface of these musty parchments has come back with the vividness of actual presence the state and appearance of Ribstan and the neighbourhood seven hundred years ago. In Robert de Ros, *alias* Tursan, the son of Rose Trussebut, the greatest glories of his ancient family may be said to have begun. With the lands his mother added to his patrimony he became possessed of great wealth. It was he who assumed the name of Hamlake, after having built Hemsley Castle for his residence. He also built Werke Castle, in Northumberland, which he gave to one of his younger sons. From the Norman Rolls, edited for the Record Commission by the late Mr. Thos. Stapleton, perhaps the best historical antiquary England ever produced, we have much more of her Trussebut family and the possessions Rose (or Roesia) brought to the De Ros. Rose Trussebut would be married to Everard de Ros in 1170 or 1171, for her eldest son, Robert, who was then in the wardship of Ralph de Glanville, is recorded to have been not less than 13 years old in 1185, when she was a widow in the King's gift, and aged 34. Her father, Wm. Trussebut, was also dead, and her mother, Albreda de Harcourt, a widow aged 50, with four sons—Richard, Geoffrey, William, and Robert—was also in the King's gift. These sons left no issue, and in the 6 Rich. I., 1195, Hamo, the husband of Agatha Trussebut, son of Hamo (Meinfelin), and Robert de Buvelers, otherwise Bullers, the husband of Hillaria Trussebut, rendered account of 300 marks for having the shares of the land of Wm. Trussebut and Robert his brother. At the same date the Sheriff of Yorkshire, Hugh Bardolf, rendered account of the rent of the land which had been belonging to Robert de Ros, *quæ fuerat Roberti Trussebut*, for the term of half a year, by him paid in at the Treasury; and in the Great Roll of the Pipe for the following year, under the head of Yorkshire, "Robert de Ros renders an account of

500 marks for having his reasonable part, *sicut primogenitus*, of the land which belonged to Robert Trussebut in England and in Normandy, as he was reasonably able to point out that they ought to have. Robert Ros had livery of his lands in 1191, 2 Rich. I." In his charities Robert de Ros emulated his ancestors. His uncle, Geoffrey Trussebut, the donor to Wartre Priory, who appears to have been Constable of Bonneville in 1176, was also a great benefactor to Norman religious houses. The other daughters of Wm. Trussebut, and co-heirs with Rose, were, as we know, Agatha, whose Norman husband, Hamo Meinfelin, left her a widow, when she married Wm. de Albin, was again left a widow, and died in extreme old age; her sister, Hillaria, who married Robert de Bullers, was left a widow, and also died in extreme old age in 1241. The date of Rose's death has not been discovered, but there are grounds for believing it was long anterior to those of her sisters. After the Conquest, Deighton, the chief member of the Trussebut fee, fell into the hands of Ralph Paganel, Sheriff of Yorkshire, the Norman lord of Leeds, and of Drax, another lordship on the Aire. Deighton church was in existence at the Domesday survey; was afterwards destroyed, and then most probably rebuilt by Wm. Trussebut, the northern portion of which still remains. There are two very ancient monuments in this church to Knights Templars, and two to members of the De Ros family. Sir Robert de Ros was one of the chief leaders of the movement that wrung from King John and his miserable extortioners the great charter, Magna Charta—the instrument which proclaimed that no man should suffer, either in goods or in body, except with the assent and in accordance with the righteous judgment of his peers. Tursan was one of the barons appointed to enforce the observance of this charter.

The Preceptory of Knights Templars at Ribston was founded in 1217, the second year of the reign of Henry III., by Robert de Ros, who for years had shunned the world, and passed much of his time in monastic seclusion, most probably in one of the houses of which he himself was patron, but not as a regular monk, for at times we find him acting in political capacities. He and the Bishop of Durham, with other great men, were sent by King John to escort the King of Scotland, William the Lion, into

England, who swore fealty to John at Lincoln. This service found Tursan his future wife, for he married Isabel, daughter of King William, and had issue two sons, William and Robert. His last political services may be said to have been rendered in obtaining Magna Charta. The rest of his life seems to have been devoted to religion, of which he was a munificent patron. His charter of the donation of Ribston (No. 1.) is printed in the *Monasticon Anglicanum*. His charter conveying Hunsingore and Cattal (No. 2.) is taken from the original in the possession of Mr. J. Dent Dent, J. P., the present owner of Ribston. This charter has been executed between 1217 and 1221, and in the East Riding, probably either at Kirkham or Wartre. The witnesses are all East Riding men, tenants of the De Ros. Geoffrey Lucy was archdeacon of the East Riding, 1189-1221; and Sampson (or Simon) was archdeacon of York, from 1217. The Ribston charter has been executed on the spot, most likely at Ingmanthorpe. William Barton and Walter Wildeker are the only two men who witness both charters, and both of them are East Riding retainers. The expression in this charter, "Moreover I have given to them timber for repairing their mills in all my woods which belong to my manor of Ribbestain," opens out the suspicion that Hunsingore was given *first*, and Ribston was a gift that shortly followed it. If this be so, and the first settlement was at Hunsingore and not Ribston, it may throw some light on the obscurity which surrounds the early history of Hunsingore Church. With this property in their hands the thrifty Templars soon commenced its development. No sooner was their Preceptory established than they obtained a grant of a weekly market at Wallesford, to be held on the Tuesday; and a yearly fair for four days, on the eve of the Nativity of St. John Baptist, the day (24th June), and the two days after. This soon proved an inconvenient site, and having acquired Wetherby, from Robert, son of William de Denby, in the 25 Henry III., 1240, they obtained a grant from the King of the transference of the market and fair thither, the market to be held every week on the Thursday, and the annual fair for three days, viz., on the eve, the day (25th July), and the day after the feast of St. James the Apostle. The mill of Wetherby they obtained about 1220, from Robert, son of William de Denby, de Wodehall, or de

Sicklinghall, as he is variously called. Tursan's personal connection with the Preceptory is not well illustrated. A passage in the *Chronicon de Melsa*, rendered obscure by the context, leaves us to believe that after he had entered the Order as a brother, he was stationed at Ribston (*Robertus ipse junior apud Rybstane Templarius est defunctus*). This cannot refer to Robert, Tursan's son; and we know that Tursan, whether he died at Ribston or elsewhere, is buried in the Temple Church, London, under one of the most splendid and perfect tombs of the period, upon which is a life-sized effigy of a knight, and bearing his own arms. He built the castles of Helmsley and Werke, the former of which he gave to the elder, William, and the latter to Robert, who henceforth became known as Robert de Ros, of Werke. It is not our purpose here to trace all the events in the career of the two leading branches of this great family. The third branch, that of Ingmanthorpe, started in William, son of William Lord Ros of Hemsley or Hamlake, and grandson of Tursan. William married Eustacia de Cantilupe, heiress of Peter de la Haye, who was 30 years old in 1292.

In 1231 Matthew de Cantilupe was Rector of Ribston, and in 1247 Thomas de Cantilupe was Rector of Kirk Deighton. Seven or eight generations succeeded them. In 1392, Robert de Ros left to his son Thomas "24 plates and 3 pieces of silver, with the arms of Cantillews." The circumstances surrounding the termination of the line are somewhat melancholy. Dodsworth tells us "that Robert Roos, the last of Ingmanthorpe, married the daughter of Sir Henry Fairfax of Gilling, having had suits all his life for lands that were Strangeways." There is a tomb in Kirk Deighton church inscribed to Maria, daughter of James Strangeways, of Herleseey, Knt., who died the widow of Robert Roos in 1525. We have seen how Ribston came into the hands of the Templars; we will now add two interesting documents touching the rule of the brethren and something about the Church of which the charter of donation speaks, and of which we know very little. Besides giving us some insight into the date of the erection of the Temple Chapel, they afford a very curious view of an ecclesiastical squabble between the "Church" and the military monks, and also the name of an exceedingly early Rector, Matthew de Cantilupe, presumably

a member of the family already spoken of. (See Deed No. 6, with notes, &c.).

To all the faithful in Christ to whom the present writing may come—Matthew de Cantilupe, Rector of the Church of Ribbestain, greeting in the Lord. Know ye that I am held to the brethren of the Soldiery of the Temple in 40s., to be paid to them annually for the Church of Ribbestain, viz., one moiety at the feast of St. Michael and one moiety at Easter. In witness of which I have put my seal to this present writing.

Bishophthorp, 3rd Ides (13th) of October, 1231. To all whom it may concern, &c. Be it universally known that the contention between the brethren of the soldiery of the Temple on the one part, and Matthew de Cantilupe, Rector of the Church of Ribbestain, on the other, concerning the enclosure of a certain common pasture in the parish of Ribbestain, and the chapel erected in the churchyard (*Cimeterio*) of Ribbestain, and the enclosure of a certain spring, at length in our presence has been amicably settled between the parties. To wit, that the chapel situated within the churchyard of Ribbestain, of which there was the contention, shall remain in peace according as it is situated, and the enclosure round about it, the said brethren for ever to celebrate divine service in the said chapel by one of their own chaplains; and the said brethren shall for ever, without any impediment from the said Rector or his successors, be able, as opportunity may offer and it shall be necessary, to repair and rebuild the said chapel, and similarly the enclosure of it in the place where it now is. Nevertheless no parishioner of the Church of Ribbestain shall be admitted either to divine service or for burial, in prejudice of the said church. Moreover of the common pasture in the parish of Ribbestain enclosed by the said brethren, the said brethren concede to the said Matthew and to his successors, in free alms, twelve acres to be enclosed, without any common in the said acres being had either by the said brethren or by their men; namely, towards the south on the outer part of the said common. And the said brethren guarantee, as above written, to the Church of Ribbestain the said twelve acres of land so long as they shall have the remainder of the common, and for his good will they shall enclose it, without having any thing common with the said Rector or his successors in the said common. And the aforesaid Matthew and his successors shall have the spring and land next his Court, to be enclosed by boundaries placed between the said brethren and the said Matthew. Moreover the said brethren, for themselves and all their people, abandon all the differences they may or might have had with the said Matthew until the Sunday nearest before the feast of St. Michael, in the year of grace 1231, and we acknowledge the said composition, &c., and concede it, and by our pontifical authority confirm it. In testimony of which, &c.

Witnessed, &c. Written by the hand of Master Simon de Evesham.

And now we can get one glimpse into the interior of the chapel from another original charter (No. 11), which refers to the earliest days of the Preceptory.

Robert de Staynburn. —I give for the health of my soul and of the souls of all my ancestors and successors to God and the Blessed Mary, and to the Chapel of St. Andrew, of the house of the Temple of Ribbestan, half a toft in the town of Walesford, which certain toft I had of Adam, son of Ulger of Knaresburg, for the sustentation of a light before our Lady in the same Chapel of St. Andrew, in pure and perpetual alms, returning thence annually to the brethren of the Soldiery of the Temple 18^d at two terms, &c.

Perhaps the most interesting document which has yet been published with respect to Ribston is the rent-roll (No. 7), which is possibly coeval with the very foundation. The parts that Agatha and Hillaria Trussebut took in endowing the Preceptory are given in the following charters (Nos. 3 and 4), now printed for the first time from the originals in the possession of Mr. J. Dent Dent. They are splendid documents, in perfect preservation; the six hundred years that have rolled over them seem to have affected them but as a day :—

Know all present and to come, that I, Agatha Trussebut, widow, in my legitimate power and free widowhood, have given, conceded, and by this my present charter have confirmed to God, the Blessed Mary, and to the brethren of the Soldiery of the Temple of Solomon, having regard to holy piety and for the health of my soul and the souls of all my ancestors and successors, all my part of the wood which is between Hunsinghour and Walesford, which is called "La Lunde," with all its appurtenances, without retaining anything, and all my (waste) land with the wood which is between Walesford and Ribestain, called "Errfittes," with all appurtenances, as well in length as in breadth, without retaining anything; and all my part of the wood of 'Bradeford,' between Hunsinghour and Kathale, with all its appurtenances, without retaining anything, save to my men of Cathale common in that wood of Bradeford, if they ought to have it. To have and to hold to the aforesaid and their successors for ever in free, pure, and perpetual alms, freely, quietly, peacefully, and easily, with all their easements and liberties belonging within and without, without retaining anything, as freely and easily as any alms can be conferred on any religious house. And I, Agatha, and my heirs will warrant, defend, and acquit to the said brethren and their successors all the said parts of the woods and lands, with all their appurtenances, from all secular services, customs, and demands against all men and women for ever. And that this my donation may hold firm and undisturbed to the end, I have corroborated it by placing my seal upon it.

These being witnesses :—Ralph de Trihamton, Roger Buzun, Robert de Cokefeld, Richard de Goldesburg, Richard de Wyvelestorp, Nigel Pincerna, Knights, Robert de Dunseford, William de Midelton, Elias de Blanchurst, Nicolas de Siclighale, Thomas de Hunsinghour, and others.

Hillaria's charter is in almost identical terms, No. 3. She concedes and confirms for the souls of herself, ancestors, &c., and of her nephew, Robert de Ros, "on account of the love which she has towards him," what he gave to the brethren, viz., all the wood called "Kerhaghe," and she on her part gave that which bordered upon her at "La Lunde." Agatha's charter has been made and executed on the spot; all the witnesses are men living in the adjoining parishes, except Roger Buzun, who has been a great favourite of the old dame, for it was to him she gave the lands of Alexander de Chenay, about which transaction an inquiry was held immediately after her death as to her sanity. Hillaria's charter, which may be slightly antecedent to Agatha's, has been made also on the spot, most probably at Ingmanthorpe. Both charters are tested by Sir Nigel Butler (Pincerna), of Kirk Deighton, Sir Robert Cokefield, who was Sheriff of York in 1231, and Nicholas de Sicklinghale, &c.

But it is impossible, within the limits of our space, to follow all the details that present themselves to us, or even to give an account of the domestic life and martial exploits of the remarkable soldier-monks, who first tenanted the ancient Preceptory and its subordinate establishment at Wetherby. As the owners, and at the same time farmers and managers, of great estates, flocks and herds, as the patrons of agriculture and rural affairs, they had no contemporary equals either in success or enterprise. As landlords and rulers of the soil and its people, possessed of vast feudal privileges, which they used with vigour, if not with exaction, they were progressive and intelligent beyond their day. Bravest of the brave, and if Churchmen and Kings, their mortal enemies, are to be believed against them, the proudest of the proud, they organised a society that by devotion to the Order, by frugal dealings in domestic and internal matters, by the absence of luxurious pomp—that is, by an austerity at once soldierlike and priestly—and by the most brilliant reputation in war, amassed riches almost incalculable, and built up a power almost irresistible, and from the moment of their dissolution unsurpassed as to monastic duties, and wholly unequalled in military story. In his day the "Red Cross Knight," grim, silent, and devotional, the sternest of the best-disciplined monks, was the accepted type of a soldier. But powerful as was the Order, and chivalrous as

were the individual members of it, less than two centuries of existence brought its downfall. On the 14th of August, 1312, it was dissolved in England—overwhelmed and destroyed by the envy, hatred, and malice of its foes. For a time the estates were taken into the King's hands, and by him re-granted. Wetherby went to "Margery, late wife of Duncan de Frendagh, in 1312, with its appurtenances, to have for her relief so long as it pleaseth us, so that nothing be taken of the wood except for fire." Three years later the manor gets into other hands, one-third of it, amounting to £61 3s. 8d. per annum, being granted to Alianora, the widow of Henry de Percy, as her dower. Ribston seems to have immediately gone to the Hospitallers, also a religio-military order, the feeble rivals of their predecessors. The last Preceptor of Ribston was William de Grafton, sen., a veteran who had passed a long life in the service amidst blood and toil, who afterwards became for a short time a monk of Selby. Two other members of the order were left as corrodiaries, or pensioners, to the Hospitallers—John de Hoperton, who appears to have been a *frater*, and Richard de Nocton, the forester. At least two knights bearing local names, Brother Hugh de Tadcaster and Brother Thomas Chamberlayn, perished in the legalised massacre that exterminated the Order. *Requiescant in pace!* for posterity is assured that the majority of them were good and true men, foully murdered for vile and sordid purposes.

A life of honour and of worth
Has no eternity on earth—
'Tis but a name;
And yet its glory far exceeds
That base and sensual life, which leads
To want and shame.³¹

³¹ The above is chiefly an abridgement from Mr. Wheeler's account, who is preparing a "History of Spofforth, Wetherby, and Ribston." See also his "History of Temple Newsam," and "Temple Hurst," &c. We are also indebted to Dr. Sykes, F.S.A., of Doncaster, for the transcription of some of these ancient charters; and to J. Dent Dent, Esq., of Ribston Hall, for the loan of them. For numerous

notices respecting the "Knights Templars," in the various Magazines, &c., see Poole's "Index to Periodical Literature," 3rd edit., to 1882. For an article on "the Knights Templars at Ribston," see the *Ripon Gazette and Times* for June 9, 1881; and for 11 or 12 old Deeds, respecting the Goodricks, of Ribston, see "Old Yorkshire," vol. i., pp. 139-143, &c.

XXX.

Johannes de Mogna Cattall,³² capellanus dedi Johanni filio Ricardi fratris mei totum mesuagium meum cum domibus et ædificiis et

³² CATTALL in *Domesday Book* is mentioned as follows:—"In *Cathall* (Cattal) Cospatric had three carucates of land to be taxed. There is land to two ploughs. Ernegis (Erneis de Burun) has there one plough and five villanes and three bordars with two ploughs. Wood pasture half a mile long and half broad. Value in King Edward's time 30s.; the same now. Osbern de Arches had also land there. The soke is in the King's manor of (Knares)-burg." See also, before, note 21, p. 436, &c.

RIBSTON is mentioned in *Domesday Book* as follows:—"In *Ripestan* (Ribston) Merlesuan had four carucates to be taxed—Ralph Paynel has it and it is waste. In *Ripestaine* and Homptone (? *Hopper-ton*, the adjoining township on the north), Turgot and Archill had two carucates of land to be taxed. There is land to one plough. Value in King Edward's time 20s., now 5s. 4d. Richard, the son of Erfast, has it now. Gamel had also lands in Homptone, which now belong to Osbern de Arches. Turber has also 1½ carucates of land to be taxed, where there may be one plough. Godefrid has it now of Willm. de Percy, himself one plough there." See also, before, notes 2, 7, 75, &c.

In Ribston chapel, on each side of the altar-table, is an ancient tomb, supposed to cover the remains of two Knights Templars. In the chapel-yard is a very curious sepulchral monument of the standard-bearer to the ninth Roman legion, which was dug up in Trinity-gardens, near Micklegate, in York, in the year 1688. In his right hand is the ensign of a Cohort, and in his left a measure for corn. It was communicated to the public by Mr. Thoresby, in the *Philosophical Transactions*, and from thence inserted in the late edition of Camden's *Britannia*, &c.; for an engraving of which see Hargrove's "Knaresborough," p. 274, &c.

CATTALL, &c. *Ribstane Preceptory*.—*Robertus dominus de Ros* dedit Templariis, Preceptoriam de *Ribstane*, cum advocacione ecclesiæ ejusdem villæ, ac villulam de *Walesford*, cum molendinis ejusdem. Ipse etiam dedit villam de *Hulsyngore*, cum bosco et molendino; et totam terram suam, quam habuit in *Cattall*, cum diversis tenementis in Eboraco, in Conyngstreet. Alanus Carpentarius dedit diver-

sas terras in villa de *Colthorpe*, eidem Preceptorie.

COLTHORPE is thus mentioned in *Domesday Book*:—"In *Coletorp* (*Cowthorpe*) there are three carucates of land to be taxed, where there may be three ploughs. The soke is in *Crucheslaga* (*Whixley*); Godefrid de Alselin now has it of Wm. de Percy. There are three villanes with one plough. There is a church there. Wood pasture half a mile long and half broad. The whole manor one mile long and half broad. Value in King Edward's time 20s., now 5s. 4d." See also, before, note 20, p. 290; and after Barker, note 46. And after the "Domesday Survey," 1086; see also "Kirkby's Inquest," 1277; "Pope Nicholas's Taxation," 1292; the "Nova Taxatio," 1318; and the "Nonæ Rolls," 1341, &c.

Willielmus, filius *Roberti de Dent* (Denb or Denby), dedit villam de *Wetherby*, cum pertinentiis. *Robert*, Lord de *Ros*, also gave the manor of Mount St. John, near Thirsk, to the Knights Templars. Roger Mowbray, Adam Fossard, Baldwyn Wake, and others, also gave lands, &c.

There is a copy of the deed of *Robert de Ros* (No. XXXVIII.), of the manor of Ribstane, cum advocacione ecclesiæ, et villulæ de *Walesford* (from the autograph in the Tower of St. Mary's, York), beginning "Omnibus Christi," &c., and witnessed by Robt. de Veteriponte, M. de Pateshull, Brian and Wm. de Insula, Rich. Duket, Robert de Cokefeld, Wm. de Tameton, Wm. de Barton, Lynton, Garton, &c., in Dugdale's *Monast.*, vii., p. 841, &c.

The above extract also seems to prove that there was another church originally at *Walshford*, which we were desirous of finding out, as there are two old fonts still in existence, as though there had been originally two churches in the parish or neighbourhood, though it might also refer to the church at Ribston. See also before note 82, p. 267, &c.

The manor of Ribstan was given to the Knights Templars by Robert, Lord Ros, of Hamlac, in the latter end of the reign of Richard I., or in the beginning of that of King John, whereupon it became a preceptory; but, after the suppression of the Order, it became part of the possessions of the Knights Hospitallers, who had estates thereabouts, under the inspection of a commander. It was of the

totam terram meam quam habeo nomine hæreditario et boscum et pratum de Colesker et totum pratum et herbagium in boscis et super ripas de Nidde et alibi videlicet totum clausum meum sicut jacet inter moram de Hallebergh et terram Johannis filii Thomæ Stulp et totam terram meam apud Fulsyk, sicut jacet inter pratum Willelmi de esselby ex una parte et terram Thomæ de by ex alterâ Tenendum de domino feodi dicto Johanni et hæredibus suis de sanguine procreatis et procreandis. Ita quod non licebit dicto Johanni nec alicui hæredum suorum ex sanguine dictam terram dare nec vendere nec alicui alienationem inde facere, sed descendat gradatim de hærede in hæredem secundum sanguinis exigentiam liberè quietè &c. Reddendo inde annuatim domino feodi sex solidos ad duos terminos Pascham floridum et festum Sancti Michaelis pro omnibus serviciis Hiis testibus : Domino Willelmo de Ros,³³ Domino Johanne de Maule-

yearly value of £207 9s. 7d. according to Dugdale, or, according to Le Neve, £265 9s. 6d. This manor was granted in the 33rd Henry VIII. to Chas. Duke of Suffolk. See "*Valor Eccles.*," vol. v., p. 256; Dugdale's "*Monast. Anglic.*," vol. vi., p. 803; Tanner's "*Notitia Monast.*," p. 678; and Lawton's "*Religious Houses of Yorkshire*," &c.

³³ *Wm. de Ros*, lord of Hamelack (afterwards Hemaley), confirmed to Robert, prior and convent of Burlington, the manor of Acclom, which his ancestors had given to them, in which the said prior and convent had 18 tofts, 4 carucates, 2 oxgangs, 18 acres of land, and 4 acres of meadow, with the site of a water-mill, &c.

Everard, son of *Peter de Ros*, for the good of the soul of Eustace, his wife, gave one messuago, six oxgangs of land, and one toft, at Attingwyke, in Holderness, with the church, which was confirmed by *Wm. de Ros*, lord of Hamlake, by Pope Eugenius III., by Thurstain, archbishop of York, and by the Dean and Chapter, before 1201; and this church was appropriated to this priory of Burlington before 1228. On the 30th of May, 1310, 12 Henry III., at Cawood, *Wm.* (Grenefeld), archbishop of York, in the 5th year of his pontificate, having examined the deeds, pronounced that this church, with many others, belonged to this priory of Bridlington.

Everard, son of *Robert de Ros*, gave an essart, or piece of new improved land, in Helmesley, with his wood on the west side of the town, to Rievaulx Abbey. The family of *Ros* were patrons of this Abbey. *Peter de Ros*, about 1155, 1st Henry II., was interred here. In 1384, 7th Rich. II., *Thos. de Ros* was buried here in the quire; and in 17th Rich. II., *Sir John de Ros* was buried on the side of the quire near the altar. *Lady Mary*

Ros, of Oryby, by will, proved 29 Aug., 1394, 17 Rich. II., ordered her body to be laid by her husband, *Sir John*, in this monastery; and ordered £100 for a marble tomb, like that of dame Margaret de Oryby, her mother, in Boston church.

Wm. de Barton gave six oxgangs of land, with tofts, crofts, meadows, and pastures in Burton, to Kirkham Priory, near Malton; which *Wm. de Ros* confirmed in 1253. *Walter de Ros* gave the advowson of Cold Overton, which *Peter de Ros* confirmed, for the supporting hospitality in the priory of Kirkham.

A contest arose between Hugh, prior of Kirkham, and *Wm. de Ros*, about the chase in the woods and moors of Hamelak, which in 1261 was determined; when it was agreed, that the said *Wm. de Ros* shall give to the poor, &c., one toft in Pockley, with a free passage through the woods and moors of *Wm.*, the lord of Hamelak, everywhere, except through the park; and also the said *Wm.*, and his heirs, shall give to the canons of Kirkham three deer yearly, in lieu of the tythe of hunting; and also to give £5 per annum in lieu of the tythe of apples of his manors, which were given by the founder; for which concessions the prior and canons quit-claimed to the said *Wm. de Ros* all free chase in the said woods and moors.

Wm. de Ros, lord of Hamelac, gave one toft in Pockley in exchange; and the church of Ros was also given to the priory of Kirkham. *Wm. de Ros*, son of *Sir Robert Tursan*, alias *Ros*, was buried in Kirkham Priory.

Robert de Ros, son of *Wm.*, was buried in a marble tomb on the south side of this priory. *Wm.*, son of *Robert de Ros*, was interred in a marble tomb on the north side.

Wm., son of the last *Wm. de Ros*, was also laid in a stone mausoleum near the

great altar on the north side. *Alice Ros*, of Kirkham, was interred here, as ordered by her will, proved in 1429. *Maria de Ros* was the first prioress of Rosedale, before 1310. *Geoffrey Fitz-Pain*, alias *Trusbut*, in 1132 founded an Augustin Priory at Wartre, in Harthill, Yorks, dedicated to the honour of St. James, not far from Delgovitia, the Roman station. *Sir Wm. de Ros*, lord of Hamelak, confirmed to Wartre Priory 4 oxgangs of land, with tofts and crofts, &c., in Bentley. *Galfrid*, son of *Wm. Trussebut*, gave one carucate of land in Howald, which was confirmed by Henry III. *Sir Wm. de Ros*, of Hamelak, confirmed the close, called Lincroft, to Wartre Priory. *Robert de Ros*, lord of Beaver, and *Wm. de Ros*, lord of Hamelak, in 1279, confirmed to them 11 oxgangs of land, with tofts and crofts, which they held of his fee in this territory. *Galfrid*, son of *Wm. Trussebut*, gave to them Seton Grange, in Spalding-Moor (called Priest-warth), and part of the wood, as specified by the boundaries, with 21 acres and a half of meadow. He also gave as much of his turbary as may be necessary for the canons and their men there; and likewise pasture for 1,000 sheep, and for 90 head of cattle, in the common pasture of Wartre and Seton, which King Henry III. and Pope Innocent the 4th confirmed. The canons had free warren here. *Galfrid Fitz-Pain*, alias *Trusbut*, in 1132, 30 Henry I., gave the church of Wartre, with all its churches and tythes, and 6 oxgangs adjoining the church, and 15 oxgangs of land, with a mill situated upon Westbec, with the tythes of all his mills, which Pope Innocent the 2nd and *Galfrid* and *Robert*, sons of *Wm. Trussebut*, confirmed. There was also a *Richard*, son of *Wm. Trussebut*. In 1415, *Beatrix, Lady Ros*, ordered her body to be buried in the quire of Wartre Priory.

In St. Martin and Gregory's Church, Micklegate, York, according to Drake's Catalogue of Rectors, the first entry is that of *John Trusbutt*; patroness, *Dame Elene Trusbutt*, instituted anno 1230.*

For *Everard de Ros*, see Burton's *Mon. Ebor.*, pp. 71, 214, 235, 361, 2, 6; for *Robert*, pp. 221, 235, 261, 346, 356, 9, 361, 378; Henry, p. 368; *Peter*, 214, 366, 374; John, 366, 439; Thos., 2 6; Mary, 366, 879; William, 213, 220, 261, 374, 7, 8; Alan, 359; Helias, 261; Walter, 374; and Alice, 375, 385, &c.

There is a succession of the *Lords de Roos*, after the marriage of *Peter*, Lord de Roos, to Adeline, sister of Walter Espec, in Latin, in Dugdale's *Monast.*, v., p. 280.

Robert de Ros, Elias de Mundeville,

&c., are witnesses to a charter of Wm., Count of Albemarle, to the Abbey of Melsa, or Meaux, in Dugdale's *Monast.*, v., 394. *Peter de Ros*, Gaufrid de Percy, Wm. and Rich. Vavasour, *Nigel de Plumptre*, *Nigel de Stockeld*, and others, are witnesses to a deed of Matilda de Percy, Countess of Warwick, and daughter of Wm. de Percy, of the second foundation of the Abbey of Sallay (or Sawley), in Dugdale's *Monast.*, v., 513.

Everard de Roos, and *Robert de Roos*, the sons of Adeline, the younger sister of Sir Walter Espec, with others, are witnesses to the foundation deed of Kirkham Priory, in 1121, in Dugdale's *Monast.*, vi., 209. There is also an agreement between the Prior of Kirkham and *Wm. de Ros*, lord of Hamelak, about the chase in the neighbouring woods. See also under Malolacu, note 128; and also in the first portion, notes 3, 5, 6, 25, 30, 37, 43, 54, &c.

There is a confirmation-deed of *Galfrid Trussebut*, son of *Wm.*, son of *Galfrid*, son of *Pagan*, in Dugdale's *Monast.*, vi., 298-9; and another confirmation-deed of *Robert Trussebut*, son of *Wm.* and brother of the above *Galfrid*. There is a confirmation-deed of *Agatha Trussebut*, of 4 bovates of land in Wartria, to Wartre Priory, in Dugdale's *Monast.*, vi., p. 300. Another, of *Richard*, son and heir of *Sir Wm. Trussebut*, of Wartria, to Wartre Priory; another of *Robert de Ros*, lord of Beaver, of lands in Wartria, Midelton and Seton, to Wartre Priory; another of *Sir Wm. de Ros*, of Hamelak, of his lands, to Wartre Priory, in Dugdale's *Monast.*, vi., p. 300. *Wm. de Roose*, lord of Hamelake, Henry de Percy, Henry de Bellomonte, John de Sutton, Robert de Stuteville, and others, are witnesses to the foundation deed of Thos. Wake, lord of Lyddell, of the Priory of Haltempiece, near Harthill; in Dugdale's *Monast.*, vi., p. 521.

Robert de Ros, *Peter de Ros*, *Wm. de Ros*, *Robert de Thweng*, and *Wm. de Wivell*, are witnesses to a deed of the church of Wivorthorpe to the Cathedral at York, in Dugdale's *Monast.*, viii., p. 1194, &c.

The founder of this family was *Peter de Ros*, of Holderness, in the time of Henry I. He married Adeline, one of the co-heiresses of Walter Espec, and gave the church of Gilling in Rydale to St. Mary's Abbey, York. *Robert*, his son, was a special benefactor to the *Knights Templars*. *Everard*, the son of *Robert*, gave to the canons of Burlington the church at Atwick; and to the monks of Newminster, near Morpeth, the grange at Stratton. He married *Rose*, one of

verer,³⁴ Domino Henrico du Boys militibus; Henrico de Hamerton,³⁵ Adam

the co-heiresses of *Wm. Trusbut*, of Warter, and died before the 32nd Henry II. *Robert*, his son, surnamed *Tursan*, built the castles of Hemsley, or Hamlac; and Werke, in Northumberland; and confirmed to the *Knights Templars* the donation of *Ribstan*, and also gave to them the town of Branceby. He married Isabel, daughter of William the Lion, King of Scotland, and died in the 2nd Henry III., and was buried in the Temple Church in London. For the names of the (9) knights who held knights' fees, in the honour of *Wm. de Ros*, consisting of 20,000 acres, see Baines's "*Yorkshire, Past and Present*," vol. ii., p. 514, &c. *Edmund*, the last *Lord Ros*, of Hamlac, died without male issue in 1508. See also, before, notes 3, 5, 6, 43, 54; Dugdale's *Baronage*, i., 543; and Lawton's "*Religious Houses of Yorkshire*," &c.

³⁴ MAULEVERER. — *Rad. Mauleverer* gave one carucate of land in Grafton to Fountains Abbey, which was confirmed by Brian de l'Isle, etc., in 1211. *Nic.*, son of *Wm. Mauleverer*, de Alverton, gave with his body two oxgangs of land, with a toft and croft, in Grafton, to Fountains Abbey. *Alice Mauleverer*, of Alverston, and *Wm. Ducket*, were interred at Fountains Abbey. At *Allerton Mauleverer*, near Boroughbridge, there was an alien priory, attached to the abbey of Marmoustier, at Tours, in France, of the order of St. Benedict, to which the church of St. Martin here was given by *Richard Maleverer*, and confirmed to them by King Henry II., together with one carucate of land, some tofts and crofts, adjoining to the church; and the site of the mill and pool thereof. *Richard Maleverer*, the founder, gave also half a carucate of land, and 8 acres of meadow, in Dunsford, to the above. He also gave 7 carucates of land, with tofts and crofts in Grafton.

In 1409, King Henry IV. granted licence to William Nicholas, Richard Gascoigne, *Robert* and *John Mauleverer*, to give the manor of Bramham, which was not held *de rege*, to the prior and convent of St. Oswald de Nostel. *Wm. Mauleverer*, John le Scot de Calverley, Walter and Adam Midelton, and others, are witnesses to a deed of Robert, son of Robert de Plumpton, to Esholt Nunnery, of lands in Idel, &c.; in Dugdale's *Monast.*, v., p. 472.

Elton or *Helt. Maleverer*, Roger Tempest (cleric of Shipton), *Wm. de Rilles-ton*, and others, are witnesses to a deed of Cecilia Rumeli, of the Ville of Kild-

wyke, to the Priory of Bolton; in Dugdale's *Monast.*, vi., p. 203.

Wm. Maleverer and others are witnesses to a deed of *Wm. Vavassour*, of a carucate of land to the prior and canons of Bolton; in Dugdale's *Monast.*, vi., p. 206. There is also a deed of Simon de Braam, of a bovate of land, in Over-Yeadon, to the Prior of Bolton; in Dugdale's *Monast.*, vi., p. 206.

For the pedigree of the *Mauleverers*, see Graves's "*History of Cleveland*," p. 122; Nichols's "*Herald and Genealogist*," vol. ii., pp. 304-11, &c.

Richard Maleverer was Vicar of Fishlake, near Doncaster, in 1351.

For a long account of the *Mauleverers*, see Whitaker's *Craven*, 3rd edit., p. 487; Thoresby's "*Duc. Leod.*," pp. 117, 191; Hunter's "*South Yorkshire*," vol. i., p. 297; Ord's "*Hist. of Cleveland*," p. 458; Dugdale's "*Visitation*," p. 97; and Burke's "*Landed Gentry*," &c.

³⁵ HAMERTON. — *Alan*, son of *Alexander de Hammerton* (who lived in 1238), gave two oxgangs of land in Green Hammerton, to Fountains Abbey, with a toft and croft, which *John*, son of *Henry de Hammerton*, confirmed. He afterwards gave one acre of land in this place, with two tofts. *William*, son of *Alan de Hammerton*, gave two oxgangs of land here, with a toft and croft. *Nigel*, son of *Gospatric de Hammerton*, gave four oxgangs of land in this place. *Henry*, son of *John de Hammerton*, gave two acres here. *John Fulcherus de Hammerton* gave his demesne of one carucate of land, in Quixley or Whixley, to Fountains Abbey; which *John*, son of *Fulcher*, confirmed; as did *Henry*, son of *John de Hammerton*. *Cecilia*, daughter of *John de Hammerton*, son of *Fulcher*, gave two oxgangs, with a toft here, nigh the fountain; which was confirmed to them by *Henry*, son of the said *John de Hammerton*; and also by *John*, son of the said *Henry de Hammerton*. *Helias*, son of *Fulco de Hammerton*, gave four acres in this place to Fountains Abbey. See also *Index* to *Burton's Mon. Ebor.*, &c.

For the pedigree of the *Hamertons*, of Hellifield Peel, see Burke's "*Heraldic Illustrations*," p. 15; Dugdale's "*Visitation*," p. 354; and Whitaker's "*Craven*," 3rd edit., pp. 146, 150, &c.

John de Hamerton and dame *Katherine Hamerton* were buried in the Black Friars Church at York. *John Hamerton* was rector of Hamerton in 1332; and *Robert de Hamerton* was rector of Hornby in 1353. There is a deed of

de Hoperton,³⁶ Johanne Scot³⁶ de eâdem, Roberto de Halton de Honsingoure,³⁷ Willelmo de Coppegrave³⁸ de eâdem, Johanne filio Roberti (?) de eâdem, Johanne filio Ricardi filii Serlonis de Magna Cattall, Roberto filio Galfridi de eâdem, Roberto Dune (?) de eâdem, Johanne filio Thomæ Stulp de eâdem et aliis.

XXXI.

Robertus Savage de Wetherby,³⁹—Johanni Fabre de Cathall²¹ unum toftum et dimidiam rodam terræ cum pertinentiis in villa et territorio de Wallesford quod quidem toftum jacet juxta mesuagium quondam Adæ clerici et dimidia roda terræ jacet apud Prestbryg. Habendum &c. Hiis testibus : Thoma filio Reginaldi de Cathall,²¹ Thoma de Neuby de eadem, Johanne juxta aquam de eadem, Johanne filio Roberti de Hunsinghoure,²⁰ et Roberto filio Galfridi de Cathall²¹ et aliis. Datum apud

John, son of Walter de Marisco, of six bovates of land in Genyngburgh (or Hemyngburgh) to the Abbey of St. Mary's, York ; in Dugdale's *Monast.*, vol. iii., pp. 556, 564, witnessed by *John de Hamerton*, Paulino de Mowbray, &c.

³⁶ SCOTT.—*John Scott* (of Hopperton) was the steward of Maud the Empress, daughter of Malcolm, King of Scotland, whence he came with her. The Calverleys sprung from a marriage between *John Scott* and *Lauderina*, one of the descendants and heirs of the Saxon Thane *Cospatric*, who possessed *Bramley*, *Calverley*, &c., before the Conquest. Their son, *John Scott de Calverley*, acquired the manor of *Calverley*, in his mother's right, as appears by "*Kirkby's Inquest*." This *John de Calverley* married *Johanna*, daughter of *Sir Simon Ward*, of *Guisseley*, and had issue. He transferred his manor of *Esholt* to the nuns of *Esholt Priory*; and one of his daughters, *Isabel*, became prioress in 1353.

John le Scot de Calverley, *William Mauleverer*, *Walter* and *Adam de Midelton*, and others, are witnesses to a deed of *Robert*, Son of *Robert de Plumpton*, to *Esholt Nunnery*, of lands in *Idel*, &c.; in Dugdale's *Monast.*, vol. v., p. 472, &c.

William Scot de Calverley gave the moiety of an essart of land in *Allerton*, near *Bradford*, to *Selby Abbey*, which was confirmed by *Jane*, sole daughter of *Thomas de Thornton*, widow, and by *Henry*, son of *Robert Wallens*. *Robert de Wallensis* (see also before, note 51, p. 444, &c.) was High Sheriff of *Yorkshire* in King *John's* reign, from 1205 to 1211, along with *Robert de Laci*; and he held a mill belonging to *Temple Hurst*, at *Burgh* (*Wallis*), for 20s. *Richard Wallensis* quit-claimed the mediety of all

the land which the canons held in *Wombwell*, given by *Jordan de Sancta Maria*, his grandfather, to the same. (For an account of *John Scot* and the *Hoppertons*, see before, notes 68, 81, &c.)

³⁷ *Hunsingore* is thus mentioned in *Domesday Book*:—"In *Hulsingore* (*Hunsingore*) *Cospatric* had four carucates and three oxgangs of land to be taxed. There is land to two ploughs. *Erneis de Burun* has there one plough and nine villanes and three bordars with three ploughs. Wood pasture two quarentens long and one broad. Value in King *Edward's* time 30s., now 50s. Soke; in the same village there are ten oxgangs to be taxed in the soke of *Chenaresburgh*." See also, before, note 20, p. 436.

³⁸ COPPEGRAVE, now COPGROVE, is a township and parish six miles from *Ripon* and four from *Knaresborough*, with an area of 832 acres.

³⁹ WETHERBY is thus mentioned in *Domesday Book*:—"In *Wedrebi* (*Wetherby*) *Wiber* had two carucates of land to be taxed, and there may be two ploughs there. *William* (de *Colville*), a knight of *William de Percy's*, now has it, himself one plough there, and three villanes and one bordar with one plough. Value in King *Edward's* time 20s., the same now. In this same village is one carucate of land to be taxed, the soke belongs to *Chenarsburg*; *William* has it now; there may be half a plough there. There are two carucates of land to be taxed in the soke of *Knaresborough*. There is land to one plough. *Ernegis* (*Erneis de Burun*) has there one sokeman and four villanes, with two ploughs. Wood

²⁰ See note 20, vol. vii. p. 436.

²¹ See note 21, vol. vii. p. 436.

Lund⁴⁰ die Lunæ proxima post festum Sancti Barnabæ Apostoli, anno regni Regis Edwardi tertii post conquestum octavo.

XXXII.

*Ricardus filius Roberti de Hunsyngore.*³⁷—Ricardo filio Roberti Toller⁴⁶ de Wallesford medietatem unius tofti cum ædificiis super ædificatis quam habui in Hunsyngore ex dono Roberti filii Johannis filii. Roberti de Hunsyngore³⁷ quæ jacet in latitudine inter medietatem tofti quod fuit dicti Roberti ex parte una et toftum quod fuit Emmæ de Deke ex altera et extendit se in longitudine à regali viâ de Hunsyngore versus orientem usque ad pratum Willelmi de Copgrave versus occidentem dedi etiam et concessi eidem Ricardo medietatem turbariæ quam habui in Hunsyngore ex dono Roberti filii Johannis filii Roberti supradicti jacentis in duobus locis in Elyotesmyre de quâ turbariâ una pars jacet in loco qui dicitur Middeldale inter turbariam quæ fuit Nicholai Coci et turbariam Roberti filii Walteri et alia pars jacet in loco qui dicitur Fordale inter turbariam Roberti filii Walteri et communem pasturam Habendam de capitalibus dominis feodi per servicia inde debita in perpetuum. Hiis testibus: Johanne de Pokelynton,⁴² tunc maiore Oxoniæ; Andrea de Wormenhale; Johanne de Pershore, tunc ballivis ejusdem villæ; Willelmo de Burcestre, Ricardo le Spicer, Thomâ Mareschal, Andrea de Pyrie, Henrico de Lynne, Johanne de Coleshull, burgensibus Oxoniæ; Johanne filio Roberti, Willelmo de Copgrave de Hunsyngore, Thomâ Welton. Ricardo Barkere (?) de Walesford, Johanne Stulp et Johanne Bythewatere de Cathale et multis aliis. Datum Oxoniæ die Jovis proximo post festum Sancti Nicholai

pasture half a mile long and half broad. See also, before, note 59, p. 447, and note 24, p. 292, with references, &c.

⁴⁰ LUND.—*Gilbert*, son of *Nich. de Lund*, gave one oxgang of land in Gateford, with a toft and land in Lund, &c., to Selby Abbey.

Wido de Lund gave 3*d.* annuity out of a toft, near the mill, at Selby, to the Abbey. *Robert de Lund* was the 11th prior of Wartre, in Harthill, from 1249 to 1264. For *John de Lund*, see Burton's *Mon. Ebor.*, pp. 120, 402; Michael, 394; Adam, 246; Agnes, 398; Robert, 383; Malger, 399; Roger, 392; Alan, 393; Nich., 394, 403; Gilbert and Wido, 394.

John de Lund, a canon of Bolton Abbey, was prior of Marton, Yorks, in the second year of Archbishop Romayne's pontificate. *Adam de Lund* was vicar of Thorparch in 1290, and of Bardsey in 1312 and 1334. *William Lunde* was vicar of Atwick, near Hull, in 1395. The village of Atwick, near Hornsea, was part of the possessions of Robert de Ros. The church was given by Everard de Ros (son of Peter), to the priory of Bridlington,

to which it was appropriated, and a vicarage ordained therein. For the substance of the endowment, see Burton's *Mon. Ebor.*, and also Archbishop Grenefield's Register, for 1310, folios 118, 121, &c. See also, before, note 38, p. 440, &c.

³⁷ See note 37, p. 86.

⁴⁶ TOLLER.—*Thos. Toller* was Rector of Wath, in Yorkshire, in 1414. See also, before, note 67, p. 448; and Harrison's *Yorkshire*, pp. 310, 330, 396, &c.

⁴² POCKLINGTON.—For *Henry de Pocklington*, see Burton's *Mon. Ebor.*, p. 229; Agnes, Christian, and William, 188; Roger, 237. *John de Pocklington* was Principal of Balliol College, Oxford, from 1332; and Master of University College, Oxford, from 1362. *Remigio de Pocklington*, John de Kirkby, and others, are witnesses to a deed of the Cathedral at York; in Dugdale's *Monast.*, vol. viii., p. 1197, &c. *Roger de Pocklington* was rector of Beeford in 1323. *Robert Pocklington* was vicar of Cantley in 1365, and of Aberford in 1372. *Robert de Pokelyngton* was vicar of Addingham in 1393; and *Robert Pocklington* was rector of Brodsworth in 1409.

anno regni Regis Edwardi filii Regis Edwardi decimo. *Seal—human figure—legend illegible.*

XXXIII.

Willelmus filius et heres *Johannis Scot de Hopperton*.³⁵—Henrico Le Forester de Ribstan unum mesuagium cum pertinentiis in Wallesford⁴¹ illud videlicet mesuagium quod habui post mortem Johannis Scot quondam patris mei. Tenendum, &c. Hiis testibus: Thoma Knott, Roberto de Bilton,⁴³ Thoma de Bekyngham de Dyghton,⁴⁴ Willelmo Toller,⁴⁵ Willelmo Barker⁴⁶ de Wallesford,⁴¹ et Nicolao Barker²¹ de Cathall, et multis aliis. Datum apud Wallesford⁴¹ xiiijmo die mensis Aprilis anno Domini millesimo CCC^{mo} quinquagesimo secundo. (1352.)

XXXIV.

Ego *Elena* quæ fui vxor *Ade Milner de Walsheford*⁴¹ dedi
Johanni de Tockwith, carpentario, fratri meo totum illud toftum
quod nuper habui de dono Henrici Forester de Ribstan in Walsheford prout jacet in latitudine inter tofta hospitalis Sancti Johannis ex utràque parte et in longitudine à regiâ stratâ de Walsheford antè usque ad terram ejusdem hospitalis vocatam Mallacre retrò. Habendum
de capitalibus dominis feodi illius per servicia inde debita &c. Hiis

³⁵ See note 36, p. 86.

⁴¹ WALLESFORD, now *Walshford*.—See before, note 8, p. 433, and note 82, p. 267, &c.

⁴³ BILTON.—Probably derived from the British *Bilain*, a farmer, or a tenant in villenage. Gamelbar had in Bilton, before the Conquest, three carucates and a half of land, and as much arable as was sufficient for two ploughs. Gilbert Tyson had these lands, 20th William I., and they were then uncultivated or waste only. Bilton paid 3s. rent. See also before, note 58, p. 446, and note 1, p. 279, &c.

⁴⁴ DYGHTON or DICTON.—*Deighton* is thus mentioned in Domesday Book: "In *Diston* (*Deighton*) Merlesuan had twelve carucates to be taxed. Ralph Pagunel now has it. There is a church there. Wood pasture half mile long and half broad. Value in King Edward's time 60s., now 4s." *Robert de Dictona* (*Dighton*), citizen of York, in 1258 gave all his land on the east side of the burying-place of St. Lawrence, out of Walmgate Bar, extending, in length, from the high road of Walmgate to the King's Foss; the canons paying to him, and his heirs, an annuity of 1d., which he soon after remitted to them; and Mar-

garet Bodewyn, wife of the said *Robert de Dicton*, joined in the grant of the said lands, to Ellerton Priory, on Spalding Moor. For *Robert de Dighton*, see Burton's *Mon. Ebor.*, pp. 236, 262, &c. *Robert de Dictona*, or *Dighton*, gave one toft and croft in Nafferton, with all his land, pasture, and meadow, &c., to Fountains Abbey. *Richard de Dighton* was rector of Garforth in 1339; and *Robert de Dighton* (or *Dyghton*) was rector of Leathley in 1356, and of Thorparch in 1375. See also, before, note 57, p. 446, &c.

⁴⁵ See note 45, p. 87.

²¹ See note 21, vol. vii. p. 436.

⁴⁶ BARKER.—*Thos. Barker* was Prior of Newburgh, Yorks, in 1505; was succeeded by *Thos. Thorp*, in 1518; and by *John Ledes*, in 1524. There was a *Richard Barker*, Rector of Maltby, near Rotherham, from 1349.

William Barker, with *Nic.* and *Ric. Gascoigne*, *Rich. Fairfax*, *John Hamerton*, &c., were witnesses to a charter of *Michael de la Pole*, second Earl of Suffolk, to *Rich. de Burgh*, armiger, of his manor of Colthorp, near Wetherby, in County York, with all lands, tenements, rents, &c., and advowson of the church of Colthorp, in 1402.

testibus: Henrico Forester de Ribstan, Willelmo de Neuby de Cattall, Willelmo Toller de Walsheford, Rogero Mareshall de Hunsyngour, Johanne Clerke de eâdem et aliis. Datum apud Walsheford die dominicâ proximâ post festum Sancti Laurencii martyris anno Domini millesimo CCC^{mo} sexagesimo nono. *Seal.* (1369.)

XXXV.

Ego *Johannes de Cattall* dedi Johanni filio Nicholai de Magna Cattall unam acram et dimidiam terræ jacentes in campis de Magna Cattall quarum una dimidia acra jacet in campo de Swarthowe super Londespott et una dimidia acra jacet in campo occidentali super le Prestflatts et una dimidia acra jacet in le midelfeld super les Brotes. Habendum sibi et hæredibus suis de capitalibus dominis feodi illius per servicia inde debita Hiis testibus: Willelmo de Hoperton, Johanne de Hunsyngoure, Ade de Norton, Thoma de Alberwick, Johanne Sturgys, et aliis. Datum apud Magna Cattall, secundo die mensis Februarii, anno regni Regis Ricardi secundi post Conquestum Angliæ quinto decimo. *Small seal—having in the centre something like a stag's head, with legend I O S V. . . . This and the two previous deeds are fastened together.*

XXXVI.

Ego *Willelmus Sergeant*⁴⁰ de *Hunsyngoure* dedi Willelmo filio Ad Brennand de Knaresburgh medietatem unius tofti cum ædificiis superedificatis in Hunsyngore quam nuper habui ex dono Johannis fratris mei prout jacet inter medietatem tofti quondam Roberti Toller de Wallesford ex una parte et toftum quondam Emme Dek ex parte alterâ, et in longitudine à regiâ stratâ de Hunsyngore versus orientem usque ad pratum Willelmi de Copgrave versus occidentem. Dedi etiam eidem Willelmo filio Ad Brennand medietatem turbariæ quam nuper habui ex dono prædicti Johannis fratris mei in Hunsyngore prout jacet in duobus locis in Eliotsmyre de qua una pars jacet in loco qui dicitur middeldale inter turbariam quæ fuit Nicholai Cotes (?) et turbariam Roberti filii Walteri, et alia pars jacet in loco qui dicitur Fordale inter turbariam Roberti filii Walteri et communem pasturam. Habendum de capitalibus dominis feodi illius per servicia inde debita &c. Hiis testibus: Willelmo de Wrangle de Knaresburgh, Johanne filio Roberti de eâdem, Johanne Watt (?) de eâdem, Edwardo Marshall de Ribstan, Thoma Taillor de eâdem, Ricardo de Aune et Ranor de Wallesford et aliis. Datum apud Hunsyngore xxiiij die Maii anno regni regis Ricardi à conquestu decimo nono. *Seal:—a lamb with cross and banner—legend illegible.*

⁴⁰ SERJEANT.—For *John Serjeant*, see *Burton's Mon. Ebor.*, p. 275; and *Richard*, p. 278, &c.

XXXVII.

Willelmus Scott—Johanni filio Nicholai de Cattall omnes terras et tenementa, prata, pascuas et pasturas, redditus et servicia mea in Magna Cattall cum omnibus suis pertinentiis. Habendum &c. de capitalibus dominis feodorum illorum per servicia inde debita &c. Hiis testibus: Ricardo de Goldesburgh,⁴⁷ milite; Roberto de Plumpton;⁴⁸

⁴⁷ GOLDSBURGH.—*Goldsborough* is thus mentioned in Domesday Book:—"In Godensburg (Gouldsborough) Merlesuan has eight carucates of land to be taxed. Land to four ploughs. Hubert, a vassal of Ralph Paganel's, has now there one plough and seven villanes with two ploughs and half a fishery, paying 5s. 4d. Wood pasture twelve quarentens long and four broad."

Thomas de Goldesburgh was Rector of Kildwick in 1347. *Sir John Goldsborough* was Speaker of the House of Commons in 1380. See also before, note 39, vol. vii. p. 440, &c.

Maud de Goldesburgh was the sixth Prioress of Nun Monkton, near Borough-bridge, in 1421. *John de Goldesburgh* was the twelfth Prior of Marton, in 1436. *Edw. Goldsborough* was a Baron of the Exchequer in 1483. *Anne Goldesburgh* was the thirteenth Prioress of Synningthwaite, from 1529 to 1534. For *John de Goldesburgh*, see *Burton's Mon. Ebor.*, p. 268; *Richard*, 217; *Anne*, 327; and *Maud*, 88.

Thos. de Goldesburgh was Archdeacon of Durham; and *Godfrey Goldsborough* was Archdeacon of Worcester, and Bishop of Gloucester, &c. ARMS—Argent, three piles, gulea. CREST—A chevalier on horseback, at full speed, holding a sword, all proper. For a long account of the *Goldsboroughs*, see *Hargrove's "Knaresborough,"* p. 260, &c.

⁴⁸ PLUMPTON.—*Robert*, son of *Robert de Plumpton*, gave all his land, with pasture for oxen and cows, and dry wood, and acorns, in the wood of Idle; upon condition that the nuns shall find a chaplain perpetually to celebrate for the good of his ancestors, and his heirs. *Nigel de Plumpton* gave four acres and a half of land here, to Esholt Priory. *Nigel*, son of *Robert de Plumpton*, gave them a meadow lying next to that which *Nigel* his grandfather had given, and confirmed all that his ancestors had given to them. *Nigel de Plumpton* granted to the monks of Fountains Abbey a free passage for their cattle and carriages over his land at Gersington, except over corn and meadow, in going and returning between Fountains and Kilnsey. A contest afterwards arose

between Simon, Abbot of Fountains, and *Robert*, son and heir of this *Nigel de Plumpton*, about this way; when *Robert*, having perused his father's *carta*, in 1274, confirmed to them the said free passage for all their goods, cattle, and carriages, &c.

Robert de Plumpton gave lands at Ayketon, to Helagh Park Priory, near Tadcaster; and *Peter de Plumpton* gave lands in Plumpton. See also the *Index* to *Burton's Mon. Ebor.*, &c.

Sir Robert de Plumpton, and *John de Garton*, &c., are witnesses to a convention deed between the Abbot and Convent of St. Mary's, York, and *Maria de Neville*, Lady of Middleham, about certain boundaries in Marisco, &c., in *Dugdale's Monast.*, vol. iii., p. 562.

For the pedigree of the *Plumptons*, of Plumpton, see *Tonge's "Visitation,"* p. 55; *Dugdale's "Visitation,"* pp. 190-2, &c. See the "*Plumpton Correspondence*;" *Whitaker's "Craven,"* p. 166; and also *Grainge's "Harrogate,"* pp. 263-73, 287-9, &c.

Some time previous to the year 1200, *Wm. de Stuteville*, lord of *Knaresborough*, granted to *Nigel de Plumpton*, and his heirs, for the usual services, and one horse of the value of one hundred shillings, all that part of the Forest of *Knaresborough* which included *Little Ribston*, *Plumpton*, and *Rudfarlington*; along with the right of chasing the fox and hare throughout the whole forest—reserving to the superior lord the deer, the hind, and the roebuck. This *Nigel* died in the reign of King John, leaving *Juliana de Warewick*, his wife, surviving—between whom and *Peter de Plumpton*, his son and heir by his first wife, *Maria*, a fine was passed of the third parts of the *vills* of *Plumpton*, *Gersington*, *Idell*, and *Ribstaine*, which she claimed as her dower. *Peter de Plumpton* was of the party of the Barons against King John, and had his lands seized, but after the death of that monarch he did fealty to his son, and was restored to possession. *Sir Robert de Plumpton* died about 1295, and was succeeded by his eldest son, *Sir Robert Plumpton*, who married *Lucy*,

Willelmo de Wakefeld ; Johanne de Burgh ; Ada de Notton & multis aliis. Datum apud Cattall die Lunæ proxima post festum Natalis Domini Anno regni Regis Henri quarti, post conquestum Angliæ decimo.

XXXVIII.

*Wilhelmus de Beeston*⁴⁹ et Elizabeth uxor mea—Johanni Hesilden de Ebor Sawsemaker et Agneti uxori ejusdem Johannis unum mesuagium et unam rodam terræ cum pertinentiis in Walsford quæ fuerunt Radulphi Beeston. Habendum &c. Hiis testibus : Willelmo Swerde, Roberto Mason,²⁷ Rogero Sergaunt⁵⁰ et aliis. Datum apud Walsford vicesimo die mensis Martii anno regni Regis Henrici quinti post conquestum Angliæ tertio. (1416.)

XXXIX.

Ego *Alicia Huton* nuper uxor Johannis Huton de Magna Cattall assignavi et in loco meo posui Adam Byrmand de eadem attornatum

daughter of *Sir Wm. de Ros*, and died in 1324 ; when he was succeeded by *Sir Wm. de Plumpton*, who married Alice, daughter and heiress of *Sir Henry Beaufiz*. *Sir William* was the founder of a chantry at the altar of the Holy Trinity, behind the high altar, in the Collegiate Church of Ripon. He died in 1362, and was succeeded by his eldest son, *Sir Robert Plumpton*, who married Isabella, daughter of Henry, first Lord Scrope, of Masham and Upsall ; and died in April, 1407 ; when he was succeeded by his grandson, *Sir Robert de Plumpton*, who was knighted before the year 1410, and chosen representative of the county of York in 1411. He died in 1421, and was buried in Spofforth Church ; when he was succeeded by his eldest son, *Sir Wm. de Plumpton*, who was High Sheriff of Yorkshire in 1448. He was twice married—first to Elizabeth, daughter of *Sir Bryan Stapleton*, of Carlton ; and secondly to Joan, daughter of *Thomas Wintringham*, of Wintringham Hall, Knaresborough, by whom he had a numerous family. He died May 1st, 1478, and was succeeded by *Sir Robert Plumpton*, &c.

⁴⁹ BEESTON.—*Ralph Beeston*, heir-at-law to *Sir William Beeston*, *Knt.*, who lived in the reigns of *Edw. II.* and *III.*, and who was the son of *Adam de Beeston*, gave four acres of meadow land in Beeston to *Kirkstall Abbey* ; and his son, *William*, left a son, *Ralph*, who was buried at the *Leeds Old Church*, in 1496. *Adam de Beeston* was a witness to the noted Charter of *Leedes*, in 1207.

For their pedigree, &c., see *Thoresby's Duc. Leod.*, p. 205 ; and the Appendix to *Burke's Landed Gentry*, &c.

Ralph, son of *Robert de Beeston*, gave all his meadow and arable land in Beeston, in a place called *Holbec-rôde*, and also confirmed his father's grant of four acres, to the monks of *Kirkstall Abbey*.

John, son of *Ralph de Beeston*, confirmed the four acres of meadow here, which *Adam de Beeston*, his grandfather, had given to them ; and also confirmed three acres of meadow, given by *Ralph*, son of *Robert de Beeston* ; and, likewise, gave a free passage for carriages, &c., over his fee, to and from the said premises. *Sir Wm. de Beeston*, Knight, in 1322, 16 *Edw. II.*, let five acres of meadow to the monks of *Kirkstall*, as described.

Thomas, son of *Ralph de Beeston*, was buried in *Kirkstall Abbey*.

For *Robert Beeston*, see *Burton's Mon. Ebor.*, pp. 290, 306 ; for *Ralph*, pp. 290, 295, 300 ; for *William*, *Joan*, *John*, and *Adam*, p. 290 ; for *Herbert*, p. 306 ; and *Thomas*, pp. 294-5, &c.

Ralph de Beeston, *Robt. de Stapleton*, *Nich. Warde*, *Wm.* and *Adam Scott*, *Richard de Ledes*, *Hugo de Horsforde*, &c., are witnesses of a deed of *Nigel de Plumpton*, of a meadow in *Ydel*, to the Nunnery of *Esholt*, near *Leeds*. There was a *Robert de Beeston*, Rector of *Wickersley*, near *Rotherham*, in 1343.

²⁷ See note 27, vol. viii.

⁵⁰ See note 50, p. 89.

meum ad deliberandum seisinam Galfrido del Hill de Magna Cattall de omnibus terris et tenementis meis quæ habeo in villa et territorio de Magna Cattall secundum *quendam cartam meam* eidem Galfrido inde factam. . . . Datum apud Magnam Cattall decimo nono die Februarii anno regni Regis Henrici quinti post conquestum Angliæ nono. *Seal, a capital C.*

XL.

Johanna nuper uxor *Hugonis Clerk* filia *Johannis Penreth*—*Thomæ Annynghson* vicario ecclesiæ de Hunsyngore medietatem unius Tofti cum suis pertinentiis in Hunsyngore quam quidem medietatem habui ex dono dicti patris mei *Johannis Penreth* patris mei dedi etiam et concessi dicto *Thomæ* turbariam quam habui ex dono predicti *Joh. Penreth* patris mei prout jacet in diversis locis infra dominium de Hunsyngore Habendum &c. Hiis testibus: *Ricardo Askham* de South Dyghton, *Th[oma] Thomson* de Hunsyngore,²⁰ *Ricardo Leeke* de eadem, *Roberto Cattall* de Cattall,²¹ *Ricardo Merebeck* de Walsford,⁴¹ et multis aliis. Datum apud Hunsyngore sexto decimo die mensis Aprilis Anno Regni Regis Henrici Sexti post Conquestum Angliæ sexto decimo. (A.D. 1438.)

XLI.

Wilhelmus Barkar de Bikerton—quietum clamasse *Johanni Bikerton* de Spofford⁴¹ totum jus et clameum quæ habeo in quatuor acris terræ et prati in Litol Ribston (not described). Datum apud Spofford tertio die Aprilis anno regni Regis Henrici Sexti post conquestum Angliæ tricesimo septimo.

²⁰ See note 20, vol. vii. p. 436.

²¹ See note 21, vol. vii. p. 436.

⁴¹ See note 41, p. 88.

⁵¹ SPOFFORTH.—Before the Conquest, Gamelbar was lord of this manor, Spofford or Spaw-ford; after which, Wm. de Percy had here four carucates of land, nine villeins, and ten bordars. Here was then a mill, four acres of meadow, and a wood one mile square. The whole manor was said to be 16 furlongs in length, and twelve in breadth. Here was the seat of the illustrious family of the Percys, even before Alnwick or Warkworth came into their possession. Wm. de Percy obtained a grant for a market here, on Fridays, in the year 1224. In 1309, Henry de Percy procured licence to fortify his castle here. For an old engraving of Spofford Castle, see Hargrove's "Knaresborough," p. 294, &c. Henry de Percy, the first Earl of Northumberland, was slain at Bramham Moor, within a few miles from this house, in the year 1407. After the battle of Towton, 1462, so fatal to Henry VI., in which, amongst a great many others, were slain the Earl of Northumberland

and Sir Richard Percy, his brother, their estates were laid waste, and everything belonging to them entirely destroyed, by the enraged conquerors. The heir of this great family was unfortunately murdered in 1489 by a mob, at his house, near Topcliffe, in Yorkshire. After having lain in ruins for some time, we find this house was again made tenable; for, in the year 1559, Henry, Lord Percy, obtained a licence to fortify his houses at Spofford and Leckonfield. It is most probable this mansion was demolished in the civil wars of Charles I.; as Sampson Ingilby, Esq., Steward to the Duke of Northumberland, resided here about the year 1600. The church is a rectory, dedicated to All Saints. The first rector that occurs is Henry de Evesham, in Dec., 1280. In an aperture in the south wall, under an elegant piece of arched work, lies the mutilated effigy of a knight, his legs across, and hands elevated; at his feet lies a lion; and on his shield are five fusils, charged with five escallops; the arms of Plumpton, of Plumpton. There are several monuments to the Middletons,

XLII.

Ego *Robertus Merbek* dedi *Johanni Maill*, vicario de Hunsyn-gouer et *Ricardo Person* unum mesuagium et unam rodam terræ in Wallysforth. Habendum &c. Et ulterius noveritis me attornasse et in loco meo posuisse *Robertum Rowley* ad seisinam delibe-randum. . . . Hiis testibus: *Thoma Middilton*,⁵² *Milo Willysthorp*,⁵³ *Johanne Swall*, *Johanne Bauke* et *Willelmo Haukkysworth* et aliis. Datum octavo die Decembris anno regni Regis Edwardi quarti decimo nono. *Seal, human figure.*

XLIII.

Ego *Johannes Hill* de *Magna Cathall*, yoman, dedi *Ricardo Hill* filio meo juniore, quinque mesuagia, quinque crofta, quinque tofta,

&c. See also Torre's MSS., p. 243; Archbp. Sharp's MSS., vol. i., p. 78; and Wood's MSS. (Bodleian), No. 5101, &c. There are several monuments of Knights Templars still remaining in our various old churches; as one of the *De Ros* family in Filiskirk Church, near Thirsk; for an account of which see Grainge's "Mow-bray," p. 207. In the Leeds Parish Church there is an effigy of a Knight Templar in chain mail armour, with plate knee-caps, sword and shield, beautifully carved in limestone. The coat of arms on the shield shows him to have been of the family of *Steynton* or *Stainton*. The legs have unfortunately been broken off below the knee. This effigy is cross-legged, and cannot be later than Edward II.'s time, or about the year 1320. In the next reign, Edw. III., we read that *Elizabeth Stainton* was prioress of Kirklees, most probably of the same family. For an engraving of this Knight Templar's effigy, see Moore's *Leeds Parish Church*, p. 36; and for an engraving of Prioress *Stainton's* tomb, see "Old Yorkshire," p. 262, &c.

⁵² MIDELTON. — *Nicholas de Midelton* confirmed the grant of one oxgang of land in Midelton, with a toft; and *Alexander the Carpenter*, with all his family, and their cattle, as his brother, *Richard de Midelton*, had held the same; which was confirmed to them by *Fulco Basset*, Pro-vost of Beverley, about 1229; which pre-mises *Sir Wm. de Ros*, in 1253 confirmed, along with one carucate of land in West Cottingwith, to Ellerton Priory, on Spald-ing Moor. For *Nic. de Middleton*, see Burton's *Mon. Ebor.*, pp. 150, 257, 261; *Peter*, 117; *Robert*, 117, 182; *Richard*, 261, 274; *Adam*, 178; *Ralph*, 182; *Walter*, 182; *Thomas*, 274, 324, 415;

John and Alice, 364; *William*, 337–8, 415; *Serlo, Gilbert*, and *Alexander*, 415.

Walter and Ad. de Midelton, Wm. Mauleverer, John le Scot de Calverley, and others, are witnesses to a deed of Robert, son of Robert de Plumpton, to Esholt Nunnery, of lands in Idel, &c.; in Dugdale's *Monast.*, vol. v., p. 472, &c. *Adam de Middleton*, and *Robert*, his brother, &c., are witnesses to an agreement between Richard de Fauconberg and the Prioress of Nun Appleton; in Dugdale's *Monast.*, v., p. 653.

Adam de Myddelton was Vicar of Arncliffe in 1302; *Gulfrid de Midelton* was Rector of Castleford in 1312; *Richard Middleton*, Vicar of Conisborough, in 1312; *Thos. Midelton*, Vicar of Silkstone in 1344; *John de Midelton*, Vicar of Kirkby-Ravensworth in 1362; *Thomas de Myddleton*, of Lythe, in 1370; and *Wm. Midelton*, of High Hoyland, in 1371. For the pedigree of the Mideltons, see Tonge's "Visitation," p. 87; Dugdale's "Visitation," p. 57; Whitaker's "Craven," 3rd edit., p. 280; and Burke's "Landed Gentry." See also before note 42, p. 440.

⁵³ WILSTROP. — *Katherine Wilstrope* was the eighth Prioress of Arthington, about 1470. *Richard de Willesthorp* was M.P. for Scarborough in 1336. For the *Willesthorpes*, see Burton's "Mon. Ebor.," pp. 245, 254, &c.; and also before note 40, p. 440, &c. *Nic. Wyther*, *Sir Wm. de Ros*, *Nic. son of Reginald de Dichton*, *John de Stockeld*, *John*, cleric of *Dichton*, were witnesses to a deed of John, son of Richard de Willesthorpe, granting a corn mill to *Nic. de Melton*, and *Agnes* his wife, at Colethorpe, on the payment of one penny annually. See also under *de Marisco*, note 50, vol. vii. p. 444, &c.

unam clausuram, triginta et tres acras terræ arabilis et tres acras prati in villâ et territorio de Magna Cathall et omnia alia terras et tenementa &c. in Magna Cathall, quæ quidem mesuagia habui ex dono et feoffamento Willelmi Barker de Ebor pistoris. Habendum de capitalibus dominis feodi illius per servicia inde debita. . . . Datum apud Magnam Cathall quinto die mensis Januarii anno regni Regis Henrici Septimi post Conquestum Angliæ decimo nono.

In dorso: Testes ad seisinam deliberandam videlicet octavo die Januarii anno regni Regis infrascripti scilicet: Johannes Maill, capellanus, Thomas Webstar, Willelmus Leonard, Johannes Atkynson, Thomas Baggodd et multi alii circumstantes ibidem etc.

XLIV.

*Robertus filius Ricardi le Toller*⁴⁵ de Walsford. *Johanni Skot de Hopperton*³⁶ unum mesuagium cum pertinentiis in Walsford illud scilicet mesuagium quod jacet inter Toftum Ricardi le Barker ex parte una et Toftum Johannis Kay ex altera. Tenendum &c. Testibus: Ad. de Hopperton⁶⁸ Nich. de eâdem, Ricardo de eâdem

Johanne filio Roberti de *Hunsyngour*,³⁷ et aliis.

It is in the last quarter of the 13th century that we find undoubted signs of the corruption which had begun to debase the Knights of the Temple, and degrade them from the proud position to which their military virtues had once raised them. The pride of the chivalry of the West, the favourites of fortune, and the heirs of all men, when envy had singled them out for the attack of the invidious, and wealth and ease had sapped the rigorous discipline once maintained by poverty and complete devotion to their self-imposed duties, their shortcomings rendered them open to the infamous attacks now often made upon them. Their enemies proved that they were corrupt; but in doing so they were compelled to judge them by the high standard of morality laid down by the first ascetic founders of the Order. We cannot deny them the right so to judge the Templars; but when every society in the kingdom, religious and secular alike, showed signs of the debasement wrought by increasing riches, and the luxurious habits they inevitably develop, we can maintain that such a course was excessively ungenerous,

⁴⁵ See note 45, p. 37.

³⁶ See note 36, p. 86.

⁶⁸ See note 68, vol. vii. p. 449.

³⁷ See note 37, p. 86.

and proceeded from the most base of interested motives. In the beginning of his reign, Edward I. sent commissioners throughout England to inquire into the malpractices of the barons and chief landowners, and the extent to which the people were illegally oppressed by them. Their story is a sad one ; but it shows that grasping cupidity and the lust of power were as frequently found in the abbey of the Cistercian monk or the hall of the baron as in the preceptory of the Templar. In 1275, their report for the Wapentake of Skyrack is made. It accuses the Templars of having appropriated to themselves free-warren in Halton, Colton, and Newsam ; and, in them, this was a crime, for hunting with either hawk or hound was a game prohibited by the statutes of their order. This, however, is not the worst accusation, and the sin is mitigated by the company they kept : the Archbishop of York is charged with the same monopoly at Otley. They had acquired a carucate of land in Newton (Potter-Newton), of the gift of William Scott, and also a bovaté of land, of which the jurors could give no satisfactory account. It was thus, either by favour or by force, that the order of the Templars continued to increase in riches and distinction for more than a century and a half ; but, unfortunately, their high reputation and growing wealth ultimately destroyed the purity of devotion and consistent humility that first distinguished them. Luxury eradicated the virtues arising from poverty, pride displaced humility, and as the Templar found himself

Courtèd and caressed,
High placèd in hall, a welcome guest,

his enviable reputation and influence, as well as the boundless wealth of his fraternity, did not fail to render him insolent and overbearing, and to arouse an inexorable enmity in the breasts of those who feared his valour and envied his wealth. With princely revenues and well-nigh absolute power, needy monarchs trembled beneath the Templar's threats, often too loudly heard ; but if the impotency of kings by chance compelled them for the time to suffer the defiance, they only awaited the moment when they could combine for the purpose of annihilating a body whose martial skill they could not emulate, but whose insolent

pride they could not endure. Where they knew force would be of no avail, they determined to accomplish their end by cunning. In January, 1308, the King sent a writ to the sheriff of Yorkshire, Sir John de Creppinge, of Middleton, commanding him to summon twenty-four discreet and faithful knights to be at York on the morrow of the Purification, the day appointed for the capture of the Templars. In their presence he was to open the sealed orders, in the execution of which they were to assist; the motive of this secrecy is obvious; it was desirable not only to seize the persons of the Knights, but to prevent concealment or transfer of their property. The Templars were seized, and placed in custody in various parts of the country. The most monstrous accusations of blasphemy and heresy were made against the Order; false priests and traitorous knights perjured themselves to secure its downfall; and the betrayed Templars, deprived of that unity of action which would have refuted the slanders and defied the open force of their accusers, found themselves held up to the scorn and abhorrence of the whole Christian world, and their destruction already decreed. Attempts were made, by means of mock examinations and confessions wrung from them by the keenest tortures, to cause the Knights to inculcate themselves by admitting among the brethren the practice of dreadful crimes and the existence of secret compacts with the enemies of Christendom. But violent means, sooner or later, ever fail by reason of their own violence. Those knights who sank beneath the fierceness of their agony, and in the extremity of their weakness and suffering confessed to the assertions of their tormentors, afterwards revoked their confessions, and denounced the monsters who extorted them. Their shouts of rage and indignation found a very audible response in the bosoms of the people of all classes. But this was all too late; the dissolution of their Society was decreed, and it was only left to them to suffer.

On the 12th of August, 1309, the Pope, the creature of Philip of France, the bitter enemy of the Templars, sent two bulls to the Archbishop of York. The one was a general denunciation of the accused, especially those within the province of York; the other was simply a command to institute an official inquiry, which commenced on

the 28th of April, 1311, and ended, in chagrin and disappointment to the inquisitors, on the 4th of May. Twenty-five Templars, who had been confined in York Castle since 1309, were examined as to the immoralities perpetrated in their preceptories. William de Grafton, sen., Preceptor of Ribston, Godfrey de Arches, the Preceptor of Newsam, and their companions boldly asserted the orthodoxy of their faith; but their assertion availed nothing with men who were predisposed to condemn them. They *were* condemned; yet the nation refused to accept the justice of the sentence of their enemies. The Templars found a few impartial judges in high places, and their impartiality converted them into friends, lukewarm it is true, but still friends. To condemn the accused on such worthless evidence as had been adduced, in opposition to the conviction of the whole nation, which pronounced them innocent of the graver charges, was a proceeding too hazardous to attempt. More evidence of a condemnatory nature must be adduced, and in the hope of securing this evidence, on the 20th June, 1310, Archbishop Greenfield appointed several of the clergy to examine the menials at the several houses of Newsam, Ribston, Wetherby, and Hurst. This inquiry was fruitless; the servants exonerated their masters; but the death-knell of the Order had been tolled. Avarice and envy had laboured conjointly to bring about its suppression, and their labours terminated in complete success. The Templars were driven out of their homes and prisons, and the neighbouring monasteries were commanded to receive the fugitives; yet that command appears to have been obeyed tardily and with much reluctance. The power of the Order was gone; their services, being no longer required, were forgotten; and the Knights were calumniated as an impious and heretical fraternity. William de Grafton, the Preceptor of Ribston, was sent to Selby Abbey, where he stayed some time, afterwards being permitted to enter upon a secular pursuit. Henry de Kirkby and Robert Langton turned monks; the former on the 29th September, 1320, taking the vows at Selby; the latter, on the 18th December, 1319, entering the Convent of Gisburgh. Kirkstall Abbey and Nostell Priory received others of the outcast Knights, who were glad to fly into such quiet abodes, and so escape the persecutions of their malignant foes. And thus fell for ever the celebrated Order of Knights

Templars, and with it the Preceptories of Ribston and Temple Newsam, &c.

They perished, in one fate alike,
 The vet'ran and the boy,
 Where'er the Royal arm could strike
 To torture and destroy ;
 While darkly down the stream of time,
 Devised by evil fame,
 Float murmurs of mysterious crime,
 And tales of secret shame.

Lord Houghton, "Persecution of the Templars."

More than 500 years have now rolled away since the Templars were annihilated, still their memory abides fresh in the minds of men. Immortality of reputation is the reward of the brave! But the record of their actions is not all that remains even yet to testify to their existence. "The town of Leeds still retains traces of the ancient privileges of the Templars of Newsam ; some houses, which had belonged to them, being marked with their cross, as a sign of exemption from the obligation to grind at the soke mill. Timble Bridge, leading from Leeds to Newsam, is said by Thoresby to be a corruption of Temple Bridge." The above is chiefly an extract from Mr. Wheater's account of Temple Newsam ; see also Kenrick's "Knights Templars in Yorkshire," and Thoresby's "Ducatus Leodiensis," 1816, pp. 99, &c.⁵²

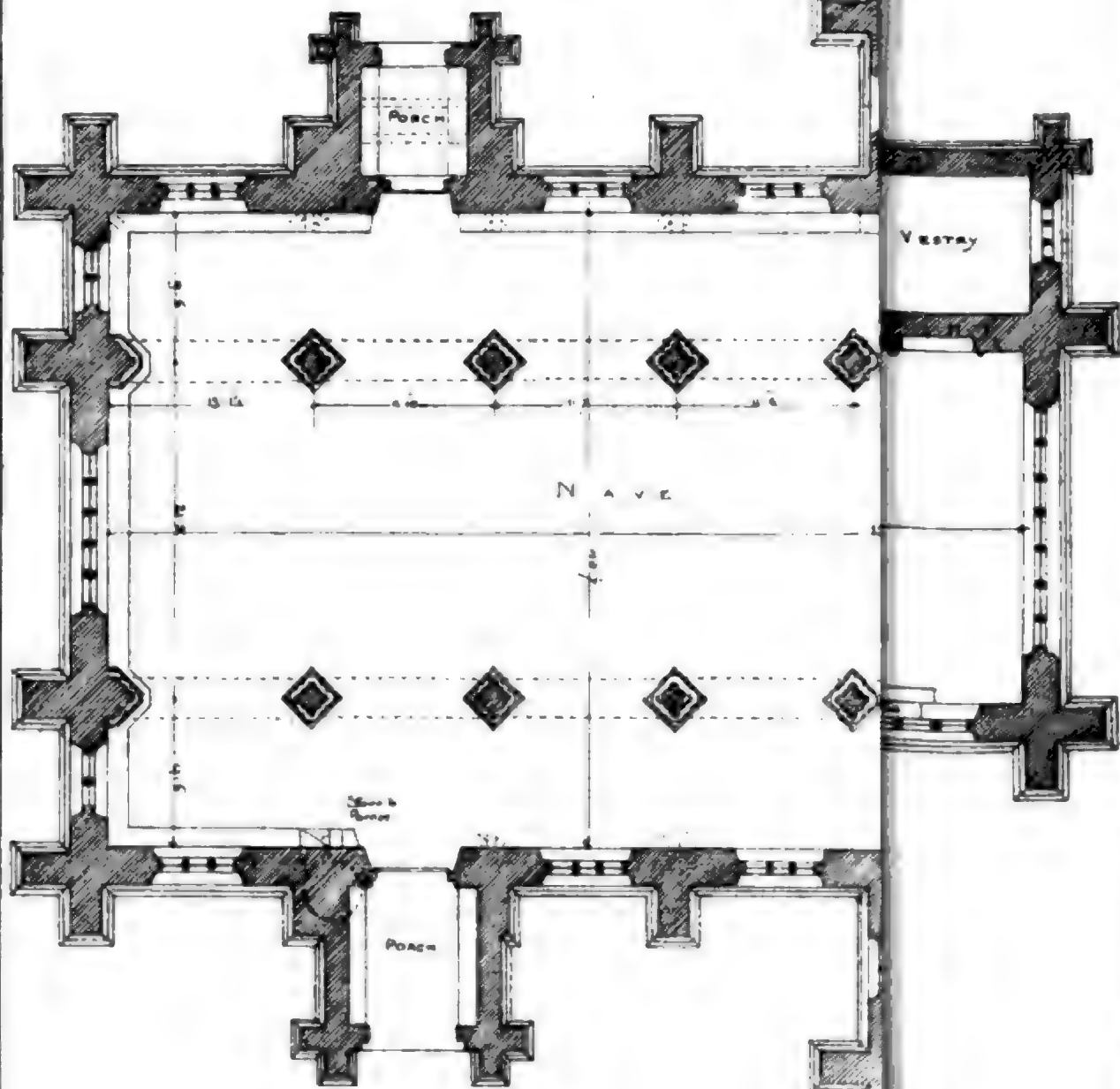
⁵² The decree which declared the Order of Knights Templars to be for ever abolished in England was promulgated by Archbishop Greenfield, from Cawood, on the 14th of August, 1312. Previous to the promulgation, and, indeed, immediately after the seizure of the Knights, their estates had been taken into the possession of the Crown, and custodians appointed to them. Adam de Hoperton was the first custodian of Temple Newsam ; he was appointed immediately after the seizure of the Templars' goods, and his term of office expired on the 1st of December, 1311, when he placed his charge in the care of Sir Alexander de Cave and Robert Amecotes. In 1323 the King appointed Humphrey de Waleden

and Richard de Ikene, seneschals of the castles and towns of Tykhill and Scarborough, and Keepers of the Park of Heywra and the manors of Faxflete, Carleton, Hachelsey, Temple Hurst, Barley, Sandall, and Temple Newsam, with their respective appurtenances, in the county of York. These manors all belonged to the Templars, and such an arrangement seems to indicate that, when it was made, none of them had fallen into the possession of the Hospitallers ; though they certainly held them in the following year, 1324, when Thos. de Deyville was appointed custodian. See also the *Gent. Mag.* for 1857, part ii. p. 523, and *Rot. Parl.* vol. ii. pp. 29, 78, &c.

CHURCH OF S. PATRICK.

PATRINGTON. YORKS.

GROUND PLAN.



PATRINGTON CHURCH.¹

By J. T. MICKLETHWAITE, F.S.A.

THE parish church of Patrington is one of the finest examples of fourteenth-century English architecture that we have. All of it, except the east window, belongs to that time, and, like the not far distant church of Heckington, in Lincolnshire, it has often been quoted as an example of purely fourteenth-century design. This, however, neither one nor the other of them is. At Winchelsea, in Sussex, there is a church begun quite new in the fourteenth century, and if it had been finished it might have been taken as representing the ideal of the designers of that date. But at Heckington, and, as I hope now to show, at Patrington, the churches owe their present form to earlier buildings, as is usual with our parish churches, the only difference being that in these two the rebuilding has been done by one generation instead of being the work of many, as is the more common case.

The first thing that strikes us on looking into the plan² of Patrington is the great number of small parts into which it is divided, and which contrast strongly with what we find at Winchelsea ; and after that the large size of the transepts, and the unusual position of the central tower. By comparing the evidence to be found in the fabric here with what we have learned elsewhere about the growth of parish churches, it becomes clear that both these last peculiarities are due to the existence of an earlier church on the site, and to the necessity which there was of leaving it undisturbed as long as possible during the building of the present one. This necessity must always be kept in mind when we

¹ This short Paper contains the substance of what was said when the Association visited Patrington, August 29, 1883.

² The plan is copied from one of an excellent series of drawings illustrating

the church in the "John of Gaunt Sketch Book," and we have to thank Messrs. Paley & Austin, of Lancaster, and the authors of the plate for their permission readily given to use it.

are seeking out the history of an old parish church. Our ancestors wanted their church for daily use. Monks could and did at a pinch hold their services in their chapter house or frater. But secular men had generally no fit place for the purpose except their church, and so, even if they undertook a complete rebuilding of it, they arranged the work that there should always be some part, either of the old or the new, in a condition fit for use. It was thus impossible to clear the site and start anew with a fresh design as would be done now. The new work had always to be adapted to the old, even though the removal of that old was necessary before the new could be completed and made use of.

If we look closely into the work at Patrington we shall see that whilst it is all in what is called the *Decorated* style, and perhaps even all by the same hands, it shows very clearly that some parts have been done before others, and that although the design laid down at the beginning was followed generally, it was modified in some respects as each part came to be executed.

The ends of the transepts—that is, their fronts facing north and south, and the parts of the return walls next to them—show plainly by their mouldings and the tracery of the windows that they are earlier than any other parts of the existing church. And this, together with the unusual length of the transepts, gives us a clue to the form of the earlier church. It was a good-sized cross church, built most likely early in the twelfth century, and at first without aisles. But a north aisle was added to the nave about the end of the century; and the base of its western respond still remains in position to tell us of it under the first pillar from the west in the present church. It is very likely that another aisle was added on the south at a rather later date, but in the short examination I have been able to make of the church I have not found any proof of it. I do not think that aisles had been added to the chancel, for chancel aisles were not common till a later date; and, if they had existed here, they would have been represented in some way in the present church, which they are not. The transepts would, of course, have no aisles, and they and the chancel would be considerably shorter than now. I think the tower and transepts stood rather further east than now, their east

sides corresponding with the east wall of the transept aisles and with the chancel arch in the present building.

Such, then, was the old church at Patrington—one which, if it had come down to our times, the parish need not have been ashamed of. But early in the fourteenth century its rebuilding was undertaken on an enlarged plan, and in a very splendid manner. It is not likely that we shall ever learn why this was done. Written documents tell us little of the fabrics of parish churches until we reach the days of churchwardens' accounts, and none of them, I believe, go back so far as this work. Whatever is to be learned of its history must be got from the building itself.

The earliest work is, as I have said, at the ends of the transepts. It is clear that the new church was begun by building these ends outside the transepts of the old one. And this both explains their present unusual place and proves the existence of transepts in the former church, for if aisles only had had to be cleared, there would have been no need for this great width. When this first work was finished, either a pause was made sufficiently long for a change in fashion to make itself felt, or a new master mason was appointed with more advanced ideas than his predecessor, and there is a distinct change in the style in the next work, which seems to have been the completion of the transepts and the lower part at least of the tower.

The rebuilding of towers in the middle of parish churches was, for reasons which I have explained elsewhere, very uncommon. The normal position of the tower, when there was one at the first building of a stone church, was in the middle. But after the addition of aisles, if a tower had to be rebuilt or a new one to be added where none had existed before, it was nearly always done at the west end, where the work could be carried on without interfering with the use of the church. Here at Patrington, however, men chose to have their tower in the middle. But its position is curious, and I think unique. Instead of being over the chancel or just west of it, as in the earlier examples, there is a bay between them. This is not a convenient plan, and can never have been so, but it is very picturesque. It seems to have been adopted in order that the old chancel with its arch closed up might continue in use, whilst the tower was being built where it stood free from the ground on all

four sides. At Heckington, which in several ways is a parallel church to this, the transepts are in like manner one bay west of the chancel arch, and I believe they were planned with the intention of building a tower in the middle, as here, but that intention was changed after the work was begun, and the tower put at the west end in the usual way.

After the completion of the transepts at Patrington, the nave and aisles were rebuilt. The work in them is so like the later work of the transepts that they may have been built at the same time. But the usual course was most probably followed, and one part made fit for use before the other was dismantled. There was, however, no change in the plan.

Last of all the chancel was rebuilt. There is a very slight change in the work, showing that it must have gone on after the nave without any stopping. But there is a change in the plan, and the present chancel is wider, and perhaps also longer than was intended when the tower was built. The junction between the two parts of the work is plainly to be seen in the masonry on both sides.

When the chancel was built, and indeed probably before it was quite completed, there was a total stoppage of the work, and this church, so magnificently begun and finished on the outside, remains to this day unfinished on the inside. All the aisles have been prepared for stone vaulting, but only the east aisle of the south transept ever received it; and the church never was furnished to agree with the richness of its fabric. The bowl of the font is of the period of the rebuilding, and equal to the rest of the work in style, but the chancel-screen, though good of its sort, is not such as would have been there if the men of Patrington had been able to spend money as freely upon it as they had done upon the walls of the church.

The change was very sudden, and I have found evidence of the like at just the same date in other churches, and I believe it was caused by the pestilence known as the Black Death. That tremendous visitation, the most destructive which history tells of, is said to have taken off two-thirds of the population of Europe, and it shook the whole fabric of society to its foundation. It reached England in 1349, and for the time stopped all kinds of business. Some places,

prosperous before, seem never to have recovered from it, and the state of the parish church seems to show that Patrington was one of them. The outer shell of the church had been completed at the time of the Death, all except the east window, and the change in the style of its tracery shows that some time had passed before even that could be finished. And the furnishing was put off till more prosperous times, which have not yet come.

My subject being the architectural history of the fabric, I have passed over many details worthy of separate notice, and I will in conclusion mention a few of them. Architectural criticism is out of place in an archæological journal, and I will not enter upon it, except to say that I cannot agree with those who condemn the tower of the church. A copy of it put amongst the tall buildings of a modern town would indeed look miserable, but standing as it does in the place it was designed for, it is a very beautiful object.

Turning again to the plan, we notice that the approach being from the north, the priest's door and that in the transept are both turned that way. But the south porch is nevertheless treated as the principal entrance, as is usual. It is larger than that on the north, and has a chamber over it, which has a window towards the church, now covered by a tablet hung up in the aisle. The transept door has a curious projecting stone hood.

Western aisles to transepts are not common even in cathedral and large monastic churches, and I do not remember another instance of them in a parish church. The designers of the transepts probably put them here to give uniformity to the north and south fronts, which are in this church more important than usual.

The apse projecting eastwards from the middle of the south transept is a feature not found elsewhere, and it has fortunately received its vaulting. There has been an altar in each bay of the transepts, but there was some reason, which we do not now know of, why special importance was given to this one. The curious hollow square pendant from the vault before this altar has been thought to be intended to hold a lamp. But there is no means of reaching it to get at the lamp unless a ladder were used, and there is nothing against which a ladder could well be put except the pendant itself, which does not show signs of such ill-usage. There is

no flue to take away the smoke, and I could find no trace of soot. The pendant is too high up for a lamp in it to have thrown a light on the altar below, as has been suggested, even if such theatrical tricks were in use in English churches in the fourteenth century, which I do not believe were; and further, the ordinary oil lamp of the time, which is all that could have been put there, gave far too feeble a light for any such effect. For all these reasons I think the pendant must have had some other use. It may have been to receive a relic of some sort. Relics were sometimes put in far stranger places than this. The cathedrals of London and Salisbury had them in the knops at the tops of the spires.

I have mentioned the font before. It now stands under the tower, and was probably put there in the seventeenth century, for the low base upon which the bowl is placed seems to belong to that date, and the position in front of the chancel arch is one which seems to have been affected by the Laudian reformers in the time of Charles I.

The old altar steps remain in the chancel, and in the north wall is a good Easter sepulchre, an object not often found in Yorkshire, though common in Lincolnshire. Indeed the architectural affinities of the church are generally more with Lincolnshire than with Yorkshire.

The church is rich in carving which deserves notice, especially the water-shoots, some of which are groups of sculpture of considerable elaboration.

The church has hitherto escaped the disease of "Restoration," and its condition is one very satisfactory to the antiquary. Some repairs and improvements are indeed needed, and it is to be hoped that they may be so executed as not to destroy or falsify the record of its past history, but to let the new honestly show itself as the chapter added in our time.

THE BATTLE OF WAKEFIELD.

By CLEMENTS R. MARKHAM, C.B., F.R.S., F.S.A.

THE battle of Wakefield, in its ultimate results, was far more disastrous to the conquerors than to the conquered. It was a battle which led directly to a great change in the government of England, and is therefore deserving of close attention. Yet the details recorded of it are very few, and the authorities are contradictory.

In submitting the conclusions I have arrived at respecting the events of the battle to the members of the Yorkshire Archæological Association, I propose, in the first place, to narrate the story in the form which, after weighing the evidence, appears to approach nearest to the truth; and then to discuss the value of the different authorities, and the reasons for adopting the statements of one and rejecting those of others.

The Lancastrian usurpation had been accepted by the nation, and with the recognition of successive Parliaments it had ceased to be usurpation. But the Lancastrian kings had no other right than parliamentary recognition, and could claim no hereditary title while the heirs of Lionel of Clarence lived. Accordingly young Edmund, Earl of March, the rightful heir of King Richard II., was immured in the castle of Trim in Ireland, for a quarter of a century; and his heir and nephew, Richard Duke of York, was for ten years, during all the years of his childhood, kept fast in the Tower of London, with Robert Waterton as his jailer. The usurpers sought to draw off the attention of the people from these and similar matters by a most iniquitous foreign war. Edward III. had a just claim on Ponthieu, and his title to the crown of France would at least bear argument. But Henry V., being a usurper in England, could have no hereditary title to France. Yet his successes and warlike exploits tickled the vanity of the nation, and made his dynasty popular. This

fleeting popularity could not bear the test of adversity. After the death of the Regent Bedford, the men who held power in England, and influenced the policy of Queen Margaret, were as incapable as they were unpatriotic and self-seeking. Disasters and disgrace abroad were followed by oppression and misgovernment at home. The Lancastrians thus lost their sole right to the power they had seized. A usurper cannot afford to be an idiot. But the English people are conservative and law-abiding, the dynasty had been in undisputed possession for half a century, and it was only when misgovernment became unbearable that men began to turn their thoughts to the legitimate heir to the throne.

Richard, Duke of York, was the most powerful and wealthy, as well as one of the ablest nobles in the kingdom. Inheriting the estates of his uncle the Duke who fell at Agincourt, as well as the vast domains of the Mortimers in the Welsh Marches and in Ireland, Richard Plantagenet had, by his marriage with the Lady Cicely Neville, become closely connected with the two powerful Earls of Salisbury and Warwick—father and son. The Duke's career, since his liberation from the Tower when a young boy, had been uniformly successful. During his brief regencies at Rouen he had, by his courage and ability, given the English cause a transient gleam of hope. His rule in Ireland had been marked by the same high qualities, and his English homes, whether at Fotheringay, at Sandal, or in the Welsh Marches, were great centres of well-deserved influence.

In the year of the battle of Wakefield, the Duke of York had reached the age of 48; and had had twelve children by his wife the Duchess Cicely. Of these the two elder daughters were already married to Lancastrian husbands, the Dukes of Exeter and Suffolk; and five had died young. Two princes approaching man's estate and three children were still with their parents. Edward, the Earl of March, was born at Rouen on April 28th, 1442. Edmund, the Earl of Rutland, was also born at Rouen on May 17th, 1443. There was a year and a few days between them. They seem to have been brought up like twins. They played and studied together, and wrote joint letters to their father. Two of these letters have been preserved, written when the boys were 12 and 11 years old respectively. In one they say:—"We thanke your noblesse and good ffadurhod for

our grene gownes nowe late sende unto us to our grete comfort : beseeching your good lordeschip that we might have summe fyne bouetts sende un to us by the next sure messig, for necessitie so requireth." This letter was written from the Duke's castle of Ludlow. In the next, dated June 3rd, 1454, they say :—"If it please your Highness to know of our welfare at the making of this letter, we were in good health of body thanked be God ; beseeching your good and gracious fatherhood of your daily blessing. And where ye command us, by your said letters, to attend specially to our learning in our young age, that should cause us to grow to honor and worship in our old age, please it your Highness to wit, that we have attended our learning since we came hither, and shall hereafter, by the which we trust to God your gracious Lordship and good fatherhood shall be pleased. Also we beseech your good Lordship that it may please you to send us Harry Lovedeyne, clerk of your kitchen, whose service is to us right agreeable : and we will send you John Boys to wait on your good Lordship." One of these bright young princes was destined to meet his death just as he was entering on manhood, at the fatal battle of Wakefield. It is pleasant to get this glimpse of him, working and playing with his brother, writing affectionate letters to their father, and evidently being brought up in a happy home. The three younger children, Margaret, George, and Richard, were respectively 14, 11, and 8 years of age in 1460.

Queen Margaret of Anjou—young, beautiful, and clever when she came to England—was fated to be linked for life to an idiot. Her masculine understanding and strong will sought employment in the work of government ; but she was ignorant and in a foreign country, and was in the hands of ambitious and unscrupulous noblemen, who ruined while they faithfully served her. The most pernicious of her advisers, the aspiring Duke of Somerset, had fallen at the first battle of St. Albans, but his successor, Henry Beaufort, the third Duke, maintained the tradition of his house. Many of the great nobility were devoted to the beautiful Queen :—the Courtenays, Earls of Devon, with a great following of West Country knights ; Fortescues, Fulfords, and Luttrells ; the De Veres, Earls of Oxford ; the Percys, Earls of Northumberland ; James Butler of Ormond, made Earl of Wiltshire by the Queen ; the powerful Lord Clifford, with his large

Yorkshire connection ; the Duke of Exeter ; Lords Roos, Hungerford, Welles, Beaumont, and many more ; with Sir Andrew Trollope as their ablest captain in the art of war.

Eight years after her marriage with Henry VI., Queen Margaret had given birth to a son on the 13th of October, 1453, who was named Edward and proclaimed Prince of Wales. At the time of the battle of Wakefield he had just passed his 7th birthday, while King Henry VI. was 38.

When the Duke of York at last determined to resist the misgovernment of the Queen's friends by force of arms, he had the Earls of Salisbury and Warwick as his principal supporters ; while the cities and the mass of the people were on his side. The Queen was supported by many of the great nobles and their retainers. Her prompt and vigorous measures at first entirely disconcerted the Yorkist plans. The Duke, with his son the Earl of Rutland, fled to Ireland ; while his wife and three children were captured at Wigmores, and sent prisoners to Tunbridge Castle. Warwick and the young Earl of March escaped to Calais. Queen Margaret seemed to be carrying all before her, and in 1459 she assembled a Parliament at Coventry, and attainted the Duke of York and all his principal adherents.

The Lancastrian success was short-lived. The Earls of March and Warwick landed in Kent. The people rose and flocked to their standard, London was triumphantly entered, the Lancastrians were entirely defeated at Northampton, and the Queen fled into Wales with her son, while Henry VI. fell into the hands of her enemies. The Duchess of York, with her three children, then escaped from their durance at Tunbridge and came to London, finding an asylum in the chambers of Sir John Paston at the Temple. Her gallant son, the Earl of March, garrisoned Baynard's Castle, the London residence of his parents ; and when the news came that the Duke of York had landed at Chester, she set out for Hereford to join him. Meanwhile the three children, Margaret, George, and Richard, remained in the chambers at the Temple, their brother, the Earl of March, coming every day to see them.

On October 10th, 1460, the Duke and Duchess of York reached London, and for the last time the whole family was united at Baynard's Castle.

A Parliament was assembled, which, while unwilling to

disturb the existing settlement, yet decided that the Lancastrian disorder must terminate, and that this end would best be secured by returning to the legitimate succession. Henry VI., who had been king for 38 years, almost since his birth, was to continue to reign during his life, but the Duke of York or his heir was to succeed, and meanwhile the Duke was to be Regent and Protector of the land. If the King attempted to break this agreement he was to forfeit the crown. These articles were written, sealed, and sworn to by both parties, and enacted in the High Court of Parliament. The King and Duke then went solemnly in procession to St. Paul's, and the Duke was, by sound of trumpet, declared Heir Apparent to the Crown of England and Protector of the Realm.

The Queen not only refused to obey a summons from her husband to come to him, but hurried from Wales to Scotland to solicit help. There she remained while her adherents in the north of England busily collected forces to oppose the new order of things. The Dukes of Somerset and Exeter, and the Earls of Northumberland and Devonshire, mustered their followers. Another active partisan was James Butler, the 5th Earl of Ormond, who had recently been created Earl of Wiltshire by the Queen. Lord Clifford was devoted to the Queen's cause. His father had been slain at the first battle of St. Albans, and the son naturally desired to avenge his death. The Clifford connection was very powerful in the north. The Lord of Skipton was, on his mother's side, nearly related to Lord Dacres of Gillesland; while the marriages of his sisters enlisted the families of Tempest and Plumpton in the cause he espoused. Thus a large Lancastrian army was quickly assembled at Pomfret. Its numbers were estimated at from 18,000 to 22,000 men.

This threatening cloud in the north necessitated immediate action on the part of the Duke of York. It is probable that he was not fully aware of the numbers opposed to him in Yorkshire, though he may have foreseen that the Lancastrian army would become larger if time was allowed to slip away. There was also some danger from the machinations of Jasper Tudor, Earl of Pembroke, and his father, Owen Tudor, in Wales. Arrangements to counteract these evils were promptly made. The Duke of York assembled a small force to advance northwards and confront the Lan-

castrian army. The Duke of Norfolk, who was warmly attached to the House of York, and the Earl of Warwick were to remain with the King in London until Christmas, and then to follow with reinforcements. The young Earl of March advanced to the Welsh borders, to collect forces, disperse the Tudor rising, and then join his father in Yorkshire.

On the first day of December, 1460, the Duke of York was with his wife and children at Baynard's Castle for the last time. On the 2nd he set out for the north with his brother-in-law the Earl of Salisbury. The Duke was accompanied by his son Edmund, Earl of Rutland, as he had been during his flight to Ireland. Young Edmund was in his 18th year, a stalwart man-at-arms, probably rising 6 feet, straight-limbed and active, like his brother Edward, who was a year and a month his senior. Salisbury also had with him his son, Sir Thomas Neville. The Yorkist force barely numbered 5,000 men; but they were led by numerous experienced captains. Chief among them was old Sir David Hall, the Duke's faithful friend and adviser in all military affairs. Sir John and Sir Hugh Mortimer, illegitimate brothers of the ill-fated Earl of March, rallied to their nephew's standard, with many Yorkist knights who were attainted by the Coventry Parliament in 1459, such as Sir Thomas Parr, Sir Edward Bouchier, and Sir James Pickering. The force included a company of Londoners led by John Harrow, a bold citizen of the Mercers' Company.

The Duke of York advanced by easy marches, for he did not reach his castle of Sandal, about a mile south of Wakefield, until Christmas Eve. Here he halted while a summons was sent out to assemble his tenants and adherents. It is said that a kinsman of the Duchess of York, the Lord Nevill, came to Sandal as a friend of the Duke, and induced him to grant a commission to raise men; and that, when he had raised about 8,000, he treacherously brought them to swell the ranks of the Lancastrian army.¹

The Duke, with his son Edmund, his brother-in-law the Earl of Salisbury and his faithful followers, far too few for the task they had undertaken, kept their last Christmas at Sandal Castle. The Earl of March was at Shrewsbury. The poor Duchess and her three little children anxiously waited

¹ Stow's Chronicle, p. 412.

for news at Baynard's Castle. Henry VI., with the Duke of Norfolk and Earl of Warwick, observed the festival in the palace of the Bishop of London, in St. Paul's Churchyard. Afterwards the half-witted King went to enjoy a few days' hunting at Greenwich and Eltham. Queen Margaret and her boy were in Scotland. The Lancastrian Lords were assembled with their great army at Pomfret.

Sandal Castle stood on a grassy knoll, steep on one side, with a gentle slope to the south. It is a little less than a mile from the bridge which spans the river Calder at the town of Wakefield, the intervening space sloping gently from Sandal, and being then partly wooded. Leland tells us that the bridge was of stone, with 9 arches, and that it had on it "a right goodly chapel of our lady." It led to the market-place, whence two streets, called Norgate and Wrengate,² formed communications to the northern entrances of the town. The houses were then nearly all of timber, but there was a handsome parish church consecrated in 1322, with a tower and spire 228 feet high. From the bridge one road went southward, by Sandal, to Barnsley and Sheffield; another branched off to the eastward, and divided again into two, one leading to Doncaster, the other to Pomfret. To the westward the river Calder flanked the fields between Sandal and Wakefield bridge. Near the Castle is the fine cruciform Church of Sandal Magna.³

The Lordship of Wakefield, including Sandal and the Castle of Conisborough, was granted to the great Earl of Surrey, William de Warenne, by the Conqueror, in about 1080. The lordship continued in that family until the reign of Edward II., when John, the last Earl of Warenne and Surrey, built Sandal Castle in about 1320. He had no children, and appears to have given the inheritance of all his lands to the King; so that when he died, in 1347, Wakefield and the castles of Conisborough and Sandal became crown property. Edward III. granted them to his son Edmund of Langley, and they were inherited by his grandson Richard Duke of York. The Duke frequently resided at Sandal, sometimes with his wife and children. The castle was ordered to be

² Warenne-gate; the Earls of Warenne and Surrey having been Lords of Wakefield for more than two centuries.

³ There is a chantry belonging to the

castle in Sandal Church, and until lately the arms of Warenne (*chequy or. and azure*) were in one of the windows.

razed by the Long Parliament in 1648, and there are scarcely any remains. But fortunately a drawing was made of it in 1560, and preserved in the office of the Duchy of Lancaster. It is engraved in the *Vetusta Monumenta*. A lofty donjon, with flanking round towers, stood on the verge of the steep descent to the north-east, and two smaller square towers, connected by a wall, formed the western face. The principal gate, defended by a barbican, was in the centre of the southern face ; and on this side the *enceinte* consisted merely of a wall, without towers. An arcade or cloister led from the gate to the main entrance of the donjon, and the roofs of various buildings appear above the parapet of the southern wall.⁴ The Castle was surrounded by a moat, and the ground it covered was about 40 yards square. On the north-western side of the inner courtyard a flight of steps led to a covered archway opening on a semicircular stone pulpit, each supported by single pillars. We gather these details from the drawing.

Sandal Castle was built on a natural hill of sandstone, and in those days it must have presented an imposing appearance from Wakefield bridge, with its lofty towers rising over the trees. There were extensive views in every direction from the castle walls. Northward is Wakefield and the rich valley of the Calder. To the west are the woods stretching away until the view is bounded by Woolley Edge. The woods and lake of Chevet are to the south, and a wide extent of country was visible to the east, with Nostell Priory and the manor of Walton hidden amongst the trees. The master of Walton was probably an enemy, for Robert Water-ton of Walton was the Duke's jailer when he was a child. But although Sandal commanded extensive views, yet, owing to the wooded character of the country, an enemy might approach without his force being fully known to the gar-rison.

The Lancastrian chiefs at Pomfret would have received news of the arrival of the Duke at Sandal on Christmas-day ; and they were engaged for three days in collecting their forces. On the 30th they began the march from Pomfret, a distance of 8 miles. Lord Clifford, with his Yorkshire

⁴ The ruins consist of part of the gate house, three arches of the passage leading to the donjon, bits of wall on the west

side, and the great mound covering the donjon.

friends, led the van, so as to become the right wing in forming the battle, resting on the river Calder. The Dukes of Somerset and Exeter and Earls of Devon and Northumberland were in the centre. The rear, which would form the left wing in wheeling into line, was under the command of the Earl of Wiltshire. Sir Andrew Trollope was the principal military adviser and chief of the staff.

On the last day of the year the division under Lord Clifford came in sight of the towers of Sandal, and attacked a foraging party which appears to have been returning from Wakefield. This was seen from the castle. The Duke of York determined to come to the rescue with his whole force. He probably believed that Clifford was considerably in advance of the main body of the enemy. Sir David Hall thought otherwise, and strongly represented the danger of running such a risk. But the chivalrous Duke spurned the idea of leaving his foraging party to be destroyed without making an effort at their rescue.

The Lancastrians under Clifford were between the castle and Wakefield bridge, and the great gate faced to the south. It was therefore necessary for the Yorkist force of barely 5,000 men to march out with their backs to the enemy, and to deploy round the castle hill, before forming line to attack. This was done, and a brilliant charge was made on the field between Sandal and Wakefield. Success would no doubt have attended the Duke's arms if Clifford's force, about equal in numbers to the Yorkists, had been unsupported. But the main body of Lancastrians arrived during the thick of the fight, with overwhelming numbers, while the left wing under the Earl of Wiltshire cut off the retreat to the castle. There was nothing left but to die bravely. The Duke of York fell fighting to the last. Camden says that there was a small space hedged round, enclosing a stone cross on the spot where the Duke fell; and Gibson adds that, before the civil war between Charles I. and his Parliament, the owners were obliged, by tenure, to keep up the hedge. A very ancient willow long marked the spot, but it has been cut down within the last few years.⁵

The Duke's faithful knights fell around him. His uncles

⁵ Hutton says, "The spot was about 400 yards from the Castle, close to the old road from Barnsley to Wakefield,"

now called, from the sign of a public-house, "Cock and Bottle Lane."

John and Hugh Mortimer; Sir David Hall, the tried and trusty councillor; his wife's nephew, Sir Thomas Neville; Sir Edward Bouchier, Sir Eustace Wentworth, Sir James Pickering, Sir John Gedding, Sir Thomas Harrington, Sir Hugh Hastings, Captains Fitzjames, Baume, Digby, and Rathford. Two gallant brothers, William and Thomas Parr, fought steadily round their beloved chief. William was slain, but Sir Thomas Parr escaped, and died in 1464. He was the ancestor of Queen Catherine Parr, of a good Westmoreland stock. Sir Richard Lymbricke, Sir Ralph Stanley, Captain Hanson, and John Harrow, the stout mercer of London, were wounded and taken prisoners.

On the spot where the Duke and his faithful friends made their last stand an antique ring was found. Within it was engraved the words, "Pour bon amour," and on one side was wrought the effigies of the Virgin Mary, our Saviour, and two other saints. The ring formed part of Thoresby's Museum at Leeds. (See *Ducatus Leodiensis* 1715, p. 495.)

No quarter was given to the soldiers, and 2,000 were slaughtered. When all was over, the young Earl of Rutland, probably with a few followers, perhaps with that Harry Love-deyne whose service was "right agreeable" to him and his brother, in the happy days of their boyhood, fought his way through the encircling foe and reached Wakefield bridge. He was overtaken a little above the bars beyond the bridge, "going up a clyning ground," as Leland tells us. Lord Clifford, it is said, was the pursuer. No one can doubt that a scion of that royal and ever dauntless race of Plantagenet, who had reached his 18th year, did not die before his enemies had been made to pay dearly for his young life. In Leland's time a cross marked the place.⁶ Hutton thought the spot where Rutland fell was what is called "*The Fallings*," on the left of the bridge, going to Heath. But he gives no good reason for the suggestion.

The Earl of Salisbury escaped from the field, but was taken prisoner the same night by a servant of Sir Andrew Trollope, and conveyed to Pomfret; where he was killed by a bastard son of the Duke of Exeter.⁷

⁶ Leland adds: "The common saying is the erle would have taken a poor woman's house for succour, and she for fear shut the door, and strait the erle was killed."

⁷ Stow says that the Earl of Salisbury

had the grant of his life for a great ransom, but that the common people at Pontefract, who loved him not, took him out of the castle by violence and smote off his head.—*Chronicle*, p. 413.

The Lancastrian leaders took counsel after the battle, and decided on the perpetration of an inhuman piece of folly. The bodies of the Duke of York and of the Earls of Rutland and Salisbury were buried at Pomfret. But their heads were ordered to be stuck on the gates of York. The Duke's head was placed upon Micklegate Bar, with a paper crown on it by way of insult. The heads of Sir Thomas Neville, Sir Edward Bouchier, Sir Thomas Harrington, Sir William Parr, Sir James Pickering, and of John Harrow the citizen of London, were also ordered to be stuck on the different gates of York.

As soon as Queen Margaret received the news in Scotland, she came to York and joined the victorious army. It was resolved to march direct to London, and the northern soldiers were bribed by permission to pillage the whole country. This they did for 15 miles on either side of their track ; attacking churches, taking away vessels, books, and vestments, and even the sacramental pyx, after shaking out the eucharist ; and killing the priests who resisted. Reaching St. Albans, they defeated the troops sent out from London to oppose them, and even recovered the person of Henry VI. But here their successes ended. The gates of London were closed, provisions ran short, and they retreated into Yorkshire.

When the dreadful news of the battle of Wakefield reached London, the Duchess of York was plunged into grief at the loss of her noble husband and gallant young son, and she was terrified for the safety of her children. The two little boys, George and Richard, were put on board a vessel in the Thames and sent to Holland. There, under the protection of the Duke of Burgundy, they were established at the Utrecht University with suitable tutors. The Duchess of York, with her daughter Margaret, remained in London awaiting events. The age of the Earl of March was then only eighteen years and eight months. He was at Shrewsbury when the terrible blow fell upon him. It spurred him into resolute action. He had collected a good force, with which he turned upon the Tudors and crushed them at Mortimer's Cross. He then advanced to London by rapid marches, after having formed a junction with the Earl of Warwick ; and was proclaimed King as Edward IV. He won the victory of Towton on March 29th, 1461, before

he was 19, and a terrible retribution fell upon his father's destroyers. Clifford was killed in the battle. Wiltshire and Devonshire were taken and beheaded. Somerset was beheaded in 1463. Exeter escaped, but died in exile and great poverty in 1473. The Earl of Northumberland and Sir Andrew Trollope were also slain in the battle of Towton. Never was retribution more rapid and more complete.

The heads were removed from the gates of York and buried with the bodies. In the summer of 1466 there was a splendid and sumptuous funeral of the Duke of York at Fotheringay. The procession started from Pomfret, and young Richard Duke of Gloucester, then in his 15th year, followed the coffin the whole way. The King awaited his arrival at Fotheringay, and the funeral took place on the 29th of July. Nearly thirty years afterwards the body of the aged Duchess of York was placed beside that of her husband. She long survived all her children but one, and died at Berkhamstead on the 31st of May, 1495. The bodies of the Earl of Salisbury and of his son Thomas were interred at the Abbey of Bisham in Berkshire, on Feb. 16th, 1462.

The last pious act of the children of the Duke of York was the re-endowment of the beautiful chapel of Our Lady, on the bridge at Wakefield, near the spot where their gallant young brother Edmund was slain.⁸

Few as the recorded details are, the accounts of the battle of Wakefield are very contradictory. In seeking out the truth we shall be right in preferring the statements of contemporaries to those of subsequent historians. There were three contemporary writers in England who refer to the battle, but only two give any detailed account of it ; and these two are of very unequal value as authorities. There is also one foreign contemporary chronicle which covers the ground.

I. William Worcester was the son of a person of the same name who lived at St. James's Bee, in the town of Bristol, and was descended on his mother's side from a family of Coventry named Botoner. He sometimes signed himself William Botoner, but is better known as William of Worcester. This writer had special advantages as a reliable narrator of contemporary events. Born in 1415, he entered

⁸ The chapel was built in the reign of Edward III. See "The Chapel of Edward III. on Wakefield Bridge," by N. Scatcherd (1843).

the University of Oxford in 1432, and studied for four years at Hart's Hall (now Balliol College). He was secretary to Sir John Fastolf, and was for many years steward of his manor of Castle Combs in Wiltshire. Later in life he set himself assiduously to learn French and to study poetry under a Lombard named Caroll Giles, and in 1473 he completed a translation of a French version of Cicero's *De Senectute*, which was printed by Caxton in 1481. He was an ardent collector of information ; and there are several of his newsletters in the Paston Correspondence. He was a married man, a close observer of passing events ; not an ecclesiastic shut up in a monastery. He was about 45 years of age in 1460, and was in London at the time of the accession of Edward IV. The historical work of William of Worcester, entitled "*Annales Rerum Angelicarum*," was first published by Herne in 1774.

II. John Bostock was a native of Whethamstede in Hertfordshire, and is known as John of Whethamstede. He became a priest in 1382, and was Abbot of St. Albans, where he died in extreme old age in 1464. He wrote "*Historia Brevis Angliæ a Bruto ad Henricum Sextum*." His chronicle, from 1441 to 1461, was published by Hearne from a manuscript in the library of the College of Arms ; and was again edited by Ripley in 1872. Whethamstede was a very old man in 1460, apparently approaching 90 ; and was strongly prejudiced against Margaret of Anjou, owing to the excesses of her troops at St. Albans. His authority must be received as inferior to that of William of Worcester, although both were contemporaries.

III. The first part of the Chronicle of Croyland was by the Abbot Ingulphus. But the monk who continued it, and covered the ground from 1149 to 1486, was anonymous. He was a contemporary, and relates the movements of the Queen, and the excesses of her army, but gives no account of the Battle of Wakefield.

Although Enguerand de Monstrelet died in 1453, his Chronicle was continued by an anonymous writer down to 1467, and in this portion there is a brief account of the Battle of Wakefield.

William of Worcester, John of Whethamstede, and the continuators of the Croyland and Monstrelet Chronicles, were contemporaries. The next writers who referred to or de-

scribed the Battle of Wakefield were Fabyan, Polydore Virgil, Hall, Stow, and Holinshed.

Robert Fabyan was a London Alderman, who was too young when the battle was fought to remember anything about it, even if he was born. But he lived very near the event, and may have conversed with many contemporaries. He died in 1512, and his Chronicle was published in 1516. It contains very little about the battle.

Polydore Virgil was an Italian who came to England and composed a history at the invitation of Henry VII. Like Fabyan, he might have received information from contemporaries of the event, and he gives an account of the battle of Wakefield, with a list of the slain. His work was first published in 1534.

Edward Hall derives some authority from his having been a descendant of Sir David Hall, the friend and councillor of the Duke of York. But his Chronicle is gossiping and unreliable, and he puts long imaginary speeches into the mouths of his characters. Hall's Chronicle was published by Grafton in 1548. Holinshed, whose Chronicle appeared in 1577, copied from Whethamstede and Hall. The two latter writers, Hall and Holinshed, are only mentioned as authorities because they have been used by nearly all modern historians, and the version of the battle as told by them is now the one generally received. But their statements must be examined by the light of contemporary information, and must be received or rejected according as they are corroborated or contradicted by William of Worcester, the most reliable authority who was living at the time of the battle. John Stow, who was born in 1525, and wrote his Chronicle between 1560 and 1600, is an authority of great weight by reason of the diligence and care with which he conducted his researches. He gives one or two particulars, connected with the battle, that are not found elsewhere.

Both William of Worcester and Whethamstede concur in the statement that the battle was brought on by an attack on foraging parties. The latter adds that there was some act of treachery on the Lancastrian side. This is perhaps explained by Stow, who relates the act of treachery perpetrated by Lord Nevill before the battle, which has been already mentioned. The preposterous story told by Hall about the Duke declaring that he would issue out and fight

the whole Lancastrian army, and that their great number should not appal his spirit, may be rejected without hesitation. The continuator of Monstrelet says that the battle was very bloody, and hardly contested; and the numbers given by Hall are probably near the truth, namely, from 18,000 to 22,000 Lancastrians against 5,000 followers of the Duke of York. William of Worcester gives the numbers slain at 2,000, which Hall, as is his wont, increases to 2,800, and Stow gives at 2,200.

The weight of authority is clearly and decisively against the Duke of York having been taken prisoner, and in favour of his having been killed in the battle. William of Worcester says: "Ubi occubuerunt in campo Dux Eborum, Thomas Neville," &c. The Croyland continuator gives the same evidence. Fabyan, Polydore Virgil, Hall, and Stow concur. Hall says: "He, manfully fighting, was, within half an hour, slain and dead." But Whethamstede states that the Duke of York was taken prisoner and grossly insulted: that he was set upon an ant-hill, a crown woven of grass was put on his head, and that the soldiers bowed their knees before him, saying, in derision, "Hail! King without a kingdom!" He adds, "non aliter quam Judæi coram Domino." Holinshed copies this story from Whethamstede; and the continuator of Monstrelet says that the Duke was taken prisoner and beheaded by the Queen's order. The version of Whethamstede, although countenanced to some extent by the Monstrelet Chronicle, may safely be rejected as mythical, and as a story without foundation, told by an old monk who was strongly prejudiced against the Lancastrian party. Mr. Freeman has remarked upon it, that it is an instance of the legendary element in history arising very soon after the event. The Duke of York was certainly killed in the battle, and was not taken prisoner.

This brings us to the question of Queen Margaret's alleged cruelty. She is generally condemned as having been guilty of savage and inhuman conduct towards the Duke of York, on the strength of this story told by Whethamstede, and copied from Holinshed and Shakespeare by most modern historians. It is hard to believe that a daughter of the gentle and chivalrous René of Anjou could have so entirely forgotten the teachings of her youth, and have so utterly lost her sense of dignity and all feeling of

humanity. On the sole evidence of a malignant old monk it would be right to reject the stories about Margaret, on the score of their intrinsic improbability. But fortunately there is clear proof that she was actually in Scotland when the Battle of Wakefield was fought. William of Worcester tells us that she fled into Scotland when the Parliament was summoned for October, 1460, and that she did not return to York until after the battle was over. "*Dicto bello finito, Regina Margareta venit ab Scotia Eboraco.*" This is confirmed by the Croyland continuator, who says, "*In partibus borealibus morabatur.*" Mr. Freeman was, I believe, the first to point out that Queen Margaret was in Scotland, in an interesting article he wrote on the battle of Wakefield, which was published in the *Saturday Review* for May 4th, 1872. He adds that Margaret was only an accomplice to the barbarities after the fact, by allowing the heads to remain over Micklegate. Margaret was obliged to tolerate the deeds of her savage adherents. The Lancastrian party is stained with the indelible disgrace of having murdered the Maid of Orleans, the most odious crime in history. On such men, not on the daughter of René of Anjou, should the responsibility of cruelties and barbarities perpetrated during the Wars of the Roses be laid by impartial history.

The most absurd legend relating to the battle of Wakefield is that told by Hall and Holinshed, and adopted by Shakespeare and nearly all modern historians, respecting the death of the Earl of Rutland. Hall says that young Rutland was scarcely of the age of 12 years, and on this false foundation he builds up his ridiculous legend. He relates how the prince's chaplain and schoolmaster, named Sir Robert Apsall, secretly conveyed the little boy out of the field, how they were espied and taken by Lord Clifford, how the child knelt on his knees demanding mercy, how the schoolmaster made a speech and Clifford gave a truculent reply, and how Clifford struck the child to the heart with a dagger. This fable rests on there being a child. If there was no child nothing of the sort can have happened.

The contemporary evidence is simply that, in retreating, and after the battle, Lord Clifford killed the Earl of Rutland on or near Wakefield bridge. William of Worcester says:— "*Et in fugiendo post campum super pontem apud Wakefelde Dominus de Clyfforde occidit Dominum Edmondum*

1. *Ann*, born August 10th, 1439, at Fotheringay (*Duchess of Exeter*).
2. *Henry*, born February 10th, 1441, at Hatfield (*Died in infancy*).
3. *Edward*, born April 28th, 1442, at Rouen (*Earl of March*,
Edw. IV.).
4. *Edmund*, born May 17th, 1443, at Rouen (*Earl of Rutland*).
5. *Elizabeth*, born April 22nd, 1444, at Rouen (*Duchess of Suffolk*).
6. *Margaret*, born May 3rd, 1446, at Fotheringay (*Duchess of*
Burgundy).
7. *William*, born July 7th, 1447, at Fotheringay (*Died young*).
8. *John*, born Novr. 7th, 1448, at Neyte (*Died in infancy*).
9. *George*, born Octr. 21st, 1449, in Ireland (*Duke of Clarence*).
10. *Thomas*, born _____, 1450, (*Died in infancy*).
11. *Richard*, born Octr. 2nd, 1452, at Fotheringay (*Duke of Gloucester*).
12. *Ursula*, born _____, 1454, (*Died in infancy*).

As regards the Earl of Salisbury, he was not, as Hall says, wounded and taken in the battle ; but captured during the night, and sent to Pomfret, where he was beheaded. There is substantial agreement respecting this incident among the other authorities. William of Worcester says :—“ *Et eadem nocte Comes Sarum captus est per servientem Andrææ Trollope et in crastino apud Pountfrett bastardus Exoniæ occidit dictum Comitem Sarum.*”

Lists of the principal knights and captains who were slain are given by William of Worcester, by Polydore Virgil, by Hall, and by Stow. The list of Polydore Virgil is the most full. The lists of the four authorities who give names of the slain are as follows :—

and presented it to the Queen, who was
"not lying far from the field."

LISTS OF THE SLAIN AT THE BATTLE OF WAKEFIELD.

<i>Polydore Virgil.</i>	<i>Hall.</i>	<i>William of Worcester.</i>
1. Duke of York	10. Sir John Mortimer.	Sir Thomas Neville.
2. Earl of Rutland.	11. Sir Hugh Mortimer.	Sir Thomas Parr.
} in all } lists.	Sir Thomas Neville.	14. Sir Edward Bourchier.
	Sir David Hall.	
3. Sir Thomas Neville.	Sir William Parr.	15. Sir James Pickering.
4. Sir David Hall.	Sir Thomas Parr.	
5. Sir John Parr (Wm. ?)	12. Sir Hugh Hastings.	Sir Thomas Harrington.
6. Sir John Gedding.	13. Captain Hanson.	
7. Sir Eustace Wentworth.		16. Capt. H. Rathford.
8. Sir Guy Harrington (J. ?).	<i>Stow.</i>	17. John Harrow, of London.
9. Captain Fitzjames.	All those given by Hall, and	
„ John Baume.	Lord Harrington.	
„ Roland Digby.	Sir Thomas Harrington.	
	Sir Henry Ratford.	

Walter Limbrick, Ralph Stanley, and Captain Hanson were taken prisoners, according to William of Worcester and Hall. Stow adds John Harrow.

Sir Thomas Neville and Parr are in all four lists; D. Hall is in Polydore Virgil, Hall and Stow; Harrington in Polydore Virgil, Worcester, and Stow; Gedding, Wentworth, Fitzjames, Baume and Digby only in Polydore Virgil; the Mortimers, Hastings and Hanson in Hall and Stow; Bouchier, Pickering, and Harrow only in Worcester; Rathford or Ratford in Worcester and Stow.

The savage act related of the Lancastrians, that they placed a paper crown on the head of the Duke of York in derision, is probably true. William of Worcester says, “Caput ducis Eboraci in despectu coronaverunt cartâ,” and the story is also told by Hall, and in the Monstrelet Chronicle. William of Worcester supplies the list of those whose heads were struck off and sent to York, to be stuck on the bars and walls. He says:—“Ubi per consilium dominorum decolaverunt corpora mortua—

Ducis Eborum.
Comitis Sarum.
„ Rutland.
Thomæ Neville.
Edwardi Bouchier.
Thomæ Harrington.
Thomæ Parre.
Jacobi Pykering.
Johannis Harrowe de London, Mercer.

These references to the authorities, for the various incidents of the battle of Wakefield, are intended to explain my grounds for omitting one or two well-known and generally accepted stories, and for accepting the facts as related in the narrative of the battle given in the early part of this paper.

NOTE ON RECENT ACCOUNTS OF THE BATTLE OF WAKEFIELD.

A NARRATIVE of the Battle of Wakefield was published by George Tyas in 1854. He adopts the stories and conversations recorded by Hall without hesitation, and does not mention any of the contemporary authorities. Several of his details are given on his own authority alone ; and there are some less important mistakes, such as calling Lord Clifford the Earl of Clifford. The narrative is supplemented by extracts from Speed's Chronicle, Polydore Virgil, and Rapin's History of England, none of them contemporaries. Speed wrote in the reign of James I., Rapin in that of William III.

Hutton, in the account of his journey to Coatham in 1808, gives the result of his examination of the battle-field and of the ruins of Sandal Castle.—(*"Trip to Coatham,"* 1810, pp. 21, 22.)

Mr. Tyas has copied, almost *verbatim*, from Mr. Scatcherd's "*Chapel of King Edward III. on Wakefield Bridge*" (1843), without acknowledgment. Mr. Scatcherd suggests that the Earl of Rutland was flying to get within the bounds of sanctuary at the chapel on the bridge.

Mr. Freeman examined the battle-field when paying a visit at Thornes, and afterwards wrote a valuable article on the Battle of Wakefield, which was published in the *Saturday Review* for May 4th, 1872. He refers to Whethamstede, William of Worcester, and the continuator of the Croyland Chronicle as the authorities for the battle.

SKIPTON CASTLE IN THE WARS OF THE ROSES.

By W. HARBUTT DAWSON.

BOTH Thomas Lord Clifford and his son John Lord Clifford heartily espoused the Lancastrian cause during the sanguinary Wars of the Roses, and they both met their death on the field. The estates of John Lord Clifford were seized under Act of Attainder on the accession to the throne of Edward Duke of York. In 1465 the castle and honour of Skipton passed from the Crown to Sir William Stanley, a zealous partisan. I take the following from an old document amongst the Skipton Castle Evidences :—

In the fourth year of Edward IV.'s reign (May 9th), that king "by his l'res patents in consideracon of ye good and faithfull service to him done by Sr Wm. Stanley, Knt., of his speciall grace did give and grant to ye sd Wm. the Castle, mannor, and Ld^{pp} of Skipton in Craven, in ye county of Yorke, and ye townes, villages, hamlets, lands, tenem^{ts}, rents, services, reversions, advowsons, franchises, liberties, mines, and all of ye poss'ion and heredit^{ies} with ye appurt^s to ye sd Castle, mannor, and ld^{pp} or to any pt thereof belonging or app'tenning, which Jo. Clifford, Knt., late Ld. Clifford, or any other p'son or p'sons to his use on ye 29th day of March in the 1st year of the reign of ye sd King, or any time since, were seized or possessed : to hold to ye sd Sr Wm. Stanley in taile male by ye like services as ye late Ld. did hold ye same, with all ye issues and profits thereof from ye sd 29 day, without rendering any acct to us or our officers or ministers." The king further granted to Stanley "all waifes, and estrays and goods and chattels of felons and fugitives, and outlawed p'sons and all ye things at any time forfeited within ye sd castle, mannor, and Ld^{pp} of Skipton." He granted to Sir William also and his heirs male, "that they have in all and singular his (deceased's) lands, and

the lands within ye sd castle, mannor, and fee of Skipton afd, as well free warren as all other warren, and it shall not be lawfull for any p'son to enter into or take any bird or beast out of ye warren or chase without ye license of ye sd Sr Wm or his heires males. And yt ye sd Wm and his heires by his Bayliffe shall have all returns of writts, mandates, and executions, everywhere within ye sd castle, man'r and ld^{pp}, and ye limitts of ye land, and yt noe Sherriffe, Escheator, Bayliffe, or any other officer of ye sd king or his heires in ye sd castle and mannor from henceforth shall have ye execucon of any writts within ye sd castle, or into any pt thereof, unlesse by default of ye Bayliffe of ye sd Wm. and his heires."

Sir William Stanley died in 1476, and in that year the king demised the castle and honour of Skipton to Richard Duke of Gloucester, his youngest brother, afterwards Richard III. The following is a copy of the grant. It is likewise taken from the Castle Evidences :—

"The King wisheth health to all to whom, &c. Know you that we as well separately considering the acceptable, commendable, and laudable service done for us by our most dear brother Richard Duke of Gloucester, being kindly related to us, as also the goodness and other deserts of manners and virtue of him our dear brother, and for that reason worthily intending him for his reward and competent requital, and that our said brother might maintain according to ye degree of his quality his said condition, charge and expense upon our special grace regarding the premises, and for the more decent and honourably supporting and maintaining the said degree of being duke, Have given and granted and by these presents do give and grant unto the said Duke our brother the honour, castle, manours, and demesne of Skipton in Craven, in the county of York, the manor of Marton in Craven, in the same county, and all vills, villages, hamlets, lands, tenements, rents, and whatever other perquisites, mines of coal and lead, and all other possessions, and all other appurtenances to the said honour, castle, manors, demesnes, or to any parcel thereof in any way belonging or appurtaining, which did belong to John Clifford, Knight, late Lord Clifford, or to any other person or persons, for the use or benefit of the said John, on the 29th day of March in the 1st year of our

reign [1461] or any time before ; or of which the said John, late Lord Clifford, or any other person or persons for the use and benefit of the said John on the said 29th day of March or before jointly or severally by right of inheritance were seized or possessed ; And all other vills, villages, hamlets, lands, tenements, rents, services, reversions, advowsons, patronages, fee farmes, franks, liberties, mines of coal and lead, and all other possessions and hereditaments in Craven, in the said county, with the appurtenances which did belong to the said late Lord Clifford or to any other person or persons for the use and benefit of the said late Lord Clifford on the said 29th of March, or any time before, or of which the said late Lord Clifford or any other person or persons for the use and benefit of the said late Lord Clifford on the said 29th of March or any time before jointly or severally by right of inheritance were seized or possessed, and which came to our hands and possession by force and virtue of a certain Act of Attainder of the said John Clifford, made by our Parliament at Westminster holden the 4th day of November in the 8th year of our reign, and the forfeiture of the said honour, castle, manors, demesnes, vills, villages, and hamlets, lands and tenements, rents, services, reversions, advowsons, patronages, fee farms, offices, franchises, liberty of mines of coal and lead, and all other possessions and hereditaments aforesaid, *To have and to hold* all the said honour, castle, manors, demesnes, vills, villages, and hamlets, lands and tenements, and all other the premises, with all their appurtenances unto the said Richard our brother and the heirs of his body for ever, of us and our heirs by the like suits the said John Lord Clifford did hold the same, without paying any other rent or doing any other account to us and our heirs. And moreover by our special grace we have granted and by these presents do grant unto the said Richard our brother and his heirs aforesaid that they for ever hold to their use and benefit within the said honour, castle, manors and demesnes, vills, villages, and hamlets aforesaid within the Liberty and precincts thereof, all waifs and estrays, and also all forfeitures and goods and chattels of all felons, fugitives, and felo de se's and . . . and also of felons outlawed or to be outlawed, attainted, condemned, before us or any other judges or justices of us or our heirs in any court of us and our heirs, And all deodans,

treasure-trove, all goods, chattels, and forfeiture of all other outlaws or those to be outlawed before us or any other judges or justices of us or our heirs."

But the fortunes of Red Rose revived, and on the accession of Henry VII. the Act of Attainder under which the Clifford estates had been forfeited was repealed, and Henry, son of John Lord Clifford, succeeded to the barony, being "restored to all castles, honours, and lands so forfeited by the said Act of Attainder in such manner and form, like estate, and in as ample and available wise as the said John, late Lord Clifford had the same." This Henry is known as the "Shepherd Lord."

Notes.

[The Council have decided to reserve a small space in each Number of the Journal for notices of Finds and other discoveries; it is hoped that Members will assist in making this a record of all the matters of archaeological interest which may from time to time be brought to light in this large county.]

XXI.

ROMAN TOMBSTONE FOUND AT ILKLEY.

DURING the month of November last, some workmen employed by Mr. E. Wall, the proprietor of the Rose and Crown Inn at Ilkley, in making ornamental gardens at the rear of his establishment, came upon (during some necessary excavations) a wall of rubble, which they proceeded to remove; and in doing this, they found at a depth of two feet a large slab of stone, six feet in length, with an average breadth of $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet. It was lying face downwards, its back had been left rough, and it had apparently been used in making the foundation of the wall.

On disinterring the stone, it was at once seen to be of Roman origin. On the upper portion of the face is the figure of a female seated in a chair, but the features are much worn. She has a head covering, portions of which (like strings) extend down to the waist. The right hand,

slightly raised, is placed across the chest, and the left, resting on the knee, holds a small object of circular form. The figure, which is three feet in height, is within a recess. Underneath is an inscription which, with the exception of part of the second line, can be fairly made out. From a rubbing sent to me by Mr. G. W. Tomlinson,¹ I gave a reading, which, after receiving a photograph from the same gentleman, I found was somewhat erroneous. The correct reading, as far as visible, is

DIS (M)ANIBVS.
VE . . IC NCONIS FILIA
ANNORVM. XXX. C CORNOVIA
H. S. E.

In the first line the M of *Manibus* is obliterated ; in the second we only have VE . IC as a portion of the name of the deceased, and the final portion—NCONIS in the genitive case—of the name of her father. This we gather from the word *Filia* (daughter) following it. The remainder is plainly *Annorum xxx C(iris) Cornovia, H(ic) S(itus) E(st), i. e.* “thirty years (of age) a Cornovian citizen. Here she is laid.”

This is the first time that a trace of the Cornovian tribe has been found in a Britanno-Roman inscription. From the *Notitia* we know that a cohort of *Cornovii* formed the garrison of *Pons Aelii* (Newcastle-on-Tyne), but no trace of them has been found there. From the geography of Ptolemy we know that a tribe called the *Cornarii* inhabited the greatest part of Cheshire and Shropshire, and that among their towns were *Deva* (Chester) and *Uriconium* (Wroxeter); but they were probably a different people, for the Romans would hardly employ a cohort of Britons to keep their fellow-countrymen in subjection. The *Cornovii* were probably a continental people.

It is much to be wished that further discoveries of inscriptions may be made at Ilkley. This is only the fifth recorded, and of these two have been tombstones.

W. THOMPSON WATKIN.

¹ The Council are indebted to Mr. C. W. Kent, of Ilkley, for his kindness in sending the rubbing and photograph of the stone.

ASSESSMENT ROLL OF THE POLL-TAX FOR HOWDEN-SHIRE, ETC., IN THE SECOND YEAR OF THE REIGN OF KING RICHARD II. (1379).—(Exchequer Lay Subsidy Rolls, No. $\frac{209}{99}$.)

(Membrane 1.)

HOUDEN' ET HOUDENSHIRE.

HOUDEN.		
De Johanne ffaber, <i>Mason</i> , et Agnete vx̃ ejus	xij.d.	[De] iiiij.d.
De Johanne Lowyk, <i>Tayllyour</i> , et Agnete vx̃ ejus	vj.d.	De iiiij.d.
De Margareta Hokeler seruant	iiiij.d.	De et Emma vx̃ ejus
De Nicholao Theker, Laborer, et Alicia vx̃ ejus	iiiij.d.	De Johanne <i>Gloucr</i> , et Johanna vx̃ ejus
De Henrico fflox, Laborer, et Alicia vx̃ ejus	iiiij.d.	De Idonia Prom' seruant
De Willelmo Ra seruant et Alicia vx̃ ejus	iiiij.d.	De Johanne Couper et Agnete vx̃ ejus
De Thoma Chapman seruant	iiiij.d.	De Beatrice Brewester
De Rogero de Brungflete, Laborer, et Emma vx̃ ejus	iiiij.d.	De Emma Roscelyn seruant
De Agnete Paly vidua	iiiij.d.	De Thoma Brend, Husband', et Margareta vx̃ ejus
De Johanne Sclater, <i>Artificer</i>	xij.d.	De Johanne Hoddoñ, <i>Gloucr</i> , et Margareta vx̃ ejus
De Ricardo Wryght, <i>Carpentario</i> , et Margeria vx̃ ejus	xij.d.	De Johanne Steuenson, <i>Barker</i>
De Hugone Barker' et Idonia vx̃ ejus	ij.s.	De Roberto seruiente ejusdem
De Alicia seruiente predioti Hugonis	iiiij.d.	De Stephano Cok, Husband', et Cecilia vx̃ ejus
[De] Smyth, Laborer, et Margeria vx̃ ejus	iiiij.d.	De Roberto seruiente ejus
[De] fflatt', Laborer	iiiij.d.	De Willelmo Tasker', Laborer, et Alicia vx̃ ejus
[De] Laborer	iiiij.d.	De Juliana seruiente Thome de Skeltoñ
[De] Petronilla vx̃ ejus	iiiij.d.	De Roberto Chaloner, <i>Webster</i> ', et Juliana vx̃ ejus
[De] vx̃ ejus	vj.d.	De Willelmo seruiente Stephani Cecill'
[De]	iiiij.d.	De Johanne Paly, Laborer, et Margareta vx̃ ejus
[De] vx̃ ejus	xij.d.	De Johanna Mylner seruiente
[De]	iiiij.d.	De Willelmo Daud, <i>ffleshewer</i> , et Agnete vx̃ ejus
[De]	iiiij.d.	De Johanne Splaldyngtoñ, <i>ffraunkel</i> ', et Isolda vx̃ ejus
[De]	iiiij.d.	De Nicholao seruiente ejusdem
[De] [Hu]sband', et Isolda vx̃ ejus	iiiij.d.	De Agnete ancilla ejusdem Johannis

De Johanne de Santoñ, <i>fyscher</i> ,		De Willelmo Hunt, Husband', et	
et Emma vx̄ ejus	vj.d.	Isolda vx̄ ejus	iiij.d.
De Dionisio de Pycall' seruiente .	iiij.d.	De Thoma Webster et Katerina	
De Willelmo de Kellek, <i>Masoñ</i> ,		vx̄ ejus	xij.d.
et Alicia vx̄ ejus	xij.d.	De Nicholao Scolemayster . . .	iiij.d.
De Roberto Mawer, Laborer, et		De Johanne Mareham, Husband',	
Alicia vx̄ ejus	iiij.d.	et Cecilia vx̄ ejus	iiij.d.
De Johanne Sotheroñ et Johanna		De Idonia Masoñ, Laborer . . .	iiij.d.
vx̄ ejus, <i>Braciatrice</i>	xij.d.	De Stephano Heruy, Husband',	
De Gemette seruiente ejus . . .	iiij.d.	et Alicia vx̄ ejus	iiij.d.
De Willelmo Lyster	iiij.d.	De Johanna Hamond, <i>Webster</i> .	vj.d.
De Johanne Scot, Husband', et		De Beatrice Stanlay, Laborer .	iiij.d.
Alicia vx̄ ejus	iiij.d.	De Johanne Lowsoñ seruant . .	iiij.d.
De Nicholao del fforge, <i>Smyth</i> , et		De Isolda ancilla ejus	iiij.d.
Agnete vx̄ ejus	xij.d.	De Dionisio de Brend seruant .	iiij.d.
De Thoma Daud, <i>Glouer</i> , et		De Thoma de Cayuyll', Husband',	
Emma vx̄ ejus	iiij.d.	et Emma vx̄ ejus	iiij.d.
De Willelmo Steryar', Husband',		De Willelmo Custyn, Husband',	
et Alicia vx̄ ejus	iiij.d.	et Emma vx̄ ejus	iiij.d.
De Willelmo Daud, Laborer . . .	iiij.d.	De Adam Meskyn, Husband', et	
De Johanna Hyn seruant	iiij.d.	Johanna vx̄ ejus	iiij.d.
De Margeria Daud seruant . . .	iiij.d.	De Thoma de Benetland, <i>ffraun-</i>	
De Thoma de Houk, <i>Hosteller</i> , et		kel'	xij.d.
Alicia vx̄ ejus	xij.d.	De Johanna ancilla ejus . . .	iiij.d.
De Thoma filio eorundem, ser-		De Roberto de Barneby, Hus-	
uant	iiij.d.	band', et Emma vx̄ ejus . . .	iiij.d.
De Johanna ancilla eorundem . .	iiij.d.	De Roberto Heruy seruant . . .	iiij.d.
De Isolda Barker', Laborer . . .	iiij.d.	De Petronilla Heruy seruant .	iiij.d.
De Matilda de Bouñ, <i>Braciatrice</i> .	xij.d.	De Roberto Nicholson et Alicia	
De Johanne de Messyngham,		vx̄ ejus	iiij.d.
<i>ffleshewer</i> ', et Alicia vx̄ ejus,		De Roberto Gardynier et Johanna	
<i>Braciatrice</i>	ij.s.	vx̄ ejus, Husband'	iiij.d.
De Alicia ancilla ejus	iiij.d.	De Willelmo Beryar', Laborer, et	
De Roberto del Grene, <i>ffleshewer</i> '	xij.d.	Emma vx̄ ejus	iiij.d.
De Willelmo seruiente ejus . . .	iiij.d.	De Ricardo de Clay, Husband', et	
De Thoma ff..... et Emma		Katerina vx̄ ejus	iiij.d.
vx̄ ejus	xij.d.	De Radulpho Whyte, Husband',	
De Thoma .....yth et		et Alicia vx̄ ejus	iiij.d.
Alicia vx̄ ejus	vj.d.	De Nicholao del Cotesse, Hus-	
De Roberto et		band', et Johanna vx̄ ejus . .	iiij.d.
Agnete vx̄ ejus	vj.d.	De Willelmo filio ejus, seruant .	iiij.d.
De Johanne D .....wer'		De Petro Bysshop', Husband', et	
et Alicia vx̄ ejus	vj.d.	Alicia vx̄ ejus	iiij.d.
De Johanne Wo..... vx̄		De Roberto Miter, Husband', et	
ejus, <i>Artificer</i>	vj.d.	Katerina vx̄ ejus	iiij.d.
De Willelmo de .....ych,		De Johanne Willesoñ, Husband',	
Husband', et Johanna vx̄ ejus .	iiij.d.	et Alicia vx̄ ejus	iiij.d.
De Thoma filio ejus, seruant . .	iiij.d.	De Roberto Ayre, Husband', et	
De Alicia Oustyn (? read "Cus-		Matilda vx̄ ejus	iiij.d.
tyn"), Laborer	iiij.d.	De Beryer, Husband', et Isolda	
De Roberto Bertram, Laborer, et		vx̄ ejus	iiij.d.
Isolda vx̄ ejus	iiij.d.	De Johanne Barker, Husband', et	
De Willelmo Wryght, <i>Carpenter</i> ,		Alicia vx̄ ejus	iiij.d.
et Alicia vx̄ ejus	iiij.d.	De Simone de Buterwyk, Laborer	iiij.d.
De Willelmo de Carletoñ, Hus-		De Claricia Masoñ, Laborer . .	iiij.d.
band', et Alicia vx̄ ejus	iiij.d.	De Auicia Baroñ seruant . . .	iiij.d.
De Isolda Ledebeter, <i>Braciatrice</i> .	vj.d.	De Willelmo Lowsoñ, Husband',	
De Agnete de ffentoñ, <i>Braciatrice</i>	vj.d.	et Agnete vx̄ ejus	iiij.d.
De Johanna de Pountfrayt, <i>Bra-</i>		De Willelmo Fychelere, <i>Lorimer</i> .	vj.d.
<i>ciatrice</i>	xij.d.	De Isolda de Laxtoñ, <i>Bracer</i> . .	xij.d.
De Johanne Beryar', Laborer, et		De Isolda filia ejus, seruant .	iiij.d.
Johanna vx̄ ejus	iiij.d.	De Johanne Blyborught, <i>fflesh-</i>	
De Willelmo Caster', Husband',		<i>ewere</i> , et Agnete vxore eius,	
et Elizabetha vx̄ ejus	iiij.d.	<i>Braciatrice</i>	xij.d.
De Margareta Douber, Laborer .	iiij.d.	De Waltero seruiente ejus . . .	iiij.d.

De Agnete ancilla ejus	iiij.d.
De Willelmo de Bubwyght, <i>glash-</i> <i>cwerc,</i> et Emma vx̃ ejus	xij.d.
De Isolda ancilla ejus	iiij.d.
De Thoma de Yle, <i>Soutter,</i> et Alicia vx̃ ejus	xij.d.
De Willelmo de Suthwel, <i>Mason,</i> et Alicia vx̃ ejus	xij.d.
De Thoma Pot et Alicia vx̃ ejus, <i>Braciatrice</i>	xij.d.
De Johanna ancilla ejus	iiij.d.
De Johanne Lister et Emma vx̃ ejus	xij.d.
De Willelmo filio Petri, Husband', et Alicia vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.
De Katerina filia ejus, seruand	iiij.d.
De Willelmo Rasyn, Husband', et Agnete vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.
De Thoma Judde, Husband', et Alicia vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.
De Matilda filia ejus, seruand	iiij.d.
De Rogero de Cliftoñ, Husband', et Agatha vx̃	iiij.d.
De Thoma filio ejus, seruand	iiij.d.
De Isolda ancilla ejus	iiij.d.

(Membrane 1 dorso)

De Willelmo Man, Husband', et Agnete vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.
De Thoma Wilsoñ, Husband', et Katerina vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.
De Isolda Apmoud seruant	iiij.d.
De Ricardo Motoñ, Husband', et Agnete vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.
De Matilda Lorymer seruant	iiij.d.
De Isolda Tayliour, Laborer	iiij.d.
De Thoma Wylsoñ, junior, La- borer	iiij.d.
De Matilda Braban, Laborer	iiij.d.
De Margareta de Clyf, <i>Braciatrice</i>	vj.d.
De Roberto Balliuo seruant	iiij.d.
De Johanne de Bromstoñ, <i>Masoñ</i> , et Agnete vx̃ ejus	xij.d.
De Thoma seruiente ejus . . . . .	.....
De Johanne Rachel, <i>Draper</i> , et Alicia vx̃ ejus, <i>Braciatrice</i> . . . . .	.....
De Isolda Bachyler, Laborer . . . . .	.....
De Alicia filia ejus, seruant . . . . .	.....
De Crystiana Wypylster . . . . .	.....
De Alicia Marschall', <i>Braciatrice</i> . . . . .	.. ..
De Emma ancilla ejus . . . . .	.....
De Thoma Cotes, <i>Theker</i> , et Ana- billa [vx̃ ejus] . . . . .	.....
De Idonia de Croft, <i>Braciatrice</i> . . . . .	.....
De Adam Tayllour, <i>Cissore</i> , et Alicia vx̃ ejus] . . . . .	.....
De Emma filia ejus, seruant . . . . .	.....
De Dionisio filio ejus, seruant . . . . .	.....
De Sarrota Tayllour, Laborer . . . . .	...j...
De Rogero Hamond, <i>Souter</i> , et Agnete vx̃ ejus	ij s.
De Elena ancilla ejus	iiij.d.

De Johanne filio Agnetis, <i>ffysshers</i> ,	xij.d.
et Johanna vx ^e ejus	
De Roberto Barbour' et Alicia vx ^e	vj.d.
ejus	
De Albino Alkoc et Emma vx ^e	xl.d.
ejus, ffraunkel'	
De Stephano Cecil', ffraunkel' et	xl.d.
<i>Hosteller</i>	
De Cecilia Cecil seruant	iiij.d.
De Roberto Spenser seruant	iiij.d.
De Agnete Spenser seruant	iiij.d.
De Lucia Berneslay seruant	iiij.d.
De Johanna Spycer seruant, ser-	iiij.d.
uant	
De Roberto Bakster, <i>ffournier</i> , et	iiij.d.
Isabella vx ^e ejus	
De Johanne seruiente ejus	iiij.d.
De Willelmo Coteller' et Alicia	vj.d.
vx ^e ejus, <i>Artificer</i>	
De Johanne Porter, Husband', et	iiij.d.
Aguete vx ^e ejus	
De Willelmo de Barneby et Alicia	xij.d.
vx ^e ejus, <i>Braciatrice</i>	
De Thoma seruiente ejus	iiij.d.
De Alicia ancilla ejus	iiij.d.
De Margareta Oty seruant	iiij.d.
De Alicia ancilla ejus	iiij.d.
De Alicia Chaundeler', <i>Artificer</i> .	ij.s.
De Johanne de Ayrennyn (! Ay-	vj.d.
remyn), <i>Souter</i> ', et Agnete vx ^e	
ejus	
De Johanne de Coupeland, <i>ffysshers</i> ,	ij.s.
et Isolda vx ^e ejus, <i>Braciatrice</i> .	
De Alicia ancilla ejus	iiij.d.
De Johanne de Mydelham et	xij.d.
Emma vx ^e ejus, <i>Braciatrice</i>	
De Beatrice ancilla ejus	iiij.d.
De Mariota ancilla ejus	iiij.d.
De Laurencio Tayllour', <i>Draper</i> ,	xij.d.
et Agnete vx ^e ejus	
De Johanne Settour', <i>ffysshers</i> ', et	xij.d.
Alicia vx ^e ejus	
De Johanne de Heaylwode, <i>ffys-</i>	xij.d.
<i>sher</i> ', et Agnete vx ^e ejus	
De Johanne Wymark, <i>ffabro</i>	vj.d.
De Roberto Cecil', <i>Braciatore</i>	ij.s.
De Johanna ancilla ejus	iiij.d.
De Johanne Lagoñ, <i>ffysshers</i> ', et	vj.d.
Agnete vx ^e ejus	
De Thoma Holand, <i>Souter</i> ', et	vj.d.
Isolda vx ^e ejus	
De Johanne Mylne, Husband', et	vj.d.
Katerina vx ^e ejus	
De Hawysia del ffall' vidua	iiij.d.
De Roberto de Braytoñ, <i>Souter</i> ',	xij.d.
et Agnete vx ^e ejus	
De Alicia de Kelsay, <i>Semester</i>	vj.d.
De Johanna Knot seruant	iiij.d.
De Agnete Webster seruant	iiij.d.
De Johanne del Dyk, <i>Souter</i> ', et	vj.d.
Isabella vx ^e ejus	
De Johanne Bakster, <i>ffournour</i> , et	vj.d.
Agnete vx ^e eju[s]	
De Thoma de Bryg, <i>Walker</i> , et	xij.d.
Emma [vx ^e ejus]	

De Johanne Deuyas, Husband', et
Alicia vx̄ ejus iiiij.d.
De Johanne Scotte, *Mylner*, et
Agnete vx̄ ejus vj.d.
De Willelmo de Bolthorp', La-
borer iiiij.d.
De Johanne Bossall', Husband', et
Katerina vx̄ ejus iiiij.d.
De Johanne seruiente ejus iiiij.d.
De Rogero Mylner et Alicia vx̄
ejus vj.d.
De Johanne filio ejus iiiij.d.
De Mariota de Thorp', Laborer iiiij.d.
De Johanna filia ejus, seruant iiiij.d.
De Alicia filia ejus, seruant iiiij.d.
De Johanne Grace, *Draper*, et
Isolda vx̄ ejus ij.s.
De Thoma filio ejus, seruant iiiij.d.
De Willelmo filio ejus, seruant iiiij.d.
De Johanne Brayder', *Netmaker*',
et Cecilia vx̄ ejus iiiij.d.
De Agnete Hobwyf seruant iiiij.d.
De Sibilla de Hykdoñ seruant iiiij.d.
De Thoma filio ejus, seruant iiiij.d.
De Agnete Swerd, Laborer iiiij.d.
De Alicia filia ejus, seruant iiiij.d.
De Willelmo Walker et Agnete
vx̄ ejus xij.d.
De Johanne Spycer et Cecilia vx̄
ejus, *Braciatrice* ij.s.
De Waltero Souter', de Braytoñ,
et Agnete vx̄ ejus, *Braciatrice* ij.s.
De Alicia ancilla ejus seruant iiiij.d.
De Hugone Gayne seruant iiiij.d.
De Johanne Whytehede, *Mercer*,
et Emma vx̄ ejus ij.s.
De Cristiana ancilla ejus iiiij.d.
De Agnete de Nottoñ seruant iiiij.d.
De Alicia quondam vx̄ Johannis
Swanne iiiij.d.
De Willelmo Payntour et Emma
vx̄ ejus vj.d.
De Stephano Mylner, Husband',
et Alicia vx̄ ejus iiiij.d.
De Willelmo de Yeland, ffermour xij.d.
De Dionisia filia ejus, *Braciatrice* vj.d.
De Beatrice ancilla ejus iiiij.d.
De Johanne Turpyn seruiente ejus iiiij.d.
De Margareta de Neusom, La-
borer iiiij.d.
De Johanne Swan, *Skynner*, et
Isolda vx̄ ejus xij.d.
De Roberto Dowe, Husband', et
Alicia vx̄ ejus iiiij.d.
De Alicia de Butterwyk, Laborer iiiij.d.
De Adam de Touthorp', *Tayl-*
lour', et Elena vx̄ ejus iiiij.d.
De Simone seruiente ejus iiiij.d.
De Johanne del West seruiente
ejus iiiij.d.
De Willelmo de Ayremyn, *Glouer*,
et Elizabetha vx̄ ejus vj.d.
De Jok (*sic*) Cok, Husband', et
Alicia vx̄ ejus iiiij.d.
De Alicia seruiente ejus iiiij.d.

De Simone Tregetour, *Webster*,
et Agnete vx̄ ejus vj.d.
De Henrico Lyster, Laborer iiiij.d.
De Cecilia filia ejus, seruant iiiij.d.
De Stephano del ffall' iiiij.d.
De Gouen seruiente ejus iiiij.d.
De Alicia del ffall' seruant iiiij.d.
De Petro Petter, Husband', et
Isabella vx̄ ejus iiiij.d.
De Johanne de Stowe, *Carpen-*
tario, et Emma vx̄ ejus vj.d.
De Willelmo de Mortoñ, *Souter*,
et Emma vx̄ ejus vj.d.
De Johanne Syssoñ, *Tayllour*', et
Agnete vx̄ ejus vj.d.
De Johanne de Wresyll', *flessh-*
euer', et Alicia vx̄ ejus vj.d.
De Johanne seruiente ejus iiiij.d.
De Johanne de Yucflet, *Skynner*,
et Matilda vx̄ ejus vj.d.
De Johanne de Holand, *Smyth*,
et Cecilia vx̄ ejus vj.d.
De Johanna filia ejus, seruant iiiij.d.
De Roberto Roscelyne et Alicia
vx̄ ejus, *Braciatrice* vj.d.
De Margareta ancilla ejus iiiij.d.
De Roberto Touchepryk, *flessh-*
euer', et Agatha vx̄ ejus vj.d.
De Johanne Osgotby seruant iiiij.d.
De Thoma Swan seruant iiiij.d.
De Johanne Clerk seruant iiiij.d.
De Nicholao de Bernhyll', ffraun-
kel', et Isolda vx̄ ejus xl.d.
De Isolda ancilla ejus iiiij.d.
De Margareta ancilla ejus iiiij.d.
De Willelmo Aldus seruiente ejus iiiij.d.
De Johanne seruiente ejus iiiij.d.
De Johanne Knot, *ffyssher*', et
Alicia vx̄ ejus xij.d.

(Membrane 2.)

SALTMERSHE.

De Thoma Saltmersh', Esquier xx.s.
De Jacobo Gafare seruant iiiij.d.
De Johanne de seruant iiiij.d.
De Thoma de seruant iiiij.d.
De Margareta Nurre[s] seruant iiiij.d.
De Johanne de Holw seruant iiiij.d.
De Willelmo de Appleby seruant iiiij.d.
De Johanne de Duffeld' seruant iiiij.d.
De Hugone Haukstok et Agnete
vx̄ ejus, Laborer iiiij.d.
De Isabella Haukstok, Laborer iiiij.d.
De Roberto Chambrelayn et Petro-
nilla vx̄ ejus, Laborer iiiij.d.
De Johanne seruiente ejus iiiij.d.
[De] Ouertoñ, Hus-
band', et Matilda vx̄ ejus iiiij.d.
[De] ejus iiiij.d.
[De] horntoft, Hus-
band', et Alicia vx̄ ejus iiiij.d.
[De] k, Laborer iiiij.d.

[De], Husband', et Alicia vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.
[De] Gotte, Laborer	iiij.d.
[De] Gotte, <i>Webster</i>	vj.d.
[De] Gotte et Oliue vx̃ ejus, <i>Braciatrice</i>	vj.d.
[De] Potter et Alicia vx̃ ejus, <i>Braciatrice</i>	vj.d.
[De] rayberd, Husband'	iiij.d.
[De] fil' ejus, seruant	iiij.d.
De Johanne filio ejus, <i>Wryght</i>	vj.d.
De Johanne Hayer et Margareta vx̃ ejus, Laborer	iiij.d.
De Thoma Hayer, Laborer	iiij.d.
De Thoma Shiphird et Johanna vx̃ ejus, seruant'	iiij.d.
De Henrico Hayer et Emma vx̃ ejus, Laborer	iiij.d.
De Ricardo filio ejus, seruant	iiij.d.
De Thoma Skegge et Johanna vx̃ ejus, Laborer	iiij.d.
De Ricardo Cokon, <i>Merchant</i> , et Johanna vx̃ ejus	vj.d.
De Johanne Coken et Johanna vx̃ ejus, Laborer	iiij.d.
De Roberto Cokon et Alicia vx̃ ejus, Laborer	iiij.d.
De Thoma Peressoñ, Husband', et Beatrice vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.
De Willelmo Taillour et Alicia vx̃ ejus	vj.d.
De Johanne Horshard, <i>Webster</i> , et Isabella vx̃ ejus	vj.d.
De Johanne Beksoñ et Alicia vx̃ ejus, Laborer	iiij.d.
De Johanne filio ejus, seruant	iiij.d.
De Ricardo filio ejus, seruant	iiij.d.
De Willelmo Steuenson et Isabella vx̃ ejus, Laborer	iiij.d.
De Johanne Ludewyn, Laborer	iiij.d.
De Ricardo Lascy et Margareta vx̃ ejus, <i>Braciatrice</i>	xij.d.
De Alicia filia Ricardi, seruant	iiij.d.
De Johanne seruiente ejusdem Ricardi	iiij.d.
De Johanna seruiente ipsius	iiij.d.
De Margareta seruiente ejus, seruant	iiij.d.
De Willelmo, filio Willelmi, et Johanna vx̃ ejus, <i>Braciatrice</i>	xij.d.
De Johanna atte Gotte, Laborer	iiij.d.
De Johanne filio Willelmi, Laborer	iiij.d.
De Johanna seruiente predicti Willelmi	iiij.d.
De Willelmo Broune et Margareta vx̃ ejus, Laborer	iiij.d.
De Johanne filio Willelmi, <i>Webster</i> , et Agnete vx̃ ejus	vj.d.
De Ricardo Couper, Husband', et Alicia vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.
De Adam de Holm et Johanna vx̃ ejus, Laborer	iiij.d.
De Johanne Bedemañ, <i>Webster</i> , et Margareta vx̃ ejus	vj.d.

De Roberto atte Gotte, Husband', et Elena vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.
De Thoma Wodderrowe et Johanna vx̃ ejus, <i>Braciatrice</i>	vj.d.
De Henrico Trotte et Isabella vx̃ ejus, <i>Braciatrice</i>	vj.d.
De Matilda filia ejus, seruant	iiij.d.
De Johanne Perkynsoñ et Johanna vx̃ ejus, <i>Braciatrice</i>	vj.d.
De Ricardo, filio Johannis, et Alicia vx̃ ejus, Laborer	iiij.d.
De Wressell' seruant	iiij.d.
De [e]jus	iiij.d.
De Husband', et Alicia vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.
De Joh. [e]jus, seruant	iiij.d.
De Johanne. oñ et Agnete vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.
De Petro Broun Adamsoñ et Agnete vx̃ ejus, Laborer	iiij.d.
De Johanna Nicolwyffe, seruant	iiij.d.
De Johanne Kypax, <i>Webster</i> , et Alicia vx̃ ejus	vj.d.
De Roberto Shiphird' et Matilda vx̃ ejus, <i>Webster</i>	vj.d.
De Willelmo filio ejus, seruant	iiij.d.
De Johanne de Walktoft, Laborer	iiij.d.
De Isabella de Riche, Laborer	iiij.d.
De Johanne Bosnyll' et Johanna vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.
De Thoma atte Bouche et Alicia vx̃ ejus, <i>Braciatrice</i>	vj.d.
De Amicia Gudhale, <i>Webster</i>	vj.d.
De Johanne de Wattoñ et Johanna vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.
De Alicia vx̃ Roberti	iiij.d.
De Philippo Nuchak et Alicia vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.
De Roberto Beksoñ et Agnete vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.
De Willelmo Milner et Marioria vx̃ ejus, <i>Braciatrice</i>	vj.d.
De Ricardo Nablessoñ et Agnete vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.

COTTENESSE.

De Johanne de Kirkby, Esquier, et Katerina vx̃ ejus	xl.d.
De Thoma Hakthorp', <i>fraunklayn</i> , et Isabella vx̃ ejus	xl.d.
De Johanna seruiente Johannis de Kirkby, seruant	iiij.d.
De Stephano seruiente ipsius, seruant	iiij.d.
De Thoma de Crosseby, Laborer	iiij.d.
De Ricardo Hunter, Husband', Johanna vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.
De Willelmo de Grenake Dionisia vx̃ ejus, <i>Braciatrice</i>	xij.d.
De Willelmo Pygatemane et Alicia vx̃ ejus, Laborer	iiij.d.
De Johanna Baldbody, Laborer	iiij.d.

De Johanne Hnerisoñ (? "Henri- soñ") et Alicia vx̃ ejus, <i>Braci- atrice</i>	vj.d.
De Cicilia filia ejus, Laborer	iiij.d.
De Thoma filio Willelmi et Alicia vx̃ ejus, <i>Braciatrice</i>	vj.d.
De Willelmo filio ejus	iiij.d.
De Alicia seruiente ejus	iiij.d.
De Rogero Shiphird' et Margaret vx̃ ejus, Laborer	iiij.d.
De Alicia Pygate, <i>Webster</i>	vj.d.
De Alicia Huddoghter seruant	iiij.d.
De Johanne de Rilyngtoñ, <i>Mercer</i> vj.d.	
De Roberto de Carlell' et Johanna vx̃ ejus, <i>Braciatrice</i>	xij.d.
De Isabella filia ejus, seruant	iiij.d.
De Johanne Skynwyñ et Cristiana vx̃ ejus, <i>Braciatrice</i>	xij.d.
De Johanne filio Willelmi, <i>Chap- man</i>	vj.d.

(Membrane 2 dorso.)

· *Adhuc Colnesse.*

De Waltero Napy, Laborer	iiij.d.
De Willelmo de Darby et Johanna vx̃ ejus, <i>Braciatrice</i>	vj.d.
De Alano Gardiner et Alicia vx̃ ejus, <i>Braciatrice</i>	vj.d.
De Johanne Cokrell' et Matilda vx̃ ejus, Laborer	iiij.d.
De Emma de Blaktoft, Laborer	iiij.d.
De Matilda Colynwyff, Laborer	iiij.d.
De Ricardo ffarefax et Margareta vx̃ ejus, Laborer	iiij.d.
De Marioria Terry seruant	iiij.d.
De Thoma Gilsoñ et Alicia vx̃ ejus, Laborer	iiij.d.
De Thoma Carter et Elizabetha vx̃ ejus, Laborer	ii[ij.d.]
De Cicilia Calff, Laborer	
De Cicilia Carter seruant	
De Thoma Gardiner et Cicilia vx̃ ejus, Laborer	
De Roberto Gardiner	
De Willelmo Shiphird et Alicia vx̃ ejus, <i>Braciatrice</i>	
De Johanne filio ejus, seruant	
De Willelmo Tailleur et Alicia vx̃ ejus	
De Alicia Tikill', Laborer	

METHAM.

De Domino Thoma de Metham, Chualer	xx.s.
De Elena Daymell vx̃ Johannis Daymell'	iiij.d.
De Maria de Berlay, Laborer	iiij.d.
De Thoma Hert, ffraunklay (<i>sic</i>)	xl.d.
De Thoma Daynill', ffraunklayn	xl.d.
De Johanne de Mortoñ, Laborer	iiij.d.

De Thoma de Hamyltoñ, Laborer	iiij.d.
De Johanne fforester seruant	iiij.d.
De Gerardo ffaconer seruant	iiij.d.
De Johanne Bakster seruant	iiij.d.
De Johanna de Benetland seruant	iiij.d.
De Elena Garghtwomañ, Laborer	iiij.d.
De Ricardo Clerk seruant	iiij.d.
De Willelmo Hawker seruant	iiij.d.
De Ricardo Pistore et Emma vx̃ ejus, Laborer	iiij.d.
De Willelmo del Stabyl et Agnete vx̃ ejus, Laborer	iiij.d.
De Roberto Palling et Alicia vx̃ ejus, Laborer	iiij.d.
De Thoma Palling et Emma vx̃ ejus, seruant	iiij.d.
De Henrico Hunterman seruant	iiij.d.
De Roberto Swynhird, Laborer	iiij.d.
De Rogero Proudeffelawe	iiij.d.
De Ricardo ffaconer et vx̃ ejus, <i>Braciatrice</i>	vj.d.
De Petro Botell' et Alicia vx̃ ejus, Laborer	iiij.d.
De Willelmo Coke et Emma vx̃ ejus, Laborer	iiij.d.
De Johanne Cyssoñ et Alicia vx̃ ejus, Laborer	iiij.d.
De Dionisio Salvan seruant	iiij.d.
De Roberto Skoche et Emma vx̃ ejus, seruant	iiij.d.
De Radulpho Stodman et Elena vx̃ ejus, Laborer	iiij.d.
De Johanne del Grene et Alicia vx̃ ejus, Laborer	iiij.d.
De Agnete Clerkdoghter seruant	iiij.d.
De Isabella Syssoñdoghter seruant	iiij.d.
De Agnete Syssoñdoghter seruant	iiij.d.
De Alicia Newcomen seruant	iiij.d.
De Thoma Copyñ seruant	iiij.d.

SCALBY.

De Johanne Wild', Husband', et Agnete vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.
De Willelmo Waldhegh' et Isabella vx̃ ejus, Laborer	iiij.d.
De Willelmo Toye et Emma vx̃ ejus, Laborer	iiij.d.
De Adam Chaffre, Husband', et Elena vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.
De Rogero Skyn, Husband', et Emma vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.
De Johanne Toye et Elena vx̃ ejus, Laborer	iiij.d.
De Thoma Cok' et Alicia vx̃ ejus, Laborer	iiij.d.
De Willelmo Yotsoñ et Johanna vx̃ ejus, <i>Braciatrice</i>	vj.d.
De Johanne Henrisoñ et Agnete vx̃ ejus, <i>Braciatrice</i>	vj.d.
De Roberto Notour, <i>Chapman</i> , et Cicilia vx̃ ejus	xij.d.

De Willelmo Bonde et vx̃ ejus, Laborer iiiij.d.
 De Emma quondam vx̃ Petri Ship-
 hird', Laborer iiiij.d.
 De Johanne Makke, *Webster*, et
 Alicia vx̃ ejus vj.d.
 De Thoma fforte et Elena vx̃ ejus iiiij.d.
 De Johanne Webster et Agnete vx̃
 ejus vj.d.
 De Rosa Butty seruant iiiij.d.
 De Roberto Notour seniore et
 Alicia vx̃ ejus iiiij.d.
 De Roberto de Walsay, *Webster*,
 et vx̃ ejus vj.d.
 De Hugone de Newtoñ et Emma
 vx̃ ejus, Laborer iiiij.d.
 De Willelmo Pynyngg' et Elena
 vx̃ ejus iiiij.d.
 De Rogero Wardles et Agnete vx̃
 ejus, Laborer iiiij.d.
 De Rogero atte Hall' seruant iiiij.d.
 De Willelmo atte the Lathys
 seruant iiiij.d.
 De Johanne Wryght, *faryman*, et
 Cicilia vx̃ ejus vj.d.
 De Johanne Coksoñ et Alicia vx̃
 ejus, Laborer iiiij.d.
 De Agnete filia ejus, seruant iiiij.d.
 De Elena filia ejus, seruant iiiij.d.
 De Adam Gudfer, *Wryght*, et Emma
 ex̃ ejus vj.d.
 De Johanne filio ejus, seruant iiiij.d.
 De Ricardo filio ejus, seruant iiiij.d.
 De Johanna filia ejus, seruant iiiij.d.
 De Galfrido atte Lathes, Laborer iiiij.d.
 De Johanne del Garght, Laborer iiiij.d.
 De Adam Mancournes et vx̃ ejus,
Webster vj.d.
 De Johanne del Pole et vx̃ ejus,
Webster vj.d.
 De Johanne Walcote (et) vx̃ ejus,
 Laborer iiiij.d.
 De Willelmo de Colby et Agnete
 vx̃ ejus, seruant iiiij.d.
 De Johanne Veer et Emma vx̃
 ejus, Laborer iiiij.d.
 De Johanne Milner et Alicia vx̃
 ejus, seruiende iiiij.d.
 De Alicia Walcote seruant iiiij.d.
 De Johanne Bradhegh' et Agnete
 vx̃ ejus, Laborer iiiij.d.

(Membrane 3.)

HEMMYNGBUR[GH].

[De] Hobsoñ et Alicia
 vx̃ ejus, *Brewster* xij.d.
 [De] Pyerssoñ, Hus-
 band', et Matilda vx̃ ejus iiiij.d.
 De Johanna Rutecut, Laborer iiiij.d.
 De Willelmo Menthorp', Husband',
 et Agnete vx̃ ejus iiiij.d.
 De Johanne Nortsoñ, Laborer iiiij.d.

De Adam de Slyngkesby et Alicia
 vx̃ ejus, *Brewster* ij.s.
 De Alicia Kytsoñ, Laborer iiiij.d.
 De Emma Spynner seruant iiiij.d.
 De Alicia frankesch' seruant iiiij.d.
 De Johanna filia ejusdem iiiij.d.
 De Adam de Broweñ, Husband',
 et Cecilia vx̃ ejus iiiij.d.
 De Willelmo seruiende ejusdem iiiij.d.
 De Johanne Wybet, *Smyth*', et
 Johanna vx̃ ejus, *Braciatrice* ij.s.
 De Ricardo filio ejusdem iiiij.d.
 De Sibilla seruiende ejusdem iiiij.d.
 De Henrico filio Ricardi, Hus-
 band', et Katerina vx̃ ejus iiiij.d.
 De Agnete filia ejusdem iiiij.d.
 De Isabella Gardener seruant iiiij.d.
 De Willelmo seruiende ejusdem iiiij.d.
 De Thoma Wygan, Laborer iiiij.d.
 De Idonia Rotor' seruant iiiij.d.
 De Johanne Pyonott, Husband', et
 Johanna vx̃ ejusdem iiiij.d.
 De Johanne Appelgarth', *Mercer* ij.s.
 De Thoma Thresher', Husband',
 et Johanna vx̃ ejus iiiij.d.
 De Alicia Blawhorn seruant iiiij.d.
 De Willelmo filio ejus iiiij.d.
 De Johanna seruiende Johanni Ap-
 pelgarth' iiiij.d.
 De Waltero Connyng', Husband',
 et Agnete vx̃ ejus iiiij.d.
 De Johanne Atte Cyrkarth', Hus-
 band', et Juliana vx̃ ejus,
Brewster vj.d.
 De Johanne filio Roberti, Hus-
 band', et Katerina vx̃ ejus iiiij.d.
 De Ricardo Cobler' et Cristiania
 vx̃ ejus, *Brewster* vj.d.
 De Ricardo filio Willelmi, Hus-
 band', et Matilda vx̃ ejus iiiij.d.
 De Alicia filia ejus iiiij.d.
 De Isabella filia ejus iiiij.d.
 De Agnete Ayerthurgh', Laborer iiiij.d.
 De Alicia Theklay seruant iiiij.d.
 De Henrico Rutout (! should be
 "Rutcut"), Laborer iiiij.d.
 De Symone Darell, Laborer iiiij.d.
 De Alicia Pogge, Laborer iiiij.d.
 De Roberto de Menthorp' et Alicia
 vx̃ ejus iiiij.d.
 De Willelmo seruiende ejusdem iiiij.d.
 De Adam seruiende ejusdem iiiij.d.
 De Agnete seruiende ejusdem iiiij.d.
 De Th[oma] layn et Ma-
 tilda vx̃ ejus iiiij.d.
 De Al[icia] d' iiiij.d.
 De Agnete ant iiiij.d.
 De Rogero iiiij.d.
 De Alicia iiiij.d.
 De Alicia Ha[b]wyff (!) seruant iiiij.d.
 De Ricardo Burgeys seruant iiiij.d.
 De Alicia Cutte seruant iiiij.d.
 De Waltero Jonsoñ et Dyonicia vx̃
 ejus iiiij.d.
 De Johanne filio ejusdem, Laborer iiiij.d.

De Johanna filia ejusdem, Laborer. *iiij.d.*
 De Willelmo Merschall' et Agnete
 vx̃ ejus *iiij.d.*
 De Agnete Gayte seruant *iiij.d.*
 De Isabella Gere, *Braciatrice* *vj.d.*
 De Johanne Wilton et Alicia vx̃
 ejus, seruant *iiij.d.*
 De Willelmo Esyngwald', *Mer-*
chand', et Auicia vx̃ ejus *vj.d.*
 De Johanne seruiente ejusdem *iiij.d.*
 De Willelmo de Drax et Alicia vx̃
 ejus, *Braciatrice* *vj.d.*
 De Henrico Coke et Auicia vx̃
 ejus, seruant *iiij.d.*
 De Agnete Atte Lane *iiij.d.*
 De Waltero Atte Lane seruant *iiij.d.*
 De Ricardo Tyend' et Augnete vx̃
 ejus, seruant *iiij.d.*
 De Willelmo Laugger' et Alicia vx̃
 ejus, seruant *iiij.d.*
 De Johanne Prestman, *Wright'* *vj.d.*
 De Isabella Boryng' seruant *iiij.d.*
 De Johanne Lucas et Elena vx̃
 ejus, seruant *iiij.d.*
 De Johanna filia ejusdem *iiij.d.*
 De Willelmo Howyk' et Alicia vx̃
 ejus, *Braciatrice* *vj.d.*
 De Willelmo of ye Wilowes et
 Dyota vx̃ ejus, seruant *iiij.d.*
 De Willelmo, filio Walteri, et
 Agnete vx̃ ejus, seruant *iiij.d.*
 De Alicia Taillour seruant *iiij.d.*
 De Johanne Taillour et Elena vx̃
 ejus, *Braciatrice* *vj.d.*
 De Margareta de Blakwell' seruant *iiij.d.*
 De Juliana de Burne seruant *iiij.d.*
 De Cecilia, Laborer *iiij.d.*
 De Johanne Wowell' cum Mar'
 vx̃ ejus, *Braciatrice* *vj.d.*
 De Margareta filia Johannis, seruant *iiij.d.*
 De Johanne Walker et Cecilia vx̃
 ejus, Laborer *iiij.d.*
 De Marioria Clerk, *Brewster* *vj.d.*
 De Margareta seruiente ejusdem *iiij.d.*
 De Johanne de Bardelby et Auicia
 vx̃ ejus, *Braciatrice* *vj.d.*
 De Willelmo Amyson cum Matilda
 vx̃ ejus *iiij.d.*
 De Roberto Cok' et Elena vx̃
 ejus, *Brewster* *xij.d.*
 De Alicia filia ejus, seruant *iiij.d.*
 De Cecilia Walker', *Braciatrice* *vj.d.*
 De Johanna Clerk' seruant *iiij.d.*
 De Thoma Taillour et Elena vx̃
 ejus *vj.d.*
 De Emma de Wedall' seruant *iiij.d.*
 De Roberto Hadelsay et Emma vx̃
 ejus, *Braciatrice* *vj.d.*
 De Willelmo Rogerson et Sissota
 vx̃ ejus, Laborer *iiij.d.*
 De Roberto Kombster' et Elena vx̃
 ejus, Laborer *iiij.d.*
 De Willelmo Swynard' seruant *iiij.d.*
 De Roberto Walker' et Elena vx̃
 ejus, *Brewster* *xij.d.*

De Juliana Yole, *Braciatrice* *vj.d.*
 De Marioria filia ejus, seruant *iiij.d.*
 De Thoma Tagge et Sissota vx̃ ejus,
 seruant *iiij.d.*
 De Willelmo Slenggesby et Elena
 vx̃ ejus, seruant *iiij.d.*
 De Roberto Escryk' et Syssota vx̃
 ejus, *Braciatrice* *vj.d.*
 De Juliana Walker seruant *iiij.d.*
 De Cecilia Wybet, *Braciatrice* *vj.d.*
 De Emma seruiente ejusdem *iiij.d.*
 De Willelmo de Slenggesby et Ci-
 cilia vx̃ ejus, seruant *iiij.d.*
 De Thoma de Menthorp' et Elena
 vx̃ ejus, seruant *iiij.d.*
 De Johanne Alkoc, *Webster* *vj.d.*
 De Alicia Alkoc, vidua *iiij.d.*
 De Roberto filio Ricardi, *Webster* *vj.d.*

(Membrane 3 dorso.)

De Johanna Routeoute seruant
 De Juliana de Menthorp', La-
 borer *iiij.d.*
 De Galfrido Chapman et Agnete
 vx̃ ejus, *Braciatrice* *vj.d.*
 De Alicia Sleght, Laborer. *iiij.d.*
 De Emma Sowter, Laborer *iiij.d.*

MELTON'.

De Ricardo Sadeler', *Webster*, et
 Alicia vx̃ ejus *xij.d.*
 De Johanna seruiente ejusdem
 Ricardi *iiij.d.*
 De Johanne Wryght et Emma vx̃
 ejus *vj.d.*
 De Agnete filia dicti Johannis,
 seruant *iiij.d.*
 De Johanne, filio Ade, et Alicia vx̃
 ejus, Laborer *iiij.d.*
 De Johanne Pratte et Elena, La-
 borer *iiij.d.*
 De Ricardo seruiente dicti Jo-
 hannis, seruant *iiij.d.*
 De Alicia seruiente dicti Johannis,
 seruant *iiij.d.*
 De Nicholao Batill' et Agnete vx̃
 ejus, Laborer *iiij.d.*
 De Alicia de Bruswyk seruant *iiij.d.*
 De Adam Carfergus, Laborer *iiij.d.*
 De Johanne de Sutton et Emma
 vx̃ ejus, Laborer *iiij.d.*
 De Henrico Smyth', *Taillour*, et
 Alicia vx̃ ejus *vj.d.*
 De Katerina filia dicti Henrici,
 seruant *iiij.d.*
 De Thoma Herde et Alicia vx̃ ejus,
 Laborer *iiij.d.*
 De Alicia filia dicti Thome,
 seruant *iiij.*

De Agnete filia quondam vxoris Johannis filii Rogeri, Laborer . . .	iiij.d.	De Johanne Lambarde et Emma vx ejus, <i>Braciatrice</i> . . .	vj.d.
De Johanne de Laxtoñ et Isabella vx ejus, seruant . . .	iiij.d.	De Johanne Canon filio ejusdem Johannis, Laborer . . .	iiij.d.
De Johanne de Pothowe, <i>Mar- chant</i> , et Emma vx ejus . . .	vij.s.	De Waltero Drynghowe et Emma vx ejus, Laborer . . .	iiij.d.
De Gilberto de Northeby, seruant De Johanna seruiente predicti Jo- hannis, seruant . . .	iiij.d. iiij.d.	De Clemente Swynhird seruant et vx ejus . . .	iiij.d.
De Johanna seruiente predicti Jo- hannis, seruant . . .	iiij.d.	De Johanne de Neubald' et Emma vx ejus, <i>Braciatrice</i> . . .	xij.d.
De Willelmo Vescey et Cicilia vx ejus, Laborer . . .	iiij.d.	De Johanne de Glentharn seruant De Beatrice seruiente predicti Jo- hannis, seruant . . .	iiij.d. iiij.d.
De Johanne Canon et Agnete vx ejus, <i>Braciatrice</i> . . .	vj.d.	De Roberto Gymlyn et Alicia vx ejus, seruant . . .	iiij.d.
De Johanna seruiente ejusdem Johannis, seruant . . .	iiij.d.	De Johanne Tart' et Johanna vx ejus, Laborer . . .	iiij.d.
De Alicia Passelewe, Laborer . . .	iiij.d.		
De Alicia Saltmawe seruant . . .	iiij.d.		
De Agnete Gardiner, Laborer . . .	iiij.d.		
De Agnete seruiente ejus, seruant De Willelmo Gardiner et Emma vx ejus, Laborer . . .	iiij.d. iiij.d.		
De Johanne seruiente ejusdem Willelmi, seruant . . .	iiij.d.		
De Johanna South Couper vidua . . .	iiij.d.		
De Willelmo filio Johannis, La- borer . . .	iiij.d.		
De Thoma de Moyne et Alicia vx ejus, Laborer . . .	iiij.d.		
De Willelmo Tart et Johanna vx ejus, Laborer . . .	iiij.d.		
De Thoma Gilliot et Emma vx ejus, Laborer . . .	iiij.d.		
De Matilda de Weles, Laborer . . .	iiij.d.		
De Ricardo Wyles, Laborer . . .	iiij.d.		
De Johanne seruiente Matilde Wyles, seruant . . .	iiij.d.		
De Willelmo seruiente ipsius Ma- tilde . . .	iiij.d.		
De Johanna seruiente ejusdem Ma- tilde . . .	iiij.d.		
De Johanne Passelewe et Agnete vx ejus, Laborer . . .	iiij.d.		
De Emma filia predicti Johannis, Laborer . . .	iiij.d.		
De Johanne de Eluelay seruant De Roberto Smytht et Alicia vx ejus . . .	iiij.d. vj.d.		
De Willelmo de Sanctoñ et Alicia (?) vx ejus, Laborer . . .	iiij.d.		
De Galfrido Bete seruant . . .	iiij.d.		
De Auicia cognata sua, seruant . . .	iiij.d.		
De Isabella seruiente Willelmi Gar- diner, Laborer . . .	iiij.d.		
De Cicilia de Greneake seruant . . .	iiij.d.		
De Rogero Warde et Emma vx ejus, Laborer . . .	iiij.d.		
De Johanne, seruiente Roberti atte Crosse, et Agnete vx ejus, seruant . . .	iiij.d.		
De Thoma de Walkyntoñ ser- uant . . .	iiij.d.		
De Willelmo de Brouñe et Alicia vx ejus, Laborer . . .	iiij.d.		

HITHE.

(Membrane 4.)

[! Name of place gone.]

[De].....[H]usband', et Margareta vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.
[De].....vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.
[De].....	iiij.d.
[De].....[seruan]t	iiij.d.
[De].....[serua]nt	iiij.d.
[De].....[ej]us	iiij.d.
[De].....on, Husband', et Alicia vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.
De Johanne Gregge, Husband', et Juliana vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.

De Johanne de Stather et Johanna vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.	De Thoma Rote, <i>Chapman</i> , et Cecilia vx̃ ejus, <i>Braciatrice</i> . . .	xl.d.
De Rogero Mylner et Elena vx̃ ejus	vj.d.	De Johanne Byrd, Laborer . . .	iiij.d.
De Johanne Syklyng et Johanna vx̃ ejus, <i>Braciatrice</i>	xij.d.	De Johanne Scotte, Laborer . . .	iiij.d.
De Elizota seruiente eorum . . .	iiij.d.	De Johanne de Topclyf seruant . .	iiij.d.
De Johanne seruiente eorum . . .	iiij.d.	De Petro seruiente predict Thome	iiij.d.
De Henrico Jurdan, Husband', et Alicia vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.	De Katerina seruiente predicti Thome	iiij.d.
De Alicia Prestysster seruant . . .	iiij.d.	De Marg.....ndall' seruant . . .	iiij.d.
De Adam Smyth, <i>Chapman</i> , et Agnete vx̃ ejus	xl.d.	De W.....[et M]argareta vx̃ ejus, Husband' . . .	iiij.d.
De Alicia Beryer seruant . . .	iiij.d.	De Jo[hanne], <i>Pistore</i> , et Alicia vx̃ ejus	vj.d.
De Wilhelmo Rossen, <i>Chapman</i> , et Johanna vx̃ ejus	xl.d.	De Alicia.....nend seruant . . .	iiij.d.
De Johanne Stathe seruiente ejus	iiij.d.	De Roberto.....et Alicia vx̃ ejus	vj.d.
De Thoma Mylner, <i>Molendinario</i> , et Johanna vx̃ ejus	vj.d.	De Johanne [de] Wharrom et Johanna vx̃ ejus, seruant . . .	iiij.d.
De Dionisio filio ejus, seruant . .	iiij.d.	De Johanne de Westby et Isabella vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.
De Rogero ffyne, Husband', et Emmota vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.	De Wilhelmo seruiente eorum . . .	iiij.d.
De Agnete filia eorum, seruant . .	iiij.d.	De Dionisio seruiente eorum . . .	iiij.d.
De Thoma ffyn, <i>Chapman</i> , et Alicia vx̃ ejus	ij.s.	De Ricardo de Cundall' et Margareta vx̃ ejus, Husband' . . .	iiij.d.
De Roberto de Wetoñ, Husband', et Isabella vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.	De Rogero Below et Dyonisia vx̃ ejus, Husband'	iiij.d.
De Beatrice del Garthe seruant . .	iiij.d.	De Thoma filio ejus, seruant . . .	iiij.d.
De Wilhelmo de Bartoñ, Husband', et Matilda vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.	De Wilhelmo Belowe, Laborer . . .	iiij.d.
De Wilhelmo atte Bek, Husband', et Emma vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.	De Roberto Rypplyngam, Husband', et Agnete vx̃ ejus . .	iiij.d.
De Johanna Gregge, <i>Webster</i> . . .	vj.d.	De Elena Theker, <i>Webster</i> . . .	vj.d.
De Elena Bulmer seruant . . .	iiij.d.	De Wilhelmo Jonsoñ, <i>Braciatore</i> , et Alicia vx̃ ejus	xij.d.
De Wilhelmo Gregge, <i>Chapman</i> . .	xl.d.	De Johanne filio ejus	iiij.d.
De Wilhelmo Sidhar seruant . . .	iiij.d.	De Margareta filia eorum, seruant	iiij.d.
De Thoma seruiente Wilhelmi Gregge	iiij.d.	De Elena de Sandholme seruant . .	iiij.d.
De Matilda atte Kyrk, <i>Braciatrice</i>	xij.d.	De Beatrice de Waghen seruant . .	iiij.d.
De Margareta filia ejus, seruant . .	iiij.d.	De Wilhelmo de Bulmer, <i>Chapman</i> , et Agnete vx̃ ejus . . .	xl.d.
De Wilhelmo Bakar, <i>Chapman</i> , et Johanna vx̃ ejus	ij.s.	De Alicia filia ejus, seruant . . .	iiij.d.
De Alicia Belowe seruant . . .	iiij.d.	De Thoma filio eorum	iiij.d.
De Agnete Belowe seruant . . .	iiij.d.	De Wilhelmo Steresman, <i>Chapman</i> , et Alicia vx̃ ejus	ij.s.
De Ricardo Steuenson, <i>Cissore</i> , et <i>Chapman</i>	xl.d.	De Elena de Staynholme, Laborer	iiij.d.
De Wilhelmo de Kyrkby, <i>Chapman</i> , et Matilda vx̃ ejus	xl.d.	De Johanne Daudsoñ, Husband', et Agnete vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.
De Agnete filia ejus, seruant . . .	iiij.d.	De Thoma Irys, Husband', et Margareta vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.
De Johanne Knout et Agnete vx̃ ejus, <i>Chapman</i>	ij.s.	De Johanne de fferyby et Alicia vx̃ ejus, seruant	iiij.d.
De Henrico Pynder, Husband', et Idonia vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.	De Johanna filia ejus, seruant . . .	iiij.d.
De Johanne Tauerner, <i>Masoñ</i> , et Matilda vx̃ ejus	xij.d.	De Johanne Sydhar, <i>fflessheuer</i> , et Johanna vx̃ ejus, <i>Braciatrice</i>	ij.s.
De Roberto Masoñ et Cristiana vx̃ ejus	vj.d.	De Thoma filio ejus, seruant . . .	iiij.d.
De Wilhelmo de Wharrom, <i>Webster</i> , et Margareta vx̃ ejus . . .	vj.d.	De Ricardo filio ejus, seruant . . .	iiij.d.
De Roberto Payth, <i>Webster</i> , et Johanna vx̃ ejus	vj.d.	De Wilhelmo Marshall', <i>ffabro</i> , et Agnete vx̃ ejus, <i>Marcer</i> . . .	vij.s.
De Wilhelmo A gale, <i>Webster</i> , et Alicia vx̃ ejus	vj.d.	De Johanne filio ejus	iiij.d.
De Nicholao Wayneabout, <i>Theker</i> , et Margareta vx̃ ejus	xij.d.	De Johanne Daye, Husband' . . .	iiij.d.
		De Johanne seruiente ejusdem . .	iiij.d.
		De Galfrido seruiente ejusdem . .	iiij.d.
		De Elena seruiente ejusdem . . .	iiij.d.
		De Roberto Skynner, <i>Pistore</i> , et Matilda vx̃ ejus	xij.d.

De Johanne Heruy, <i>Sementario</i> , et Dyonisia vx̃ ejus	xij.d.	De Rogero filio ejus, seruant, . . . . .	.....
De Johanna Prestuyf, Laborer	iiij.d.	De Johanne Wryght, <i>Carpenter</i> , et Agnete vx̃ ejus, <i>Braciatrice</i>. . . . .	.....
De Johanne Westland', Husband', et Agnete vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.	De Thoma filio Thome fletcher et Alicia vx̃ ejus, <i>Webster</i>] . . . . .	.....
De Johanne filio ejus, seruant	iiij.d.	De Willelmo Pensoñ et Emma vx̃ ejus, <i>Webster</i> . . . . .	...d.
De Willelmo filio eorum, seruant	iiij.d.	De Emmota filia ejus, seruant	iiij.d.
De Willelmo Taillour', <i>Cissore</i> , et Emmota vx̃ ejus	vj.d.	De Johanne de Byrdsay, Husband', et Agnete vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.
De Johanne Broune, Husband', et Matilda vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.	De Elena Oty seruant	iiij.d.
De Thoma Gryme, Husband', et Agnete vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.	De Alicia Oty seruant	iiij.d.
De Johanne de Pole, <i>Chapman</i> , et Matilda vx̃ ejus	xij.d.	De Johanne Sissoñ, <i>ffirmario</i> , et Custancia vx̃ ejus	xij.d.
De Johanne Nausom, Husband', et Agnete vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.	De Alicia filia ejus seruant	iiij.d.
De Rogero filio ejus	iiij.d.	De Thoma seruiante ejus	iiij.d.
De Simone Kyggy, <i>Marchaund</i> , et Elena vx̃ ejus	dimid. marc.	De Johanne Pykenote, Husband', et Elizabetha vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.
De Johanne Canon, Laborer	iiij.d.	De Johanne de Polyntoñ, <i>Walker</i> , et Agnete vx̃ ejus	vj.d.
De Katerina seruiante Simonis predicti	iiij.d.	De Johanne de Mydeltoñ et Alicia vx̃ ejus, <i>Webster</i>	vj.d.
De Agnete de Pole seruant	iiij.d.	De Roberto de Newbald, Hus- band', et Emma vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.
De Johanne seruiante predicti Si- monis	iiij.d.	De Johanne Taillour', <i>Cissore</i> , et Cecilia vx̃ ejus	vj.d.
De Willelmo Beryer' et Isabella vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.	De Johanne Taylour, <i>Cissore</i> , et Agnete vx̃ ejus	vj.d.
De Agnete filia eorum, seruant	iiij.d.	De Nicholao Canoñ et Agatha vx̃ ejus, seruant	iiij.d.
De Thoma Leche, <i>Medico</i> , et Cria- tiana vx̃ ejus	vj.d.	De Willelmo Souter' et vx̃ ejus, seruant	iiij.d.
De Johanne Colynsoñ et Alicia vx̃ ejus, <i>Braciatrice</i>	xij.d.	De Roberto Abbot, <i>firaunkel</i> ', et Emma vx̃ ejus	xl.d.
De Roberto filio eorum, seruant	iiij.d.	De Willelmo de Boyntoñ seruant	iiij.d.
De Johanne Chapman	vj.d.	De Willelmo ffayrell' seruant	iiij.d.
De Agnete Ruchecok, Laborer	iiij.d.	De Agnete seruiante predicti Ro- berti	iiij.d.
De Galfrido Kyduyll', Laborer	iiij.d.	De Johanna Souter, <i>Webster</i>	vj.d.
De Philippo Webster, <i>Textore</i> , et Alicia vx̃ ejus	vj.d.	De Nicholao Butty, <i>Firmario</i> , et Euota vx̃ ejus	xij.d.
De Johanne Pyert, Husband', et Elena vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.	De Johanne filio ejus, seruant	iiij.d.
De Thoma fforte seruant et Mar- gareta vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.	De Johanne de Warwyk, <i>firaun-</i> <i>kel</i> ', et Isabella vx̃ ejus	xl.d.
De Johanne Watson seruiante et Beatrice vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.	De Thoma de Warwyk seruant	iiij.d.
De Elena de Wartre seruant	iiij.d.	De Willelmo Gyliotte, Husband', et Cecilia vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.
De Alicia de Haysay	iiij.d.	De Katerina filia ejus, seruant	iiij.d.
De Cecilia de Crauen seruant	iiij.d.	De Thoma de Cotenesse et Cus- tancia vx̃ ejus, Husband'	iiij.d.
De Johanna de Wandesford ser- uant	iiij.d.	De Johanna de Braytoñ seruant	iiij.d.
De Willelmo Mylner seruant	iiij.d.	De Willelmo atte Prestes, <i>Fir-</i> <i>mario</i> , et Alicia vx̃ ejus	xij.d.
		De Roberto filio ejus, seruant	iiij.d.
		De Dionisio filio ejus, seruant	iiij.d.
		De Willelmo Wyppatte et Amicia vx̃ ejus, <i>Webster</i>	vj.d.
		De Ricardo Theker, <i>Tectore</i> , et Alicia vx̃ ejus	vj.d.
		De Adamo Skynner et Emma vx̃ ejus	vj.d.
		De Roberto de Kayuill' et Ana- billa vx̃ ejus, <i>Webster</i>	xij.d.
		De Johanne Lepar et Agnete vx̃ ejus, <i>Semester</i>	vj.d.

(Membrane 4 dorzo.)

GRENEAYK.

De Thoma Baroñ, <i>firaunkel</i> ', et Alicia vx̃ . . . . .	.....
De Johanne Pyrle seruant . . . . .	.....
De Thoma Schephyrd, <i>flesshewer</i> ', et Agnete . . . . .	.....

De Johanne ffroste, *Taillour* vj.d.
 De Thoma Dobsoñ, Husband', et
 Alicia vx̃ ejus iiij.d.
 De Johanne Lepar, *Artificer*, et
 Agnete vx̃ ejus, *Braciatrice* xij.d.
 De Henrico del Gayr' et Kate-
 rina vx̃ ejus, *Braciatrice* vj.d.
 De Willelmo de Kayuill' et Alicia
 vx̃ ejus, *Webster* vj.d.
 De Agnete filia ejus, seruant iiij.d.
 De Willelmo Ger' et Sibilla vx̃
 ejus, Husband' iiij.d.
 De Willelmo filio ejus, seruant iiij.d.
 De Willelmo de Gayr', Husband',
 et Cecilia vx̃ ejus iiij.d.
 De Beatrice Clerk, Laborer iiij.d.
 De Ricardo filio ejus, seruant iiij.d.
 De Willelmo Bensoñ et Alicia vx̃
 ejus, Husband' iiij.d.
 De Thoma Lowsoñ, Husband', et
 Agnete vx̃ ejus iiij.d.
 De Willelmo filio ejus, seruant iiij.d.
 De Johanna Clerk vidua iiij.d.
 De Thoma filio ejus, seruant iiij.d.
 De Isabella Lowthesoñ, Laborer iiij.d.
 De Johanna Cayuill', Husband',
 et Alicia vx̃ ejus iiij.d.
 De Isabella Roynes seruant iiij.d.
 De Johanne Inghland, Husband',
 et Emma vx̃ ejus iiij.d.
 De Thoma Bolitell', Husband', et
 Cecilia vx̃ ejus iiij.d.

BLACTOFT.

De Gilberto de Bucolne, ffraun-
 kel', et Alicia vx̃ ejus ij.s.
 De Roberto Heryng, Husband', et
 Emma vx̃ ejus iiij.d.
 De Thoma Wryght et Agnete vx̃
 ejus, *Braciatrice* xij.d.
 De Johanne Skyn, Husband', et
 Eua vx̃ ejus iiij.d.
 De Willelmo filio ejus, seruant iiij.d.
 De Johanne filio Thome, Hus-
 band', et Johanna vx̃ ejus iiij.d.
 De Alicia filia Roberti vidua iiij.d.
 De Nicholao filio ejusdem, La-
 borer iiij.d.
 De Elena filia ejus, seruant iiij.d.
 De Willelmo Androw, Husband',
 et Katerina vx̃ ejus iiij.d.
 De Johanne Bell', Husband', et
 Agnete vx̃ ejus iiij.d.
 De Willelmo Sandholme, Laborer iiij.d.
 De Johanne filio Alicie Walworth,
 Laborer iiij.d.
 De Roberto de Lokyngtoñ, Hus-
 band', et Alicia vx̃ ejus iiij.d.
 De Roberto Dugthy, Husband', et
 Elizabetha vx̃ ejus iiij.d.

De Willelmo filio Rose, Husband',
 et Agnete vx̃ ejus iiij.d.
 De Alicia Dulley vidua iiij.d.
 De Johanna Saper, *Kemster* iiij.d.
 De Stephano Mekesburgh et Alicia
 vx̃ ejus, *Braciatrice* vj.d.
 De Alano de Stayntoñ, Husband',
 et Johanna vx̃ ejus iiij.d.
 De Johanne seruiente ejus iiij.d.
 De Willelmo Skyn et Custancia
 vx̃ ejus, Husband' iiij.d.
 De Alicia filia ejusdem, seruant iiij.d.
 De Willelmo Rayner et Emma vx̃
 ejus, Husband' iiij.d.
 De Alicia Pag', Johanne et Sibilla
 filijs ejus, seruants xij.d.
 De Johanne filio Radulphi et Sis-
 sota vx̃ ejus, Laborer iiij.d.
 De Johanne Hermer et Alicia vx̃
 ejus, Laborer iiij.d.
 De Johanne Nepet, *Braciatore* vj.d.
 De Johanne Adcok et Alicia vx̃
 ejus, *Braciatrice* vj.d.
 De Adamo Adcok, Laborer, et
 Emma vx̃ ejus, Laborer iiij.d.
 De Raynaldo de Dunnynghoñ,
 Husband', et Marioria vx̃
 ejus iiij.d.
 De Johanne Tailleur et Custancia
 vx̃ ejus vj.d.
 De Johanne Dughti, Laborer, et
 Johanna vx̃ ejus iiij.d.
 De Thoma Rayner, Laborer, et
 Katerina vx̃ ejus iiij.d.
 De Willelmo Brue, Laborer, et
 Johanna vx̃ ejus, et Emma
 filia eorum, seruant viij.d.
 De Henrico Ced junior, Laborer,
 et Custancia vx̃ ejus iiij.d.
 De Willelmo Hausby et Johanna
 vx̃ ejus, *Braciatrice* xij.d.
 De Alicia seruiente eorum iiij.d.
 De Johanne Couper et Alicia
 vxore ejus vj.d.
 De Adamo Strang, *ffyssher*, et
 Isolda vx̃ ejus vj.d.
 De Willelmo Taburner et Alicia
 vx̃ ejus iiij.d.
 De Ricardo Skyn, *Artificer* vj.d.
 De Johanne filio Petri Barne iiij.d.
 De Willelmo filio Alicie ffyssher' vj.d.
 De Alicia Skynner vidua iiij.d.
 De Henrico Ced seniore et Johanna
 vx̃ ejus iiij.d.
 De Johanne filio Ricardi, Laborer iiij.d.
 De Agnete filia ejus, Laborer iiij.d.
 De Thoma filio Ricardi ffyssher',
 et Alicia vx̃ ejus vj.d.
 De Willelmo filio ejus, seruant iiij.d.
 De Nicholao Ra, *ffyssher*, et Agnete
 vx̃ ejus vj.d.
 De Henrico Adcok, *ffyssher*', et
 Emma vx̃ ejus vj.d.
 De Willelmo Sibsoñ, Laborer, et
 Isabella vx̃ ejus iiij.d.

De Johanne filio Matilde, *Carpenter*, et Custancia vx̃ ejusvj.d.
 De Henrico seruiente ejusiiij.d.
 De Alicia Parkyn wyf, viduaiiij.d.
 De Adam Sissoñ et Agnete vx̃ ejus, *Braciatrice*xij.d.
 De Johanne Boswel, *Theker*, et Cecilia vx̃ ejusiiij.d.
 De Custancia Hausby, Laboreriiij.d.
 De Johanne de Celdoñ seruantiiij.d.
 De Johanne Cob seruantiiij.d.
 De Roberto Clarke, Laborer, et Emma vx̃ ejusiiij.d.
 De Willelmo Adcok, *ffyssher*, et Agnete vx̃ ejus, *Braciatrice*xij.d.
 De Thoma Chapman, Husband', et Isabella vx̃ ejusiiij.d.
 De Johanne Chapman, *ffyssher*, et Alicia vx̃ ejusvj.d.
 De Thoma Huker, Laborer, et Matilda vx̃ ejusiiij.d.
 De Henrico Denys, Laborer, et Emma vx̃ ejusiiij.d.
 De Adam filio Rogeri, *fflesshewer*, et Alicia vx̃ ejusvj.d.
 De Thoma filio Johannis, *ffyssher*, et Emmota vx̃ ejusvj.d.
 De Willelmo filio Ricardi, Husband', et Lucia vx̃ ejusiiij.d.
 De Margareta filia ejus, seruantiiij.d.
 De Henrico filio ejus, seruantiiij.d.
 De Johanne Skelbroke, Laborer, et Emma vx̃ ejusiiij.d.
 De Willelmo Pynder, Husband', et Alicia vx̃ ejus, Laboreriiij.d.
 De Petronilla filia ejus, seruantiiij.d.
 De Johanne filio Ade, Laboreriiij.d.
 De Petro Barne, Laborer, et Isabella vx̃ ejus, et Johanne filio ejus, seruantviij.d.
 De Henrico Schepthurd, Laboreriiij.d.
 De Johanne Pygase, Laborer, et Emma vx̃ ejusiiij.d.
 De Willelmo Pygase, Laborer, et Petro filio ejus, seruantviij.d.
 De Thoma Saper, Husband', et Emma vx̃ ejusiiij.d.
 De Willelmo Darrans, Laborer, et Johanna vx̃ ejusiiij.d.
 De Willelmo Dully, Laborer, et Custancia vx̃ ejusiiij.d.

(Membrane 5).

THORP'.

De Willelmo Thorp', Firmario, et Agnete vx̃ ejusxl.d.
 De Isabella Braydlay viduaiiij.d.
 De Willelmo seruiente Willelmo Thorp'iiij.d.
 De Alicia seruiente ejusdemiiij.d.

De Sibilla Beauer viduaiiij.d.
 De Matilda seruiente ejusdemiiij.d.
 De Roberto Mustard, *Web(s)ter*, et Emma vx̃ ejusvj.d.
 De Alicia Ra viduaiiij.d.
 De Johanne Mustard, Husband', et Alicia vx̃ ejusiiij.d.
 De Willelmo Penbarñ, Husband', et Johanna vx̃ ejusiiij.d.
 De Alicia filia ejus, *Webster*vj.d.
 De Juliana quondam vx̃ Johannis Thorp, viduaxij.d.
 De Henrico seruiente ejusdemiiij.d.
 De Roberto Wresyll, Husband', et Alicia vx̃ ejusiiij.d.
 De Johanne Nabilsoñ, Husband', et Margareta vx̃ ejusiiij.d.
 De Ricardo Thorp', Laborer, et Agnete vx̃ ejusiiij.d.
 De Agnete Hoppertoñ viduaiiij.d.
 De Thoma Adamson, Husband', et Johanna vx̃ ejusiiij.d.
 De Johanne Cledrow, Husband', et Sibilla vx̃ ejusiiij.d.
 De Ricardo Thorp' et Johanna vx̃ ejus, seruantiiij.d.
 De Thoma de Hall', Husband', et Diota vx̃ ejusiiij.d.
 De Katerina seruiente ejusdemiiij.d.
 De Johanne Melburn, Husband', et Johanna vx̃ ejusiiij.d.
 De Roberto seruiente ejusdemiiij.d.
 De Agnete Woderaw viduaiiij.d.
 De Emma seruiente ejusdemiiij.d.
 De Johanna seruiente ejusdemiiij.d.

BELBY.

De Waltero Palmer, Husband', et Johanna vx̃ ejusiiij.d.
 De Al(i)cia Margretdoghter seruantiiij.d.
 De Willelmo del Ly et Alicia vx̃ ejus, Laboreriiij.d.
 De Johanne Symsoñ, Husband', et Margareta vx̃ ejusiiij.d.
 De Willelmo filio ejus, seruantiiij.d.
 De Petro Robertson, Husband', et Cecilia vx̃ ejus, *Braciatrice*xij.d.
 De Willelmo filio ejus, seruantiiij.d.
 De Willelmo, filio Walteri, et Johanna vx̃ ejus, Laboreriiij.d.
 [De]... [S]torm' juniore, Husband', et Katerina vx̃ ejusiiij.d.
 [De]... fl... ejus, seruantiiij.d.
 [De]... Palmer, Husband'iiij.d.
 [De]... fl... ejus, seruantiiij.d.
 [De]... mer seruantiiij.d.
 [De]... seruiente Willelmo Palmeriiij.d.
 [De]... odesaulff, Laboreriiij.d.
 [De]... Palmer, Husband', et Agnete vx̃ ejusiiij.d.

[De] Willelmo Storm', Husband',
et Cecilia vx̃ ejus iiij.d.
De Roberto filio ejus, seruant iiij.d.
De Johanna filia ejus, seruant iiij.d.
De Agnete Storm' seruant iiij.d.
De Juliana Storm', Laborer iiij.d.
De Alicia filia ejus, seruant iiij.d.
De Johanna filia ejus, seruant iiij.d.
De Willelmo Bartoñ, Husband',
et Alicia vx̃ ejus iiij.d.
De Roberto filio Ricardi, Hus-
band', et Agnete vx̃ ejus iiij.d.
De Thoma Russill', Husband', et
Juliana vx̃ ejus iiij.d.
De Agnete Russell' seruant iiij.d.
De Roberto Watson, Laborer iiij.d.
De Thoma Deusberi, *Taillour*, et
Margareta vx̃ ejus vj.d.
De Willelmo Dell' (or "Well'"),
Smyth, et Johanna vx̃ ejus vj.d.
De Hugone Baroñ et Juliana vx̃
ejus, Laborer iiij.d.
De Cristiana Baron vidua iiij.d.
De Roberto filio ejus, seruant iiij.d.
De Thoma Spenser, Husband', et
Isabella vx̃ ejus iiij.d.
De Thoma Wryght et Agnete vx̃
ejus, *Webster* xij.d.
De Alicia Nurya seruant iiij.d.

HOUDON'.

De Johanne Sewardby et Emma
vx̃ ejus, Laborer iiij.d.
De Johanne Porter et Johanna vx̃
ejus, Laborer iiij.d.
De Johanne Ousteby, Husband',
et Alicia vx̃ ejus iiij.d.
De Willelmo Symsoñ, Husband',
et Elena vx̃ ejus iiij.d.
De Johanne Ousteby, Husband',
et Isolda vx̃ ejus iiij.d.
De Willelmo filio ejus, seruant iiij.d.
De Roberto Perot, Husband', et
Aguete vx̃ ejus iiij.d.
De Roberto Berker, Husband', et
(sic) iiij.d.
De Johanne Pabdy, *Smyth*, et
Matilda vx̃ ejus vj.d.
De Emma Pabdy seruant iiij.d.
De Isabella Porter seruant iiij.d.
De Beatrice Brande seruant iiij.d.
De Johanne Gylden, Husband', et
Cristina vx̃ ejus iiij.d.
De Thoma filio ejus, seruant iiij.d.
De Johanne del Spayne, Husband',
et Magota vx̃ ejus iiij.d.
De Willelmo Howm, Husband',
et Isabella vx̃ ejus iiij.d.
De Johanne Bruñ et Johanna vx̃
ejus, Laborer iiij.d.

De Johanne Ryther, Husband', et
Elena vx̃ ejus iiij.d.
De Johanne filio ejus, Laborer iiij.d.
De Johanne filio Elye, Husband',
et Juliana vx̃ ejus iiij.d.
De Thoma Brian, Laborer iiij.d.
De Rogero Hamertoñ, *Mawer*, et
Alicia vx̃ ejus vj.d.
De Johanne Clerk, *Taillour*, et
Agnete vx̃ ejus vj.d.
De Johanne Wynn, *Milner*, et
Cecilia vx̃ ejus vj.d.
De Johanna filia ejus, Laborer iiij.d.
De Willelmo Hervy et Katerina
vx̃ ejus, Laborer iiij.d.
De Alano Atteloft, Husband', et
Beatrice vx̃ ejus iiij.d.
De Thoma atte iffers, Husband',
et Johanna vx̃ ejus, *Braciatrice* xij.d.
De Johanne Toppe, *Cartwryght*,
et Elena vx̃ ejus, *Braciatrice* xij.d.
De Thoma Troill', Husband', et
Lucia vx̃ ejus iiij.d.
De Johanne Jakesoñ, Husband', et
Alicia vx̃ ejus, *Braciatrice* xij.d.
De Roberto del Bergh et Amicia
vx̃ ejus, *Braciatrice* xij.d.
De Gilberto Troil et Alicia vx̃
ejus, Laborer iiij.d.
De Alano Elysssoñ et Johanna vx̃
ejus, Laborer iiij.d.
De Johanne Alaynsoñ et Matilda
vx̃ ejus, seruant iiij.d.
De Johanna filia Alani filii Elye,
Laborer iiij.d.
De Johanna Caltoñ vidua iiij.d.
De Willelmo Spark, Laborer iiij.d.
De Roberto Sissotsoñ seruant iiij.d.

(Membrane 5 dorso.)

SCOREBURGH'.

De Johanne Spender, Husband',
et Anabilla vx̃ ejus, *Braciatrice* vj.d.
De Willelmo seruiente ejusdem iiij.d.
De Diota North, *Braciatrice* vj.d.
De Willelmo Turnur et Johanna
vx̃ ejus, *Braciatrice* xij.d.
De Simone Sesay, Husband', et
Matilda vx̃ ejus iiij.d.
De Agnete Thurstane, Laborer iiij.d.
De Johanna Cayvell', Laborer iiij.d.
De Johanne Kayvell', Laborer iiij.d.
De Elisota Kayvell', Laborer iiij.d.
De Ricardo Milner et Alicia vx̃
ejus, *Braciatrice* xij.d.
De Thoma del Cotes, *Theker*, et
Alicia vx̃ ejus, *Webster* vj.d.
De Roberto Wryght et Katerina
vx̃ ejus, *Braciatrice* xij.d.

De Johanne Mody, Husband', et
Isabella vx̃ ejus, *Braciatrice* . . . xij.d.
De Johanne Ake, Laborer iiij.d.
De Johanne Spencer, Husband',
et Cecilia vx̃ ejus, *Braciatrice* vj.d.
De Johanne Smyth et Johanna
vx̃ ejus vj.d.
De Ricardo Couper et Alicia vx̃
ejus vj.d.
De Johanna Mirlay, Laborer iiij.d.
De Roberto filio Willelmi, La-
borer iiij.d.
De Ricardo Cayvell', Laborer iiij.d.
De Roberto Donkan, Laborer, et
Elena vx̃ ejus iiij.d.
De Johanne Wodman, Laborer, et
Emma vx̃ ejus iiij.d.
De Willelmo, filio Ade, et Agnete
vx̃ ejus, Laborer iiij.d.
De Johanne Bakster, Laborer, et
Johanna vx̃ ejus iiij.d.
De Willelmo Aldburgh, Laborer iiij.d.
De Nicholao Coke et Johanna vx̃
ejus, Laborer iiij.d.
De Alicia Makok, seruiente Jo-
hanni Mody iiij.d.
De Ricardo Modyman, seruiente
ejusdem iiij.d.

WALKINGTON'.

De Roberto seruiente Willelmo de
Sotton iiij.d.
De Stephano Shepard, Husband',
et (*sic*) iiij.d.
De Willelmo filio Nicholai, Hus-
band', et Elena vx̃ ejus iiij.d.
De Willelmo Ruland, Husband',
et Margareta vx̃ ejus
De Roberto Smyth et Johanna vx̃
ejus
De Roberto filio Galfridi, Laborer
De Thoma Shepard', Husband',
et Elena vx̃ eju[s]
De Alicia seruant
De Agnete filia ejusdem, seruant
De Thoma filio Gilberti, Husband',
et (*sic*)
De Roberto filio ejusdem, seruant
De Alicia filla ejusdem, Laborer iiij.d.
De Rogero Brantyngham, Hus-
band', et Lucia vx̃ ejus iiij.d.
De Willelmo filio Stephani, Hus-
band', et Matilda vx̃ ejus, La-
borer iiij.d.
De Johanne Grase, Husband', et
Alicia vx̃ ejus iiij.d.
De Johanne seruiente dicto Jo-
hanni iiij.d.
De Willelmo Tupy, Laborer iiij.d.
De Matilda Waldby, Laborer iiij.d.
De Willelmo Humbilton, Hus-
band', et Isabella vx̃ ejus iiij.d.

De Roberto Ruland seruant iiij.d.
De Alicia Ruland vidua iiij.d.
De Elena filia ejusdem, Laborer iiij.d.
De Nicholao seruant iiij.d.
De Willelmo Grynataneman, La-
borer iiij.d.
De Ricardo Schepar iiij.d.
De Roberto Wetoñ, Husband, et
Margareta vx̃ ejus, *Semester* vj.d.
De Isabella Boythorp' seruant iiij.d.
De Thoma filio ejusdem, Laborer iiij.d.
De Ricardo Cobbe, Laborer iiij.d.
De Johanne Milner vj.d.
De Johanne Justys, Husband' iiij.d.
De Thoma Coke, Husband', et
Elena vx̃ ejus iiij.d.
De Ricardo seruiente ejusdem iiij.d.
De Johanne filio Ade, Husband',
et Katerina vx̃ ejus, *Breicster* xij.d.
De Isabella matre ejusdem, La-
borer iiij.d.
De Adam filio Johannis, Laborer iiij.d.
De Thoma seruant iiij.d.
De Petro seruant iiij.d.
De Willelmo Skydby et Isabella
vx̃ ejus, Laborer iiij.d.
De Roberto Beryer et Johanna
vx̃ ejus, Laborer iiij.d.
De Johanne Ward, Husband', et
Margareta vx̃ ejus iiij.d.
De Johanna Grays, Laborer iiij.d.
De Elena Grays vidua iiij.d.
De Willelmo Baldrk (*sic*) et Ju-
liana vx̃ ejus, Laborer iiij.d.
De Matilda Bene vidua iiij.d.
De Ricardo Gowerd, Husband',
et Agnete vx̃ ejus iiij.d.
De Elena Proktur, *Breicster* vj.d.
De Alicia filia ejusdem, seruant iiij.d.
De Petro Gras, Husband', et
Agnete vx̃ ejus iiij.d.
De Ricardo Tolleray, *Pynder*, et
Alicia vx̃ ejus iiij.d.
De Willelmo Grany' et Johanna
vx̃ ejus, Laborer iiij.d.
De Emma filia ejusdem, seruant iiij.d.
De Emma Castell', Laborer iiij.d.
De Johanne Swynberd' et Ma-
tilda vx̃ ejus, seruant iiij.d.
De Thoma filio Johannis, Laborer iiij.d.

HOTHOM.

De Petro Rak et Matilda vx̃ ejus,
Laborer iiij.d.
De Johanne filio ejus, seruant iiij.d.
De Hugone Bughtorp', Husband',
et Alicia vx̃ ejus iiij.d.
De Elizabetha filia ejus, seruants
(*sic*) iiij.d.
De Thoma Bragby, Husband', et
Alicia vx̃ ejus iiij.d.

De Johanne Goldesburgh, Husband', et Agnete vx̃ ejus, *Brewster* vj.d.
 De Thoma Dawe, Husband', et Johanna vx̃ ejus iiij.d.
 De Alicia filia ejus, seruant iiij.d.
 De Johanne Smyth, Laborer, et Margareta vx̃ ejus iiij.d.
 De Johanna Dawe, seruant iiij.d.
 De Roberto Chapma(n), Laborer iiij.d.
 De Johanne Daunay, Laborer iiij.d.
 De Willelmo Dene, ffranklayn, et Katerina vx̃ ejus xl.d.
 De Willelmo Adkynson, Husband', et Alicia vx̃ ejus iiij.d.
 De Matheo Huchonson, Husband', et Dionisia vx̃ ejus iiij.d.
 De Willelmo Bughtorp', Laborer iiij.d.
 De Johanne Pye, Husband', et Cristiana vx̃ ejus iiij.d.
 De Johanne Dene, Husband', et Juliana vx̃ ejus iiij.d.
 De Roberto Clyfman, Husband', et Johanna vx̃ ejus iiij.d.
 De Beatrice Kelde, Laborer iiij.d.
 De Willelmo Rylay, Husband', et Alicia vx̃ ejus iiij.d.
 De Johanne seruiante Johanni Wadby iiij.d.
 De Johanne Wryght et Agnete vx̃ ejus, *Braciatrice* vj.d.
 De Johanne Atte Prestes, Husband', et Juliana vx̃ ejus iiij.d.
 De Agnete Atte Keld', Laborer iiij.d.

(Membrane 6.)

CLIFF'.

De Willelmo Proudefote, Husband', et Alicia vx̃ ejus iiij.d.
 De Willelmo, filio Thome, et Agnete vx̃ ejus, Laborer iiij.d.
 De Alicia de Emsay, Laborer iiij.d.
 De Alicia filia ejus, Laborer iiij.d.
 De Petro Bollyng', *Taillour*, et Cecilia vx̃ ejus vj.d.
 De Johanna de Swanland', Laborer iiij.d.
 De Ricardo de Menthorp', *Taillour*, et Isabella vx̃ ejus vj.d.
 De Willelmo filio ejusdem, *Pulter* vj.d.
 De Alicia Salyayn, Laborer iiij.d.
 De Henrico Tabard', Husband', et Agnete vx̃ ejus iiij.d.
 De Alicia Escrike, Laborer iiij.d.
 De Roberto Byrne, *Souter*', et Alicia vx̃ ejus iiij.d.
 De Johanne Atte Wylowes, Husband', et Elena vx̃ ejus iiij.d.
 De Johanna Chirtte, Laborer iiij.d.

De Waltero Sunyth' (! should be "Smyth") et Isabella vx̃ ejus vj.d.
 De Willelmo filio ejusdem, Laborer iiij.d.
 De Willelmo, filio Thome, juniore et Alicia vx̃ ejus iiij.d.
 De Thoma Byrne, Husband', et Isabella vx̃ ejus iiij.d.
 De Johanne Abell', Husband', et Johanna vx̃ ejus iiij.d.
 De Johanne Clerk et Alicia vx̃ ejus iiij.d.
 De Magota Tillosoff iiij.d.
 De Alicia seruiante ejusdem iiij.d.
 De Emma seruiante ejusdem iiij.d.
 De Willelmo seruiante dicte Magote iiij.d.
 De Alicia Atte ye Bek', Laborer iiij.d.
 De Emma Atte ye Bek', Laborer iiij.d.
 De Johanne Baret, *Webster*, et Agnete vx̃ ejus vj.d.
 De Thoma Newhaw, *Webster* vj.d.
 De Juliana Menthorp', *Webster* vj.d.
 De Cicilia Wardrop', Laborer iiij.d.
 De Johanne Wardrop', Husband', et Johanna vx̃ ejus iiij.d.
 De Johanne seruiante ejusdem Thome iiij.d.
 De Willelmo filio Walteri, Husband', et Margareta, vx̃ ejus, *Braciatrice* vj.d.
 De Willelmo Bunde, Husband', et Elena vx̃ ejus iiij.d.
 De Willelmo filio ejusdem iiij.d.
 De Johanna Kembater', Laborer iiij.d.
 [De] Sara Poke, Laborer iiij.d.
 [De] [Mar] gareta (!) Semester vj.d.
 [De] fil' ejus, Laborer iiij.d.
 [De] Gayteford', Husband', et Cicilia vx̃ ejus iiij.d.
 [De]a Serotte seruant iiij.d.
 [De] vx̃ ejus vj.d.
 [De], Husband', et Isolda vx̃ ejus, *Braciatrice* vj.d.
 [De][ej]us (!) vj.d.
 [De] vx̃ ejus iiij.d.
 [De] iiij.d.
 [De][Ali]cia (!) vx̃ ejus] xij.d.
 De [Johann]e, filio Roberti, et Katerina [vx̃ ejus] iiij.d.
 De Willelmo Burdewes, Husband'. iiij.d.
 De Thoma Spark' seruant iiij.d.
 De Alano Mylner' et Agnete vx̃ ejus] xij.d.
 De Henrico filio [? Juliane], Husband', et C. iiij.d.
 De Margaretaer' iiij.d.
 De Agnete Tyllesoff iiij.d.
 De Willelmo Abell' iiij.d.
 De Johanne Nicoll' seruant et Kristiana vx̃ ejus iiij.d.
 De Thoma Abell' seruant iiij.d.
 De Johanne seruant et Alicia vx̃ ejus iiij.d.

De Isabella Spark', Laborer . . .	iiij.d.	De Willelmo Hert', Husband', et	
De Matilda Burdewes, Laborer . .	iiij.d.	Cristiana vx ejus . . .	iiij.d.
De Willelmo Pulter, Frankelayn,		De Johanne seruiente ejusdem . .	iiij.d.
et Katerina (? vx ejus) . . .	xl.d.	De Johanne Campe, <i>Milner</i> , et	
De Elya Pulter, Husband', et		Elena vx ejus . . .	vj.d.
Aguete vx ejus, <i>Braciatrice</i> . .	ij.s.	De Johanne Page, <i>Wright</i> , et Jo-	
De Willelmo filio ejus, serua(n)t	iiij.d.	hanna vx ejus . . .	vj.d.
De Alicia filia Elye . . .	iiij.d.	De Thoma seruiente Johannis	
De Juliana Fayerweder', Laborer	iiij.d.	Wardrop' . . .	iiij.d.
De Johanne Page, Swynerd', et		De Jacobo Chirte, Laborer . . .	iiij.d.
Juliana vx ejus . . .	iiij.d.	De Alicia Poke, Laborer . . .	iiij.d.
De Ricardo Bullyng', <i>Taillour</i> , et		De Agnete Brewer seruant . . .	iiij.d.
Cicilia vx ejus . . .	vj.d.	De Margeria Orre seruant . . .	iiij.d.
De Johanne filio Ricardi, <i>Taillour</i> ,		De Elya seruiente Willelmi Pulter	iiij.d.
et Johanna vx ejus . . .	vj.d.	De Alicia Burdewes seruant . . .	iiij.d.
De Johanna Swañ, Laborer . . .	iiij.d.	De Thoma Lang' seruant . . .	iiij.d.
De Johanne Lang' seruant et Elena		De Johanne Dob, Laborer . . .	iiij.d.
vx ejus . . .	iiij.d.		
De Thoma Stotbryge, ¹ Husband',			
et Alicia vx ejus . . .	iiij.d.		
De Johanne Glouer et Matilda, vx			
ejus, <i>Bruwster</i> . . .	xij.d.		
De Waltero Wryght' et Johanna			
vx ejus . . .	xij.d.		
De Willelmo filio ejus . . .	iiij.d.		
De Willelmo Leper et Agnete vx			
ejus, seruant . . .	iiij.d.		
De Alicia Cele, Laborer . . .	iiij.d.		
De Juliana Herde, <i>Webster</i> ', . .	vj.d.		
De Johanne At Water, Husband',			
et Alicia vx ejus . . .	iiij.d.		
De Willelmo Prynoe, Husband', et			
Emma vx ejus . . .	iiij.d.		
De Agnete Proudofote seruant . .	iiij.d.		
De Thoma Day, <i>Webster</i> ', et Isa-			
bella vx ejus, Laborer . . .	vj.d.		
De Willelmo Glouer, <i>Webster</i> ', et			
Aguete vx ejus, <i>Braciatrice</i> . .	vj.d.		
De Johanne seruiente Willelmo			
Glouer, <i>Webster</i> . . .	vj.d.		
De Johanne Pulter', <i>Merchand</i> ,			
et Cicilia vx ejus . . .	xij.d.		
De Johanna Burdewes seruant . .	iiij.d.		
De Ricardo Pokelyngtoñ, Hus-			
band', et Elena vx ejus . . .	iiij.d.		
De Juliana Bullyng' seruant . . .	iiij.d.		
De Johanne filio Roberti, Hus-			
band', et Johanna vx ejus . . .	iiij.d.		
De Roberto Pepyn, Laborer . . .	iiij.d.		
De Willelmo Pepyn, Laborer . . .	iiij.d.		
De Roberto filio Johannis ser-			
uant . . .	iiij.d.		
De Alicia de Cawode seruant . . .	iiij.d.		
De Johanne Lang', Husband', et			
Juliana vx ejus . . .	iiij.d.		
De Symoñ Hert, Husband', et			
Cecilia vx ejus . . .	iiij.d.		
De Agnete Houndd', Laborer . . .	iiij.d.		
De Adam Langer', Husband', et			
Alicia vx ejus . . .	iiij.d.		
De Emma filia ejus . . .	iiij.d.		

(Membrane 6 dorso.)

BARNEYBY.

De Rogero Magotsoñ, Husband',	
et Elena vx ejus . . .	iiij.d.
De Willelmo Magotsoñ, Husband',	
et Alicia vx ejus . . .	iiij.d.
De Waltero Chalonermañ et Alicia	
vx ejus, <i>Braciatrice</i> . . .	vj.d.
De Johanne Catelyñ et Alicia vx	
ejus, <i>Brewster</i> ' . . .	vj.d.
De Juliana Geldall', Laborer . . .	iiij.d.
De Roberto Pegmañ, Husband', et	
Alicia vx ejus . . .	iiij.d.
De Thoma Gote, Husband', et	
Margareta vx ejus . . .	iiij.d.
De Johanne Balne, Husband' et	
Cicilia vx ejus . . .	iiij.d.
De Elizota de Balne seruant . . .	iiij.d.
De Matilda Carper seruant . . .	iiij.d.
De Johanne Sybsoñ seruant . . .	iiij.d.
De Juliana, Sybsoñ seruant . . .	iiij.d.
De Agnete Sybsoñ, <i>Webster</i> . . .	vj.d.
De Johanne Ayermyñ, Husband',	
et Johanna vx ejus . . .	iiij.d.
De Petro Geldall', <i>Webster</i> , et	
Leticia vx ejus . . .	vj.d.
De Henrico Mehos, Husband', et	
Juliana vx ejus, <i>Braciatrice</i> . .	vj.d.
De Johanne filio ejus . . .	iiij.d.
De Johanne Lang', Husband', et	
Johanna vx ejus . . .	iiij.d.
De Roberto Londesdale, <i>Webster</i> ',	
et Agnete vx ejus . . .	vj.d.
De Johanne Haldeñ, Husband', et	
Alicia vx ejus . . .	iiij.d.
De Willelmo filio ejus . . .	iiij.d.
De Agnete filia ejus . . .	iiij.d.
De Willelmo Atte Cotea, Hus-	
band', et Juliana vx ejus . . .	iiij.d.

¹ It should be "Stocbryge."

De Johanna filia ejus iiij.d.
 De Adam Duffeld', Husband', et
 Juliana vx' ejus iiij.d.
 De Thoma Ka, Laborer iiij.d.
 De Henrico Souter' et Agnete vx'
 ejus, Laborer iiij.d.
 De Thoma Atte Cotes, *Taillour* vj.d.
 De Alicia Cotes, *Webster* vj.d.
 De Idon Ratañ, *Webster* vj.d.
 De Johanne Atte Cotes, Husband' iiij.d.
 De Adam John soh et Matilda vx'
 ejus, *Webster* vj.d.
 De Johanne Gotte, Laborer iiij.d.
 De Willelmo Cissah, Husband', et
 Alicia vx' ejus iiij.d.
 De Isabella vx' Ricardi iiij.d.
 De Johanne Hall' et Matilda vx'
 ejus, Laborer iiij.d.
 De Johanne Waldyng', Laborer iiij.d.
 De Agnete filia Johannis, *Webster* vj.d.
 De Matilda Gote seruant
 De Johanne Atte Hall' et Marioria
 vx' ejus, *Webster*
 De Agnete Milner', *Webster*
 De Agnete filia ejus, *Brewster*'
 De Johanne Toury, Husband', et
 Agnete vx' ejus
 De Johanne filio ejus
 De Johanne Littell', *Merchand'*,
 et Margareta vx' ejus
 De Katerina Moosterd' seruant
 De Agnete filia ejus
 De Willelmo Balkok', *Webster* ?]
 De Willelmo Swynerd',
 Laborer
 De Johanne Hudson et D.
 [*Webster*'
 De Kristiana Gote, Lab[or]er]
 De Johanna Atte Burg[h] iiij.d.
 De Randulpho Todd', H[usband'] ?]
 iiij.d.
 De Ricardo Gresse, Husband', et
 I. [vx' ejus] iiij.d.
 De Nicholao fferymañ, Husband',
 [et] vx' ejus iiij.d.
 De Dionisia vx' Johannis iiij.d.
 De Elena vx' Johannis, *Brewster*' vj.d.
 De Thoma Taillour (et) Agnete
 vx', *Brewster*' vj.d.
 De Thoma Perissoñ et Alicia vx'
 ejus, Laborer iiij.d.
 De Alicia fferymañ seruant iiij.d.
 De Willelmo filio Roberti, Laborer,
 et Agnete vx' ejus iiij.d.
 De Johanna seruiante ejusdem iiij.d.
 De Johanne Warwyk', *Webster*',
 et Elena vx' ejus, *Brewster*' vj.d.
 De Johanne Smyth' et Cicilia vx'
 ejus vj.d.
 De Alicia seruiante ejusdem iiij.d.
 De Johanne Watte, Husband', et
 Alicia vx' ejus iiij.d.
 De Johanna Waytte, Laborer iiij.d.
 De Roberto ffude, Husband', et
 Elena vx' ejus iiij.d.

De Johanne Merschall' vj.d.
 De Margareta Marschall' seruant iiij.d.
 De Willelmo Atte Schurhg' (*sic*),
 Husband', et Marioria vx' ejus iiij.d.
 De Nicholao filio ejusdem, Hus-
 band', et Agnete vx' ejus iiij.d.
 De Isabella seruiante Willelmo
 Atte Schurgh' iiij.d.
 De Ricardo Jacsoñ, Husband', et
 Agnete vx' ejus iiij.d.
 De Alano Biffan, Husband', et
 Agnete vx' ejus iiij.d.
 De Thoma Waldyng', Laborer iiij.d.
 De Thoma Palmer, Husband', et
 Agnete vx' ejus iiij.d.
 De Johanne filio ejus, Laborer iiij.d.
 De Margareta filia ejus, Laborer iiij.d.
 De Kristiana Eland' seruant iiij.d.
 De Rosa Atte Jatte, *Webster* vj.d.
 De Johanne Chaloner et Isabella
 vx' ejus, *Braciatrice* vj.d.
 De Dionisia Mond, Laborer iiij.d.
 De Roberto Atkynsoñ, Laborer iiij.d.
 De Roberto Megotsoñ, Husband',
 et Alicia vx' ejus iiij.d.
 De Johanne filio ejusdem iiij.d.
 De Willelmo Dobyn, Husband',
 et Juliana vx' ejus iiij.d.
 De Johanne Raynersan, Husband',
 et Agnete vx' ejus iiij.d.
 De Johanne Rayner wyff, Laborer iiij.d.
 De Agnete filia ejus iiij.d.
 De Agnete filia Roberti iiij.d.

BOLTHORP.

De Johanne filio Roberti, Hus-
 band', et Margareta vx' ejus iiij.d.
 De Roberto filio Emme, Husband' iiij.d.
 De Johanna Wylkyn Wyff iiij.d.
 De Johanne Stylyngtoñ, Hus-
 band', et Alicia vx' ejus iiij.d.
 De Ricardo Gartoh, ffrankelayñ,
 et Isabella vx' ejus xl.d.
 De Johanne Towtoñ seruiante
 ejusdem iiij.d.
 De Johanne Clerkson, Husband',
 et Agnete vx' ejus iiij.d.
 De Johanne Nicoll', Husband', et
 Isabella vx' ejus iiij.d.
 De Rogero Bullthorp', Husband',
 et Cristiana vx' ejus iiij.d.
 De Willelmo ffremañ, Husband',
 et Margareta vx' ejus iiij.d.
 De Magota vx' Roberti, vidua iiij.d.
 De Thoma Northeby, *Merchand'*,
 et Magota vx' ejus, *Brewster* ij.s.
 De Emma Northeby seruant iiij.d.
 De Agnete seruant iiij.d.
 De Isabella filia Johannis Clerk',
 seruant iiij.d.

De Alicia filia Johannis Clerk',
seruant iiij.d.
De Roberto filio Johannis, La-
borer iiij.d.
De Agatha filia Johannis, seruant iiij.d.
De Johanne Plomber', Husband',
et Amy vx̃ ejus iiij.d.
De Edmundo Metam, Esquier',
et Elizabej vx̃ ejus vjs. viij.d.
De Galfrido seruiente ejusdem iiij.d.
De Willelmo Passe seruiente ejus-
dem iiij.d.
De Johanna Norys seruant iiij.d.

(Membrane 7.)

ESTRYNGTON'.

De Simone Cele, *Mercatore*, et
Margareta vx̃ ejus ij.s.
De Johanne Strensall', *Theker*, et
Matilda vx̃ ejus iiij.d.
De Johanne Malynsoñ, Husband',
et Johanna vx̃ ejus iiij.d.
De Johanne Bell', *Chapman*, et
Johanna vx̃ ejus xij.d.
De Willelmo Cele, Laborer, et
Elena vx̃ ejus iiij.d.
De Willelmo filio Roberti, Hus-
band', et Johanna vx̃ ejus iiij.d.
De Roberto Ciasoñ, Laborer, et
Margareta vx̃ ejus iiij.d.
De Ricardo Lucy, Husband', et
Johanna vx̃ ejus iiij.d.
De Isabella Lucy seruant iiij.d.
De Johanna de Dalby, Husband',
et Idonea vx̃ ejus iiij.d.
De Thoma de Byrland, Husband',
et Idonea vx̃ ejus iiij.d.
De Willelmo Tayllour', *Cissore*, et
Alicia vx̃ ejus vj.d.
De Willelmo Duncan, *ffyssher* xij.d.
De Johanne Rudde, *Smyth*, et
Custancia vx̃ ejus xij.d.
De Isabella Cok seruant iiij.d.
De Juliana Dawyff', *Brewester* xij.d.
De Willelmo Wysse, Husband',
et Ydonea vx̃ ejus iiij.d.
De Ricardo Dyconsoñ et Juliana
vx̃ ejus, *Brewster* xij.d.
De Thoma Martyn, *Souter*, et
Johanna vx̃ ejus, *Braciatrice* ij.s.
De Thoma Willesoñ, Husband',
et Juliana vx̃ ejus iiij.d.
De Willelmo Wilsoñ, Husband',
et Elena vx̃ ejus iiij.d.
De Johanne Gunwar, Husband',
et Alicia vx̃ ejus iiij.d.
De Willelmo Milner, *Molendina-
rio*, et Elena, vx̃ ejus xij.d.
[De] y, Husband',
et Matilda vx̃ ejus iiij.d.

[De] [Ch] apman, et
Agnete vx̃ ejus xij.d.
[De] e, Husband', et
Idonea vx̃ ejus iiij.d.
[De] , Laborer iiij.d.
[De] yff', Laborer iiij.d.
[De] el, Laborer, et
Alicia vx̃ ejus iiij.d.
[De] etland, *Walker*,
et Matilda vx̃ ejus, *Braciatrice* ij.s.
[De] ... de Harpam,
Husband', et Johanna vx̃
ejus iiij.d.
De Couper, Laborer iiij.d.
De Willelmo Tornour, *Artificer*,
et Cecilia vx̃ ejus xij.d.
De Agnete fferrou vidua iiij.d.
De Willelmo filio ejus iiij.d.
De Johanne de Clyf, Husband' iiij.d.
De Agnete filia ejus iiij.d.
De Roberto filio ejus iiij.d.
De Alicia Patryk seruant iiij.d.
De Johanne Scotte et Juliana vx̃
ejus, *Braciatrice* vj.d.
De Alicia Pyersdoghter seruant iiij.d.
De Nicholao de Saltmerssh', Hus-
band', et Emmota vx̃ ejus iiij.d.
De Alano Nutbroune, *Webster*, et
Marioria vx̃ ejus vj.d.
De Willelmo Scotte et Agnete vx̃
ejus, Laborer iiij.d.
De Alicia Sisse doghter, *Webster* vj.d.
De Johanne Perysman, Laborer iiij.d.
De Willelmo ffakar et Elena vx̃
ejus, *Braciatrice* ij.s.
De Johanne Martyn, *Webster*, et
Alicia vx̃ ejus vj.d.
De Henrico ffakar, *Braciatore*,
Bocher, *Merchaund'* xij.s. iiij.d.
De Cecilia seruiente ejus iiij.d.
De Johanne Tomsoñ, Husband',
et Juliana vx̃ ejus iiij.d.
De Adam Dyconsoñ, Husband',
et Agnete vx̃ ejus iiij.d.
De Rogero Hanman, *fflesshewer*,
et Alicia vx̃ ejus, *Braciatrice* xij.d.
De Johanne de Meltoñ, Husband',
et Dionisia vx̃ ejus iiij.d.
De Ricardo Tailleur', *Cissore*, et
Johanna vx̃ ejus vj.d.
De Willelmo Burre, *Carpentario*,
et Agnete vx̃ ejus vj.d.
De Johanne de Crostes, Husband',
et Johanna vx̃ ejus iiij.d.
De Johanne Schephyrd, Hus-
band', et Alicia vx̃ ejus iiij.d.
De Willelmo Webster, *Textore*, et
Emmota vx̃ ejus vj.d.
De Johanna Camber, *Brewster* xij.d.
De Johanne filio ejus, seruant iiij.d.
De Johanna Kylpyn, Laborer iiij.d.
De Petro atte Vicars, Husband',
et Alicia vx̃ ejus iiij.d.
De Adam Lucy, *Mercatore*, et
Elizabetha (vx̃ ejus) ij.s.

De Thoma Dicoñsoñ, Husband',
et Cecilia vx̃ ejus iiiij.d.
De Roberto Rokke, Laborer iiiij.d.
De Johanne Doucesoñ, Husband',
et Agnete vx̃ ejus iiiij.d.
De Emmota Doucesoñ seruant iiiij.d.
De Johanne de Ellertoñ, *Cissore*,
et Euota vx̃ ejus xij.d.
De Willelmo Cambre et Agnete
vx̃ ejus, *Webster* vj.d.
De Henrico filio Rogeri seruant iiiij.d.
De Alicia filia Johannis de Mel-
toñ, seruant iiiij.d.
De Johanne filio Ricardi seruant iiiij.d.
De Johanne filio Johannis Thom'
seruant iiiij.d.
De Johanne filio Thome Dycōñ-
soñ seruant iiiij.d.
De Johanne filio Simonis seruant. iiiij.d.

SOUTHDUFFELDE.

De Roberto filio Thome de Hathel-
say, fraunkel' xij.d.
De Willelmo de Hathelsay, Hus-
band', et Alicia vx̃ ejus iiiij.d.
De Johanne de Hathelsay, Hus-
band', et Agnete vx̃ ejus iiiij.d.
De Thoma de Hathelsay filio ejus,
seruant iiiij.d.
De Eua de Hathelsay filia ejus,
seruant iiiij.d.
De Thoma de Sadyngtoñ, Hus-
band', et Katerina vx̃ ejus iiiij.d.
De Thoma de Byltoñ, Husband',
et Emma vx̃ ejus iiiij.d.
De Thoma Wryght, *Carpentario*,
et Isabella vx̃ ejus vj.d.
De Willelmo filio ejus, seruant iiiij.d.
De Willelmo Whyte, Husband',
et Alicia vx̃ ejus iiiij.d.
De Radulpho Scot, Husband', et
Custancia vx̃ ejus iiiij.d.
De Johanne de Bolthorp, Hus-
band', et Cecilia vx̃ ejus iiiij.d.
De Johanne Jaksoñ, Husband', et
Matilda vx̃ ejus iiiij.d.
De Johanne Steward, Husband',
et Elizabetha vx̃ ejus iiiij.d.
De Willelmo de Luscheby, Hus-
band' iiiij.d.
De Alicia de Luscheby vidua iiiij.d.
De Johanne Paynsoñ, Husband',
et Isabella vx̃ ejus iiiij.d.
De Thoma Paynsoñ, Husband',
et Katerina vx̃ ejus iiiij.d.
De Johanne de Berghinby, Hus-
band', et Amicia vx̃ ejus iiiij.d.
De Roberto de Naburñ et Agnete
vx̃ ejus, Laborer iiiij.d.
De Willelmo de Styllingflete et
Alicia vx̃ ejus, Laborer iiiij.d.

De Johanne de Wystowe et Emma
vx̃ ejus, Laborer iiiij.d.
De Emma de Gowyk, *Webster* vj.d.
De Willelmo, seruiente Johannis
Surflet', et Alicia vx̃ ejus iiiij.d.
De Johanne Tayllour' et Custan-
cia vx̃ ejus vj.d.
De Isabella Wryght, Laborer iiiij.d.
De Henrico Appylgarth, Laborer. iiiij.d.
De Margareta de Surflete vidua iiiij.d.
De Johanna seruiente ejusdem iiiij.d.

(Membrane 7 dorso.)

De Agnete Amcotes, Laborer iiiij.d.
De Johanne de Cotoñ et Agnete
vx̃ ejus, Laborer iiiij.d.
De Adam Galt, Laborer, et Alicia
vx̃ ejus iiiij.d.
De Elena Smyth', Laborer iiiij.d.
De Johanne Alaynsoñ, Laborer,
et Emma vx̃ ejus iiiij.d.
De Johanne Moundesoñ, *Taillour*,
et Custancia vx̃ ejus, *Webster*. xij.d.
De Henrico Hemper, Laborer, et
Alicia vx̃ ejus iiiij.d.
De Thoma Gamel, *Taillour*, et
Elizabetha vx̃ ejus vj.d.
De Johanne Wryght, Laborer, et
Alicia vx̃ ejus iiiij.d.
De Roberto Souter, Laborer, et
Isabella vx̃ ejus iiiij.d.
De Roberto Gendesoñ, Laborer,
et Agnete vx̃ ejus iiiij.d.
De Johanne Ore, Laborer, et
Johanna vx̃ ejus iiiij.d.
De Adam del Clay, seruant, (et)
Alicia vx̃ ejus iiiij.d.
De Willelmo seruiente Johannis
Paynsoñ iiiij.d.
De Johanne seruiente Willelmi de
Hathelsay iiiij.d.
De Johanna seruiente ejusdem
Willelmi iiiij.d.
De Isabella Wryght' vidua, *Bra-
ciatrice* vj.d.

NORTH DUFFELD'.

De Gerardo Saluan, Chualer
De Philippo de Saltmerssh',
Esquier [x].d.
De Johanne Mody seruant [iiij].d.
De Ricardo filio Johannis, Hus-
band', et Alicia vx̃ ejus [i]iiij.d.
De Thoma Proude, *Chapman*, et
Alicia vx̃ ejus [v].d.
De Johanne Howe, *Carpentario*,
et Johanna vx̃ ejus vj.d.
De Johanne filio Johannis, Hus-
band', et Johanna vx̃ ejus iiiij.d.

De Petro Hughson, Husband', et Alicia vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.	De Adam Ryffan, Husband', et Alicia vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.
De Thoma filio ejus seruant	iiij.d.	De Ricardo de Rome, Husband', et Johanna vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.
De Johanne Menthorp, ffraunkel', et Custancia vx̃ ejus	xij.d.	De Willelmo Penner, Husband', et Agnete vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.
De Johanna filia ejus, seruant	iiij.d.	De Roberto Marshall' seruant	iiij.d.
De Johanne de Brakenholm et Johanna vx̃ ejus, <i>Braciatrice</i>	vj.d.	De Alano filio Roberti, Husband', et Alicia vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.
De Adam Alissoñ, <i>Souter</i> , et Alicia vx̃ ejus	vj.d.	De Alano filio Roberti, Husband', et Eua vx̃ ejus ²	iiij.d.
De Willelmo Rudcok, Husband', et Agnete vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.	De Johanne Cok, Husband', et Emma vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.
De Adam Blanchard, Husband', et Emma vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.	De Roberto filio Willelmi et Ag- nete vx̃ ejus, seruant'	iiij.d.
De Roberto Raffan juniore et Emma vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.	De Willelmo Ryffan, <i>Tuillour</i> , et Alicia vx̃ ejus	vj.d.
De Willelmo Whytmore, Hus- band', et Anabilla vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.	De Roberto Schepehyrd', Hus- band', et Agnete vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.
De Johanne Alaynsoñ, Husband', et Katerina vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.	De Roberto Pekyt, <i>Schephyrd</i> , et Emma vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.
De Johanne Henrysoñ, Husband', et Alicia vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.	De Stephano Cok' seruant	iiij.d.
De Adam Saper, Husband', et Isolda vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.	De Roberto filio ejus, seruant	iiij.d.
De Roberto Ryffan seniore, Hus- band', et Emma vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.	De Adam Stayk et vxore ejus, <i>Chapman</i>	vj.d.
De Willelmo Clerk, Husband', et Katerina vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.	De Willelmo Irland et Alicia vx̃ ejus, <i>Braciatrice</i>	vj.d.
De Adam Neuyll', Husband', et Johanna vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.	De Alicia Souter seruant	iiij.d.
De Johanne Sissoñ, Husband', et Alicia vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.	De Johanne Merchaunt seruant	iiij.d.
De Johanne Willessoñ, <i>Carpent-</i> <i>tario</i> , et Matilda vx̃ ejus	vj.d.	De Roberto Dunkan seruant	iiij.d.
De Willelmo filio ejus, seruant	iiij.d.	De Adam Clerk, Laborer	iiij.d.
De Ricardo Smyth, Husband', et Johanna vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.	De Johanne Merstoñ, Laborer, et Johanna vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.
De Johanne Clerk, Husband', et Emma vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.	De Heufemia de Merstoñ vidua	iiij.d.
De Johanne Dawson, Husband', et Alicia vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.	De Willelmo filio ejus	iiij.d.
De Johanne Baker, Husband', et Katerina vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.	De Ricardo Souter seruant	iiij.d.
De Willelmo de Bolthorp', <i>fir-</i> <i>mario</i> , et Kuota vx̃ ejus	xij.d.	De Johanne Hole, Laborer, et Jo- hanna vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.
De Roberto de Merstoñ, <i>ffyssher</i> ', et Agnete vx̃ ejus	vj.d.	De Thoma Mylner, <i>Molendinario</i> , et Emma vx̃ ejus	vj.d.
De Johanne de Merstoñ, Hus- band', et Katerina vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.	De Thoma Beket, Laborer, et Jo- hanna vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.
De Nicholao Wryght, Husband', et Johanna vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.	De Johanne Heruy seruant et Alicia vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.
De Adam de Camelthorp' et Ag- nete vx̃ ejus, <i>Carpenter</i>	vj.d.	De Cecilia Gaunt vidua	iiij.d.
De Johanne Secroft, <i>Carpentario</i> , et Isabella vx̃ ejus	vj.d.	De Mariota Ward vidua	iiij.d.
De Johanne Margerisoñ, <i>Carpent-</i> <i>tario</i> , et Alicia vx̃ ejus	vj.d.	De Beatrice Ward vidua	iiij.d.
De Ricardo Kyrkby et Emma vx̃ ejus, seruant	iiij.d.	De Leticia ancilla ejus	iiij.d.
De Johanne Dudman, Laborer	iiij.d.	De Agnete ancilla ejusdem	iiij.d.
De Juliana ffyshelak' vidua	iiij.d.	De Amicia Schyphyrd vidua	iiij.d.
		De Johanne Bakster, <i>Theker</i> , vx̃ ejus Alicia	iiij.d.
		De Alicia Cart, <i>Braciatrice</i>	vj.d.
		De Roberto Marshall, <i>ffabro</i>	vj.d.
		De Johanne Ryffan, <i>Tayllour</i> , et Agnete vx̃ ejus	vj.d.
		De Johanne Kert seruant et Alicia vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.
		De Alicia ancilla Willelmi Bol- thorp	iiij.d.
		De Johanneseruiante Petri Hudson	iiij.d.

² This line seems intended to be erased.

De Roberto seruiente Roberti Mercer	iiij.d.
De Willelmo Sape, Laborer	iiij.d.
De Gerardo Sape, Laborer	iiij.d.
De Johanne Souter, Laborer	iiij.d.
De Johanne filio Johannis de Menthorp, Laborer	iiij.d.
De Adam de Towton, Laborer	iiij.d.

(Membrane 8.)

BARDELBY.

De Johanne Smythman, Husband', et Juliana vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.
De Thoma de Wykstow, <i>Souter</i> , et Emma vx̃ ejus	vj.d.
De Johanne Pryt, <i>fisher</i> , et Cecilia vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.
De Roberto de Claybroke seruant et Alicia vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.
De Roberto Wright et Isabella vx̃ ejus	xij.d.
De Johanne Day, Husband', et Alicia vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.
De Roberto de Catnay seruant et Isabella vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.
De Elena de Catnay, Laborer	iiij.d.
De Hugone Perot, Husband', et Alicia vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.
De Johanna seruiente eorum	iiij.d.
De Agnete seruiente eorum	iiij.d.
De Nicholao de Acastre, Husband', et Emma vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.
De Adam filio Hugonis, Husband'	iiij.d.
De Alicia vx̃ Hugonis, Laborer	iiij.d.
De Johanna filia Hugonis, Laborer	iiij.d.
De Roberto filio Willelmi, Husband', et Johanna vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.
De Agnete vx̃ Willelmi Goos, Husband'	iiij.d.
De T..... Wynter juniore et Elena vx̃ ejus, Laborer	iiij.d.
De [Tex]tore, et Johanna vx̃ ejus	vj.d.
[De].....es seruant et Isabella vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.
[De]....., <i>Textore</i>	vj.d.
[De]....., Husband'	iiij.d.
De ar', Laborer, et Margareta vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.
De.....efauld, Husband', et Agnete vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.
De.....Gardiner, Husband', et Johanna vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.
De Ricardo de Bilburgh, Husband', et Isabella vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.
De Cicilia de Massam, Laborer	iiij.d.
De Johanne de Essex, Husband', et Esota vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.
De Hugone del Hill, Husband', et Agnete vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.

De Roberto Perot, Husband', et Alicia vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.
De Johanne Menthorp, Husband', et Isabella vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.
De Adam Smyth, Husband', et Isabella vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.
De Hugone filio Roberti, Husband', et Alicia vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.
De Willelmo Stut, Husband', et Johanna vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.
De Henrico de Duffeld, Husband', et Agnete vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.
De Willelmo Cras, Husband', et Isabella vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.
De Adam Conand, Husband', et Dionisia vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.
De Agnete filia ejus	iiij.d.
De Willelmo de Berlay, Husband', et Mariona vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.
De Roberto Smyth	xij.d.
De Johanne seruiente ejus	iiij.d.
De Johanne Gaytforth, Husband'	iiij.d.
De Hugo (<i>sic</i>) del Hill', Husband', et Johanna vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.
De Johanne Wade, Husband', et Matilda vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.
De Johanne Rose, Husband', et Alicia vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.
De Johanne filio ejus	iiij.d.
De Roberto Wade, Husband', et Elena vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.
De Roberto Webster, Husband', et Alicia vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.
De Johanne Battying, Husband', et Cicilia vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.
De Amicia Webster, Husband'	iiij.d.
De Willelmo Ogylthorp, <i>Merchant</i> , et Isabella vx̃ ejus	ij.s.
De Johanne Goldburgh' seruant	iiij.d.
De Johanne Freman, Husband', et Agnete vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.
De Willelmo filio ejus	iiij.d.
De Daud del Chaumber, Husband, et Johanna vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.
De Roberto de Pristof et Agnete vx̃ ejus, <i>Braciatrice</i>	vj.d.
De Ricardo Hornor et Cristiana vx̃ ejus, <i>Braciatrice</i>	vj.d.

WELLETON'.

De Johanne del More et vx̃ ejus, Laborer	iiij.d.
De Johanne At Hall' et Agnete vx̃ ejus, Laborer	iiij.d.
De Thoma Ward et Alicia vx̃ ejus, Laborer	iiij.d.
De Johanne Curtays, Husband', et Johanna vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.
De Beatrice Sawyer' vidua	iiij.d.
De Johanne Bryas et Cecilia vx̃ ejus, Laborer	iiij.d.

De ancilla ejusdem Johannis . . .	iiij.d.	De Wilhelmo del Grene, Husband', et Margareta vx̃ ejus . . .	iiij.d.
De Roberto Baret, <i>Chapman</i> , et Agnete vx̃ ejus . . .	ij.s.	De Alicia Hobwyfe seruant . . .	iiij.d.
De Beatrice matre ejus, vidua . . .	iiij.d.	De Wilhelmo de Bilton et vx̃ ejus, seruant . . .	iiij.d.
De Wilhelmo Bakar' seruant et Alicia vx̃ ejus . . .	iiij.d.	De Wilhelmo Thomlynson, Fraun- cl', et vx̃ ejus . . .	xl.d.
De Johanne de Aker' et vx̃ ejus, Laborer . . .	iiij.d.	De Roberto Raspyn seruant . . .	iiij.d.
De Cecilia seruiente ejus . . .	iiij.d.	De Agnete Chapon seruant . . .	iiij.d.
De Thoma Wright et Alicia vx̃ ejus . . .	xij.d.	De Wilhelmo Gategang', ffrancel', et Agnete vx̃ ejus . . .	xl.d.
De Wilhelmo Atte Hall, <i>Merse</i> , et Agnete vx̃ ejus . . .	xij.d.	De Wilhelmo Wright, Husband', et vx̃ ejus . . .	iiij.d.
De Johanna filia ejus . . .	iiij.d.	De Ricardo ffermer, Husband', et Alicia vx̃ ejus . . .	iiij.d.
De Nicholao Steuenson et Alicia vx̃ ejus, seruant . . .	iiij.d.	De Wilhelmo Pynder' et Alicia vx̃ ejus, Laborer . . .	iiij.d.
De Johanne Clerk et vx̃ ejus, Laborer . . .	iiij.d.	De Johanne Smyth' et Margareta vx̃ ejus . . .	vj.d.
De Roberto Tolleray, <i>Tailour</i> , et Alicia vx̃ ejus . . .	vj.d.	De Roberto Ortesale et Johanna vx̃ ejus, <i>Textrice</i> . . .	vj.d.
De Wilhelmo Whetlay, <i>Tailour</i> , et vx̃ ejus, <i>Braciatrice</i> . . .	xij.d.	De Wilhelmo Adkynson seruant . . .	iiij.d.
De Thoma Mason et Matilda vx̃ ejus . . .	vj.d.	De Johanna seruiente ejus . . .	iiij.d.
De Ricardo Waldby et Cecilia vx̃ ejus, Laborer . . .	iiij.d.	De Ricardo Osgod, Laborer . . .	iiij.d.
De Ricardo Ortsale, <i>Souder</i> , et Agnete vx̃ ejus . . .	xij.d.	De Cristiana Westwod vidua . . .	
De Thoma de Bulbek, <i>Tailour</i> , et Cecilia vx̃ ejus . . .	vj.d.	De Johanne Caue, Husband', et Alicia vx̃ ejus . . .	
De Thoma Tailour, Husband', et Agnete vx̃ ejus . . .	iiij.d.	De Ricardo seruiente ejus . . .	....j.d.
De Ricardo Lauerek' et Margareta vx̃ ejus, Laborer . . .	iiij.d.	De Isabella Caue, <i>Braciatrice</i> . . .	....d.
De Clemente et Agnete vx̃ ejus, Laborer . . .	iiij.d.	De Roberto Walker' et Agnete vx̃ ejus . . .	....d.
De Wilhelmo Dyot et Alicia vx̃ ejus, <i>Textrice</i> . . .	xij.d.	De Wilhelmo filio ejus . . .	iiij.d.
De Johanne Yhole et Margareta vx̃ ejus . . .	iiij.d.	De Johanne seruiente predicti Ro- berti . . .	[ii]ij d.
De Wilhelmo Lucas et Cecilia vx̃ ejus, Laborer . . .	iiij.d.	De Wilhelmo Walker', Husband', et vx̃ ejus . . .	iiij.d.
De Wilhelmo Grayne, Husband', et Alicia vx̃ ejus . . .	iiij.d.	De Wilhelmo Dyot et Alicia vx̃ ejus, <i>Textrice</i> . . .	vj.d.
De Wilhelmo Yrlande, Husband', et Alicia vx̃ ejus . . .	iiij.d.	De Wilhelmo Margerison', Hus- band', et vx̃ ejus . . .	iiij.d.
De Wilhelmo Tolleray, Husband', et Alicia vx̃ ejus . . .	iiij.d.	De Johanne Agase et Alicia vx̃ ejus, <i>Textrice</i> . . .	vj.d.
De Thoma Smyth' et Agnete vx̃ ejus . . .	vj.d.	De Matilda Defe, Laborer . . .	iiij.d.
De Thoma Hull, Husband', et Katerina vx̃ ejus . . .	iiij.d.	De Johanne Theker' et Agnete vx̃ ejus, <i>Braciatrice</i> . . .	xij.d.
		De Nicholao Euerard, Husband', et Alicia vx̃ ejus . . .	iiij.d.
		De Stephano seruiente ejus . . .	iiij.d.
		De Johanne Pyper seruiente ejus . . .	iiij.d.
		De Johanne Gybson', Husband', et Matilda vx̃ ejus . . .	iiij.d.
		De Wilhelmo Huberd et Alicia vx̃ ejus, Laborer . . .	iiij.d.
		De Wilhelmo Kembald seruant . . .	iiij.d.
		De Waltero, filio Rogeri, et Alicia vx̃ ejus, <i>Textrice</i> . . .	vj.d.
		De Nicholao Nethird, Laborer . . .	iiij.d.
		De Wilhelmo Pynder', Laborer . . .	iiij.d.
		De Wilhelmo Dyot, <i>Chapman</i> , et vx̃ ejus . . .	xij.d.
		De Adam Browne et vx̃ ejus, Laborer . . .	iiij.d.
		De Johanna Nuryce seruant . . .	iiij.d.
		De Wilhelmo Beuerlay, Laborer . . .	iiij.d.
		De Roberto de Cotyngham, <i>flesh- euer</i> . . .	vj.d.

(Membrane 8 dorso.)

De Rogero Hull' filio ejus . . .	iiij.d.
De Matilda Jeliane vidua . . .	iiij.d.
De Johanne Watson', <i>Tailour</i> , et Alicia vx̃ ejus . . .	vj.d.
De Johanne Westen et Agnete vx̃ ejus, <i>Textrice</i> . . .	vj.d.

De Willelmo Atkrik, Laborer . . .	iiij.d.
De Thoma ffermour, Husband' . .	iiij.d.
De Johanne Palmer, Husband' . .	iiij.d.
De Rogero Dowsoñ, Husband' . .	iiij.d.
De Thoma Rud', Husband' . . .	iiij.d.
De Willelmo Briwster, Husband' .	iiij.d.
De Ricardo Caue, Laborer . . .	iiij.d.
De Johanne Cypax et Alicia vx̃ ejus, Tailour . . .	vj.d.
De Willelmo Chast, Laborer . . .	iiij.d.

DYK'.

De Hugone Daynelmañ et Isabella vx̃ ejus, Hosteller . . .	xij.d.
De Willelmo filio ejus . . .	iiij.d.
De Roberto Gylsoñ et Isabella vx̃ ejus, Laborer . . .	iiij.d.
De Willelmo de Thorneclay, Hus- band', et Isabella vx̃ ejus . . .	iiij.d.
De Willelmo Wright et Isabella vx̃ ejus, Laborer . . .	iiij.d.
De Johanne Shephird et Isabella vx̃ ejus, Laborer . . .	iiij.d.
De Adam Gregg' et Alicia vx̃ ejus, <i>Brewster</i> . . .	vj.d.
De Nicholao Wright, <i>Taylor</i> , et Isabella vx̃ ejus, <i>Brewster</i> . .	xij.d.
De Johanne Smythsoñ et Alicia vx̃ ejus, Laborer . . .	iiij.d.
De Johanne Adkynsoñ et Pe- tronilla vx̃ ejus, Laborer . . .	iiij.d.
De Hugone Smythsoñ et Johanna vx̃ ejus, Laborer . . .	iiij.d.
De Henrico Graunger, of Dyk, <i>Chapman</i> , et Beatrice vx̃ ejus .	ij.s.
De Ricardo Smyth et Beatrice vx̃ ejus . . .	vj.d.
De Ricardo, filio Roberti, et Agnete vx̃ (ejus), <i>Brewster</i> . . .	vj.d.
De Willelmo Tailour et Juliana vx̃ ejus, <i>Braciatrix</i> . . .	xij.d.
De Willelmo seruiente ejus . . .	iiij.d.
De Alicia de Park, Laborer . . .	iiij.d.
De Thoma filio ejus . . .	iiij.d.
De Juliana Abot, Laborer . . .	iiij.d.
De Alano Grayne et Matilda vx̃ ejus, <i>Brewster</i> . . .	vj.d.
De Johanne filio Henrici . . .	iiij.d.
De Thoma filio Johannis Shiphard, Laborer . . .	iiij.d.
De Johanne Hobson et Elizota vx̃ ejus, <i>Braciatrix</i> . . .	vj.d.
De Thoma Ibsòñ et Mariona vx̃ ejus, Laborer . . .	iiij.d.
De Ricardo filio Roberti, <i>Sowler</i> .	vj.d.
De Agnete de Bagotby, <i>Brewster</i> .	vj.d.
De Roberti Dyotsoñ et Alicia vx̃ ejus, Laborer . . .	iiij.d.
De Margareta de ffuntayns, La- borer . . .	iiij.d.
De Alicia filia ejus, Laborer . .	iiij.d.

De Stephano Smythsoñ et Alicia vx̃ ejus, Laborer . . .	iiij.d.
De Rogero filio Johannis Smyth- soñ, Laborer . . .	iiij.d.
De Johanna seruiente ejus . . .	iiij.d.
De Thoma Graunger et Isabella vx̃ ejus, <i>Brewster</i> . . .	vj.d.

(Membrane 9.)

OUSTHORP'.

De Johanne de Ask', Esquier', et Johanna vx̃ ejus . . .	xx.s.
De Thoma Spenser', Esquier' . .	xl.d.
De Katerina Bassett seruant . .	iiij.d.
De Johanne de Walkyngtoñ, Hus- band', et Johanna vx̃ ejus . . .	iiij.d.
De Thoma Brewar', Husband', et Emma vx̃ ejus . . .	iiij.d.
De Rogero Spark', Laborer . . .	iiij.d.
De Thoma Cok', Husband', et Juliana vx̃ ejus . . .	iiij.d.
De Johanne de Kempe, Laborer .	iiij.d.
De Willelmo Hodlow, Husband', et Emma vx̃ ejus . . .	iiij.d.
De Ricardo Nyetgale, Husband', et Agnete vx̃ ejus . . .	iiij.d.
De Rogero Spenserman, seruant .	iiij.d.
De Thoma Swynerd', Laborer . .	iiij.d.
De Alicia Oxherde seruant . . .	iiij.d.
De Johanne Clerk', Husband', et Cicilia vx̃ ejus . . .	iiij.d.
De Roberto Redehede, Husband', et Elena vx̃ ejus . . .	iiij.d.
De Thoma Chepce, Husband', et Juliana vx̃ ejus, <i>Braciatrix</i> . .	vj.d.
De Alano Steuenson, Husband', et Margareta vx̃ ejus . . .	iiij.d.
De Willelmo Saltmarch', Hus- band', et Emma vx̃ ejus, <i>Bracia- trice</i> . . .	vj.d.
De Ricardo Scheppherd, Husband', et Alicia vx̃ ejus . . .	iiij.d.
[De] Agnete Tasker' seruant . .	iiij.d.
[De] Laborer . . .	iiij.d.
[De] vx̃ ejus (f erased), seruant . . .	iiij.d.
[De] Husband', et Agnete vx̃ ejus . . .	iiij.d.
De Willelmo Pynchebec, Laborer .	iiij.d.
De Agnete Thomaswyff, Laborer .	iiij.d.
De Agnete de Rome seruant . .	iiij.d.
De Johanna Nurys seruant . . .	iiij.d.
[De] otte seruant . . .	iiij.d.
[De] Laborer . . .	iiij.d.
[De] Husband', et Agnete vx̃ ejus . . .	iiij.d.
[De] [H]usband', et Elena vx̃ ejus . . .	iiij.d.

[De] , seruant iiij.d.
 [De] , Laborer iiij.d.
 [De] Willelmi, *Semester* vj.d.

BRAKENHOLM'.

De Johanne Wald, Husband', et
 Emma vx̃ ejus iiij.d.
 De Roberto Babthorp', ffraunke-
 layn, et Matilda vx̃ ejus xl.d.
 De Agnete matre ejusdem, seruant iiij.d.
 De Ricardo filio ejusdem, Hus-
 band', et Matilda vx̃ ejus iiij.d.
 De Johanne filio ejusdem, Laborer iiij.d.
 De Rogero seruant iiij.d.
 De Waltero Godesale, Husband',
 et Emma vx̃ ejus iiij.d.
 De Eleno matre ejusdem, seruant iiij.d.
 De Alicia filia ejusdem, Laborer iiij.d.
 De Johanne Andrew, *Taillour* vj.d.
 De Willelmo Godesawle, Laborer iiij.d.
 De Adam Thekar', Husband', et
 Elena vx̃ ejus iiij.d.
 De Johanne Godesawle, Husband',
 et Emma vx̃ ejus iiij.d.
 De Henrico Byrkyn, Husband',
 et Agnete vx̃ ejus iiij.d.
 De Alicia Nurice seruant iiij.d.
 De Emma Wald' seruant iiij.d.
 De Johanne Thomassoñ, Laborer,
 et Cecilia vx̃ ejus iiij.d.
 De Roberto Bylburgh', Husband',
 et Agnete vx̃ ejus iiij.d.
 De Johanne Lubias, Husband', et
 Juliana vx̃ ejus iiij.d.
 De Thoma filio Roberti, *Smyth*' xij.d.
 De Alicia filia ejusdem, seruant iiij.d.
 De Johanne de Skypwyth' et
 Elena vx̃ ejus, Laborer iiij.d.
 De Henrico de Burbrygg' et
 Alicia vx̃ ejus, Laborer iiij.d.
 De Elizabetha filia ejus, seruant iiij.d.
 De Adam Souter' et Emma vx̃
 ejus, Laborer iiij.d.
 De Ricardo Mideltoñ, ffranke-
 layn, et Johanna vx̃ ejus xl.d.
 De Johanne filio ejus, seruant iiij.d.
 De Margareta seruiante ejusdem iiij.d.
 De Roberto Mideltoñ seruant iiij.d.
 De Willelmo filio ejus et Emma
 vx̃ ejus, Laborer iiij.d.
 De Cristiana filia ejus, seruant iiij.d.
 De Willelmo Patrik' et Agnete
 vx̃ ejus, Husband' iiij.d.
 De Roberto seruiante ejusdem iiij.d.
 De Auicia seruiante ejusdem iiij.d.
 De Willelmo Fraunceis, Laborer iiij.d.
 De Cecilia matro ejus iiij.d.
 De Petro Wright' et Elena vx̃
 ejus vj.d.
 De Alicia f[ilia] ejus, Laborer iiij.d.
 De Step[hano]ht et Ma-
 tilda vx̃ ejus, Laborer iiij.d.

De Willelmo [filio] Walteri,
 seruant iiij.d.
 De Johanne Lu[bias] et Johanna
 vx̃ ejus, Laborer iiij.d.
 De Emma Spicer, *Kembster*' vj.d.
 De Johanna filia Willelmi, seruant iiij.d.
 De Willelmo Whitteby et Elena
 vx̃ ejus, Laborer iiij.d.
 De Johanne Byrkyn et Matilda
 vx̃ ejus, Laborer iiij.d.
 De Johanne Godesawle seruant iiij.d.

KYLPEYN'.

De Johanne Colynsoñ, Husband',
 et Agnete vx̃ ejus iiij.d.
 De Johanne Robynsoñ, Husband',
 et Dionisia vx̃ ejus iiij.d.
 De Willelmo Raper, *Webster*, et
 Alicia vx̃ ejus vj.d.
 De Adam Wydouson, Husband',
 et Alicia vx̃ ejus iiij.d.
 De Johanne filio ejusdem, Laborer iiij.d.
 De Johanne Arttlyns, Husband',
 et Cecilia vx̃ ejus iiij.d.
 De Johanne Seriant, Husband', et
 Dionisia vx̃ ejus iiij.d.
 De Johanne seruiante ejusdem iiij.d.
 De Johanne Elensoñ, Husband',
 et Elena vx̃ ejus iiij.d.
 De Johanne filio ejus, seruant iiij.d.
 De Thoma Waryn et Agnete vx̃
 ejus, Laborer iiij.d.
 De Roberto Osbarñ et Elena vx̃
 ejus, Laborer iiij.d.
 De Johanne Mundy, Laborer iiij.d.
 De Willelmo Colynsoñ, Husband',
 et Johanna vx̃ ejus iiij.d.
 De Johanna filia ejus, seruant iiij.d.
 De Matilda Neterd seruant iiij.d.
 De Johanne de Holm, Husband',
 et Johanna vx̃ ejus iiij.d.
 De Alicia de Sandesby, Laborer iiij.d.
 De Johanne de Mawsoñ et Agnete
 vx̃ ejus, Laborer iiij.d.
 De Henrico filio Willelmi, Hus-
 band', et Agnete vx̃ ejus iiij.d.
 De Dionisio filio ejus, seruant iiij.d.
 De Johanna filia Henrici, *Webster*' vj.d.
 De Agnete filia Henrici, seruant iiij.d.
 De Alicia Alkok', *Webster* vj.d.
 De Alicia Mawsoñ seruant iiij.d.
 De Henrico Tan et Johanna vx̃
 ejus, Laborer iiij.d.
 De Johanne del Hill', Husband',
 et Johanna vx̃ ejus iiij.d.

(Membrane 9 dorso.)

De Johanne Diconsoñ, Husband',
 et Dionisia vx̃ ejus, *Braciatrix* vj.d.
 De Emma de Birland seruant iiij.d.

De Isabella Goldyng' seruant	iiij.d.
De Johanna filia ejus, seruant	iiij.d.
De Thoma Tan et Agnete vx~ ejus, Laborer	iiij.d.
De Radulpho Beriar', Laborer	iiij.d.
De Willelmo Scherebred, Hus- band', et Johanna vx~ ejus, Web- ster'	vj.d.
De Alicia Hewik seruant	iiij.d.
De Thoma filio ejus, Laborer	iiij.d.

SKYFWYTH'.

De Roberto Wodmañ, Husband', et Agnete vx~ ejus	.....
De Laurencio Taillour et Emma vx~ ejus	vj.[d.]
De Johanne Carter et Agnete vx~ ejus, Laborer	iiij.d.
De Willelmo Cristiañ et Johanna vx~ ejus, Laborer	iiij.d.
De Johanna Midelburgh', vidua	iiij.[d.]
De Johanne Newbond et Isabella vx~ ejus, Laborer	.....
De Johanne Bene, Husband'	.....
De Johanne Batell', Husband', et Juliana vx~ ejus	.....
De Thoma filio ejusdem, Laborer	.....
De Elena filia Thome, Laborer	...d.
De Roberto Warde, Wright', et Emma vx~ ejus	...d.
De Willelmo Huetsañ, Husband', et Alicia vx~ ejus	...d.
De Adam Warde, Husband', et Agnete vx~ ejus	.....
De Johanne Nausañ, Husband', et Lucia vx~ ejus	...d.
De Thoma filio ejusdem, seruant	[iiij].d.
De Thoma Adinett, Husband', et Elena vx~ ejus	iiij.d.
De Dionisia quondam vx~ Roberti, vidua	iiij.d.
De Isabella filia ejus, seruant	iiij.d.
De Willelmo Theker, Husband', et Emma vx~ ejus	iiij.d.
De Ricardo Stayke, Husband', et Cecilia vx~ ejus	iiij.d.
De Roberto Coke, Husband', et Alicia vx~ ejus	iiij.d.
De Thoma Chapman, Puller, et Alicia vx~ ejus	vj.d.
De Willelmo Claybrok', Hus- band', et Juliana vx~ ejus	iiij.d.
De Johanne Cattall', Husband', et Agnete vx~ ejus	iiij.d.
De Alicia vx~ Roberti Claybrok', vidua	iiij.d.
De Ricardo filio ejusdem, seruant	iiij.d.
De Johanne Craate et Margareta vx~ ejus, Husband'	iiij.d.
De Agnete Brakynholm, Laborer.	iiij.d.
De Willelmo Theker, Laborer, et (sic)	iiij.d.

CATUILL'.

De Thoma Bosuell', Chiualer, et Katerina vx~ ejus	xx.s.
De Willelmo de Brysay seruant	iiij.d.
De Thoma Yole, Husband'	iiij.d.
De Johanne Penbarñ, Husband', et L (sic)	iiij.d.
De Alicia Kriggellestoñ, Laborer	iiij.d.
De Johanne Estringtoñ, Husband', et Alicia vx~ ejus	iiij.d.
De Johanne de Laxtoñ, Husband', et Juliana vx~ ejus	iiij.d.
De Alicia Scotte seruant	iiij.d.
De Johanne Veer', Laborer	iiij.d.
De Johanna Scotte, Laborer	iiij.d.
De Johanne Lestrigge seruant et Alicia vx~ ejus	iiij.d.
De Johanne de Kylpyn et Alicia vx~ ejus, Laborer	iiij.d.
De Henrico ffycher' et Matilda vx~ ejus, Braciatrice	xij.d.
De Roberto Webster et Elena vx~ ejus	vj.d.
De Johanne, filio Roberti, et Elena vx~ ejus, Laborer	iiij.d.
De Roberto seruiente ejus	iiij.d.
De Johanne Tomsoñ et Margareta vx~ ejus, Laborer	iiij.d.
De Agnete vx~ Thome, seruant	iiij.d.
De Johanne de Bubw', Lepar', et Alicia vx~ ejus	vj.d.
De Johanne de Moreby, Lepar', et Katerina vx~ ejus	vj.d.
De Willelmo de Estringtoñ seruant	iiij.d.
De Johanne filio Henrici Fiasher', seruant	iiij.d.
De Johanne Magotsoñ, Laborer	iiij.d.
De Johanne filio Johannis Robyn- soñ, Laborer	iiij.d.
De Johanne seruiente Johannis de Bubwyth'	iiij.d.

PORTYNGTON'.

De Edmundo de Portyngtoñ, Esquier'	dimid. marc.
De Johanna de ffentoñ seruiente ejus	iiij.d.
De Johanne Milner junior, serui- ente, et Agnete vx~ ejus	iiij.d.
De Adam de Cattall' Husband', et Elena vx~ ejus	iiij.d.
De Johanne de Gralayn, Wryght', et Emma vx~ ejus	vj.d.
De Matilda filia ejus, seruant	iiij.d.
De Johanne de Cattall' et Emma vx~ ejus, Laborer	iiij.d.
De Willelmo de Waldby, ffraunk- lan, et Margareta vx~ ejus	xl.d.
De Willelmo seruiente ejus	iiij.d.
De Johanne seruiente ejus	iiij.d.
De Johanna seruiente ejus	iiij.d.

De Johanna de Poklay, vidua *iiij.d.*
 De Cicilia filia ejus, seruant *iiij.d.*
 De Roberto Hawkyn, Husband',
 et Alicia vx̃ ejus *iiij.d.*
 De Roberto Vndrewode et Matilda
 vx̃ ejus, seruant *iiij.d.*
 De Ricardo de Gartoñ et Johanna
 vx̃ ejus, Laborer *iiij.d.*
 De Johanne filio ejus, Laborer *iiij.d.*
 De Alicia Topcliff, Laborer *iiij.d.*
 De Johanne Milner seniore et
 Custancia vx̃ ejus, Laborer *iiij.d.*
 De Willelmo de Gartoñ et Marga-
 reta vx̃ ejus, seruant *iiij.d.*
 De Johanne Milner et Eua vx̃
 ejus, seruant *iiij.d.*

(Membrane 10.)

[? Name of place gone]

[De] Ricardo Strod, Esquier *xl.d.*
 [De] hirst, Esquier *xl.d.*
 [De] [Hu]sband', et
 Emma vx̃ ejus *iiij.d.*
 [De] [H]usband', et
 Alicia vx̃ ejus *iiij.d.*
 [De] Husband', et
 Alicia vx̃ ejus *iiij.d.*
 De seruant *iiij.d.*
 De yñ, Laborer *iiij.d.*
 De [et] Johanna vx̃
 ejus, Laborer *iiij.d.*
 De [et] Agnete vx̃
 ejus, Webster *vj.d.*
 De [et] Alicia vx̃ ejus
 Laborer *iiij.d.*
 De Rogeri, Husband',
 et Agnete vx̃ ejus *iiij.d.*
 De ejus, Laborer *iiij.d.*
 De de Cotyngham et
 Elena vx̃ ejus, Braciatrice *xij.d.*
 De Stephano Yonge et Agnete
 vx̃ ejus, Laborer *iiij.d.*
 De Roberto Atte Bek' et Alicia
 vx̃ ejus, Laborer *iiij.d.*
 De Willelmo filio ejus, seruant *iiij.d.*
 De Rogero Atte Kyrk' et Jo-
 hanna vx̃ ejus, Laborer *iiij.d.*
 De Henrico Galbard, Taillour, et
 Isabella vx̃ ejus *vj.d.*
 De Margareta Wride seruant *iiij.d.*
 De Johanna de Grene et Alicia
 vx̃ ejus, Laborer *iiij.d.*
 De Willelmo filio ejus, seruant *iiij.d.*
 De Alicia filia ejusdem, seruant *iiij.d.*
 De Roberto Skayll', Husband',
 et Elena vx̃ ejus *iiij.d.*
 De Johanne Schipherd et Emma
 (sic) *iiij.d.*
 De Willelmo Brounflete et Alicia
 vx̃ ejus, Braciatrice *vj.d.*
 De Ricardo Clerk, Husband', et
 Emma vx̃ ejus *iiij.d.*

De Willelmo seruiante ejus *iiij.d.*
 De Cecilia de Caue, vidua *iiij.d.*
 De Alicia seruiante ejus *iiij.d.*
 De Nicholao filio Rogeri, Husband'
 De Alicia seruiante ejus *iiij.d.*
 De Cristiana seruiante ejus *iiij.d.*
 De Ricardo de Driffeld et Emma
 vx̃ ejus, Laborer *iiij.d.*
 De Johanne del Chappell', Wright' *vj.d.*
 De Isabella Yonge seruant *iiij.d.*
 De Johanne fletcher' et Emma
 vx̃ ejus *iiij.d.*
 De Johanne de Rokesby, seruant *iiij.d.*

BERLAND.

De Johanne Denby, Husband', et
 Alicia vx̃ ejus *iiij.d.*
 De Alicia seruiante ejus *iiij.d.*
 De Roberto Heuen, Panczarmañ *vj.d.*
 De Johanna filia ejus, seruant *iiij.d.*
 De Thoma Taillour et Alicia vx̃
 ejus *vj.d.*
 De Johanne filio Ade et Johanna,
 vx̃ ejus, Laborer *iiij.d.*
 De Roberto de ffentoñ, Wright',
 et Idonea vx̃ ejus *vj.d.*
 De Cecilia seruiante ejusdem *iiij.d.*
 De Johanne seruiante Vicarii et
 Emma vx̃ ejus, Laborer *iiij.d.*

RYKALL', de feodo Sancti Cuthberti.

De Johanna r[elicta Jo]hannis
 Cherletoñ *xl.d.*
 De Agnete Ma[tre] ejusdem, ser-
 uant *iiij.d.*
 De Thoma Wynstoñ, Husband, et
 Cristiana vx̃ ejus *iiij.d.*
 De Johanna seruiante ejusdem *iiij.d.*
 De Emma filia Thome Wynstoñ,
 Laborer *iiij.d.*
 De Thoma Waldyng', Husband',
 et Alicia vx̃ ejus *iiij.d.*
 De Roberto Carter seruant et
 Juliana vx̃ ejus, Braciatrice *vj.d.*
 De Johanne Henrisoñ, Husband',
 et Cecilia vx̃ ejus *iiij.d.*
 De Waltero Lathom et Auicia vx̃
 ejus, seruant *iiij.d.*
 De Matilda Shepherd' vidua *iiij.d.*
 De Willelmo Thorphyn, Laborer *iiij.d.*
 De May Shepherd vidua *iiij.d.*
 De Johanne Hauys, Husband' *iiij.d.*
 De Thoma Butri seruant *iiij.d.*
 De Johanne Dowglas, Husband',
 et Johanna vx̃ ejus *iiij.d.*
 De Johanne seruiante ejusdem *iiij.d.*
 De Willelmo Carlyll' et Margareta
 vx̃ ejus, Laborer *iiij.d.*
 De Thoma Raw, Husband', et
 Agnete vx̃ ejus *iiij.d.*

De Thoma Gryme, Husband', et Elena vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.
De Johanne Wirkearth', Hus- band', et Margareta vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.
De Willelmo filio ejus, seruant	iiij.d.
De Thoma Clerk', Laborer	iiij.d.
De Willelmo Dik', Husband', et Katerina vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.
De Alicia Walkyng' seruant	iiij.d.
De Willelmo Durant' et Elena vx̃ ejus, <i>Matrasmaker</i>	vj.d.
De Willelmo Copland' et Johanna vx̃ ejus, seruant	iiij.d.
De Henrico Hawia, Husband', et Elena vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.
De Johanne Niksoñ et Matilda vx̃ ejus, Laborer	iiij.d.
De Johanne Alisandre, Husband' et Isabella vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.
De Adam Lathom et Johanna vx̃ ejus, Laborer	iiij.d.
De Willelmo Rede, Husband', et Margareta vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.
De Agnete Jordan seruant	iiij.d.
De Willelmo Porter et Johanna vx̃ ejus, <i>Braciatrice</i>	vj.d.
De Agnete Webster'	vj.d.
De Emma vx̃ Willelmi, <i>Bracia- trices</i>	vj.d.
De Emma seruiente ejusdem	iiij.d.
De Marioria seruiente ejusdem	iiij.d.
De Johanne Daw, Husband'	iiij.d.
De Roberto Holaw, <i>Taillour</i> , et Margareta vx̃ ejus	xij.d.
De Thoma Webster et Alicia vx̃ ejus, <i>Brewster</i>	xij.d.
De Sthephano Brekbalk', <i>Milner</i> , et Margareta vx̃ ejus, <i>Bracia- trice</i>	xij.d.
De Agnete filia ejus, Laborer	iiij.d.

(Membrane 10 dorso.)

De Katerina seruiente ejusdem . . . . .	.....
De Johanne Candeler et Agnete vx̃ ejus, <i>Braciatrice</i> . . . . .	.....
De Johanna filia ejus, seruant . . . . .	.....
De Stephano Candeler, Husband', et Cecilia vx̃ ejus . . . . .	.....
De Alicia Lamberd' vidua . . . . .	.....
De Willelmo Balyff et Johanna vx̃ ejus, <i>Braciatrice</i> . . . . .	...j.d.
De Margareta, Laborer	[i]iiij.d.
De Johanne seruiente ejusdem	[i]iiij.d.

HOUDENSHIRE.

LOKINGTON de feodo Sancti Cuthberti.

De Roberto Shephird et Johanna vx̃ ejus, seruant}	iiij.d.
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De Isabella filia ejusdem Roberti, <i>Webster</i>	vj.d.
De Roberto Toby et Agnete vx̃ ejus, Laborer	iiij.d.
De Johanne Daltoñ, Husband' et Alicia vx̃ ejus, <i>Braciatrice</i>	vj.d.

(Membrane 11.)

SKELTON'.

De Gerardo Saluayn, Esquier'	xl.d.
De Johanne fferyman et Alicia vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.
De Johanne filio ejus, seruant	iiij.d.
De Alano Jonson, Husband', et Alicia vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.
De Johanne Clyderow, Husband', et Johanna vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.
De Johanna filia ejus, seruant	iiij.d.
De Willelmo Aungerson, Hus- band', et Agnete vx̃ ejus, <i>Bra- ciatrice</i>	xij.d.
De Ricardo filio ejus, Laborer	iiij.d.
De Willelmo filio ejus, seruant	iiij.d.
De Johanna seruiente ejusdem	iiij.d.
De Alicia filia Roberti, seruant	iiij.d.
De Johanne Wythsyde, Husband', Alicia vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.
De Nicholao Maldson, <i>Merchand</i> , et Elena vx̃ ejus	vj.d.
De Marioria filia ejus, seruant	iiij.d.
De Thoma fforte, Husband', et Cecilia vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.
De Isabella seruiente ejusdem	iiij.d.
De Willelmo Colynson, Husband', et Agnete vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.
De Johanne Storre, <i>Merchand</i> , et Johanna vx̃ ejus	vj.d.
De Johanne Hathelsay, Husband', et Alicia vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.
De Johanne filio ejus, Laborer	iiij.d.
De Henrico ffeslok, <i>Merchand</i> , et Emma vx̃ ejus, <i>Braciatrice</i>	xij.d.
De Alicia filia ejus, seruant	iiij.d.
De Thoma Taillour et Juliana vx̃ ejus, Laborer	iiij.d.
De Johanne Penycot, <i>Merchand</i> , et Lucia vx̃ ejus	vj.d.
De Willelmo Loke, Laborer	iiij.d.
De Willelmo Lassy, Laborer	iiij.d.
De Thoma filio ejus, seruant	iiij.d.
De Stephano Whytsyde, <i>Mer- chand</i> , et Alicia vx̃ ejus	vj.d.
De Johanne Tane, Husband', et Alicia vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.
De Alicia Cotnesse, Laborer	iiij.d.
De Isabella vx̃ Thome, vidua	iiij.d.
De Willelmo Wyntringham, <i>Mer- chand</i>	vj.d.
De Isabella seruiente ejusdem	iiij.d.
De Thoma Cawod, <i>Merchand</i> , et Johanna vx̃ ejus, <i>Brewster</i>	xij.d.

De Agnete seruiante ejusdem *iiij.d.*
De Henrico Taillour et Alicia vx̃ ejus *vj.d.*
De Ricardo filio ejus, seruant *iiij.d.*
[De] Cholby, Husband', et Johanna vx̃ ejus *iiij.d.*
[De] otson, Husband', et Elena vx̃ ejus *iiij.d.*
[De] ytsyde. *Merchant'*, et Juliana vx̃ ejus *vj.d.*
[De] aason, *Merchant'*, et Cecilia vx̃ ejus, *Brewster* *xij.d.*
[De] [serui]ente ejusdem *iiij.d.*
[De] , vidua *iiij.d.*
[De] on seruant *iiij.d.*
[De] nson, Husband', et Alicia vx̃ ejus *iiij.d.*
[De] aykson, Laborer *iiij.d.*
[De] Roberti de Wresell' *iiij.d.*
[De] Rudde seruant *iiij.d.*
De Johanne Knotte, Husband', et Agnete vx̃ ejus *iiij.d.*
De Johanne Pape, Husband', et Emma vx̃ ejus *iiij.d.*
De Thoma Pape, Laborer *iiij.d.*
De Isabella Pape seruant *iiij.d.*
De Johanne Spycer et Alicia vx̃ ejus, Laborer *iiij.d.*
De Agnete Mullok seruant *iiij.d.*
De Thoma Diotson, Husband', et Cecilia vx̃ ejus *iiij.d.*
De Alicia Wattwyf seruant *iiij.d.*
De Johanne Mullok, Husband', et Elena vx̃ ejus *iiij.d.*
De Johanne Peresson, Husband', et Emma vx̃ ejus *iiij.d.*
De Thoma Wyntrynham, *Merchant*, et Johanna vx̃ ejus *vj.d.*
De Johanna Strype seruant *iiij.d.*
De Roberto filio ejus, Husband', et Alicia vx̃ ejus *iiij.d.*
De Roberto Cokeson, Husband', et Elena vx̃ ejus *iiij.d.*
De Johanne Agnald, Laborer *iiij.d.*
De Agnete seruant *iiij.d.*
De Ricardo Wydowson, Husband', et Emma vx̃ ejus *iiij.d.*
De Thoma filio ejusdem, Husband', et Agnete vx̃ ejus *iiij.d.*
De Adam seruiante ejusdem *iiij.d.*
De Alicia seruiante ejusdem *iiij.d.*
X De Johanne Taillour, *Merchant*, et Cecilia vx̃ ejus, *Brewster* *xij.d.*
De Thoma Scotte, Husband', et Matilda vx̃ ejus *iiij.d.*
De Wilhelmo Brakyn, Husband', et Cristiana vx̃ ejus *iiij.d.*
De Thoma Selesden, Laborer *iiij.d.*
De Henrico Oubry, *Wryght*, et Katerina vx̃ ejus *vj.d.*
De Wilhelmo Page, Husband', et Beatrice vx̃ ejus *iiij.d.*
De Roberto Taillour et Margareta vx̃ ejus *vj.d.*

De Wilhelmo Wilcokson, *Wryght*, et Johanna vx̃ ejus, *Brewster* *xij.d.*
De Johanne Gudhall', Husband', et Alicia vx̃ ejus *iiij.d.*
De Johanne Hartaſh, Husband', et Alicia vx̃ ejus *iiij.d.*
De Johanne Alayn, Laborer *iiij.d.*
De Cecilia seruiante Wilhelmo Wilcokson *iiij.d.*
De Johanna vx̃ Johannis, vidua *iiij.d.*
De Thoma Thorstan, Husband', et Agnete vx̃ ejus *iiij.d.*
De Agnete filia Johannis Rogerson, Laborer *iiij.d.*
De Wilhelmo Jonson, Husband', et Elena vx̃ ejus *iiij.d.*
De Dionisia Jonwyff, vidua *iiij.d.*
De Johanne filio ejus, seruant *iiij.d.*
De Thoma filio ejus, seruant *iiij.d.*
De Wilhelmo Henryson, Husband', et Alicia vx̃ ejus *iiij.d.*
De Wal[tero] filio Wilhelmi, Husband', et Alicia vx̃ ejus, *Bractric* *vj.d.*
De Rob[erto] filio ejusdem, seruant *iiij.d.*
De Wal[tero] alw, Husband', et Agnete vx̃ ejus *iiij.d.*

BALKHOLME.

De Thoma Hobard, Husband', et Alicia vx̃ ejus *iiij.d.*
De Thoma Martyn, Husband', et Alicia vx̃ ejus *iiij.d.*
De Wilhelmo Scotte, Husband', et Johanna vx̃ ejus *iiij.d.*
De Johanne Pykewell, *Wryght*, et Margareta vx̃ ejus *vj.d.*
De Alicia Hobard seruant *iiij.d.*
De Elena Walterwyff, Laborer *iiij.d.*
De Isabella filia ejus, seruant *iiij.d.*
De Thoma Nellson, Husband', et Johanna vx̃ ejus *iiij.d.*
De Wilhelmo filio ejusdem, Laborer *iiij.d.*
De Johanne filio Johanni Pykeqwhell', Husband' *iiij.d.*
De Wilhelmo Brasse, Husband', et Alicia vx̃ ejus *iiij.d.*
De Johanne Hyrd', Husband', et Cristiana vx̃ ejus *iiij.d.*
De Johanne Catnesse, Husband', et Emma vx̃ ejus *iiij.d.*
De Roberto filio Johannis, Husband', et Johanna vx̃ ejus *iiij.d.*
De Ricardo Dyke, Husband', et Margareta vx̃ ejus *iiij.d.*
De Wilhelmo Algar, Husband', et Agnete vx̃ ejus *iiij.d.*
De Alicia Prell' seruant *iiij.d.*
De Thoma Batell', *Smyth* *vj.d.*

De Cecilia filia ejus, seruant . . .	iiij.d.
De Johanne West, Laborer . . .	iiij.d.
De Johanna filia ejus, seruant . . .	iiij.d.
De Willelmo Whyppatt, Husband', et Alicia vx̃ ejus . . .	iiij.d.
De Johanne Wachter, Berier, et Johanna vx̃ ejus . . .	iiij.d.
De Johanne Algar, <i>Webster</i> , et Alicia vx̃ ejus . . .	vj.d.
De Ricardo Catour, Husband', et Johanna vx̃ ejus . . .	iiij.d.
De Johanne Spenser, <i>Wryght</i> , et Agnete vx̃ ejus . . .	vj.d.
De Thoma Haytheworth et Isabella vx̃ ejus, <i>Braciatrice</i> . . .	vj.d.
De Ricardo Kryggelistan et Isabella vx̃ ejus, <i>Braciatrice</i> . . .	vj.d.
De Margareta filia ejusdem, seruant . . .	iiij.d.
De Willelmo Algar juniore, Laborer . . .	iiij.d.

(Membrane 11 dorso.)

LYNTON'.

De Cutberto Lynton, frankelayn . . .	xl.d.
De Isabella Lynton seruant . . .	iiij.d.
De Willelmo Priell, Husband', et Johanna vx̃ ejus . . .	iiij.d.
De Johanne filio ejusdem Willelmi, seruant . . .	iiij.d.
De Willelmo Benetson, Husband', et Agnete vx̃ ejus, <i>Braciatrice</i> . . .	xij.d.
De Ricardo Tomlynson et Alicia vx̃ ejus, Laborer . . .	iiij.d.
De Alicia Tomlynwyff, vidua . . .	iiij.d.
De Agnete Nelleson seruant . . .	iiij.d.
De Margeria Demoraunt, Laborer . . .	iiij.d.
De Emma Northiby vidua . . .	iiij.d.
De Roberto Newbald, Husband', et Elena vx̃ ejus, <i>Braciatrice</i> . . .	vj.d.
De Johanne Redford, et Juliana vx̃ ejus, Laborer . . .	iiij.d.
De Agnete seruiante predicto Cutberto . . .	iiij.d.
De Johanna seruiante predicto Cutberto . . .	iiij.d.
De Roberto Darby, Husband', et Johanna vx̃ ejus . . .	iiij.d.
De Agnete Taye seruant . . .	iiij.d.
De Magota Attehyll seruant . . .	iiij.d.
De Nicholao seruiante Thome Blakynholū . . .	iiij.d.
De Willelmo seruiante ejusdem Thome . . .	iiij.d.
De Johanne Reford, et Agnete vx̃ ejus, Laborer . . .	iiij.d.
De Thoma filio Willelmi, Laborer . . .	iiij.d.

WESTCOTTINGWITH' cum THORGRAMBY.

De Willelmo Thornton, Esquier' . . .	xl.d.
De Thoma Fishlak, Husband', et Agnete vx̃ ejus . . .	iiij.d.
De Johanne Grymston, Husband', et Elena vx̃ ejus . . .	iiij.d.
De Thoma Carter, Husband', et Isabella vx̃ ejus . . .	iiij.d.
De Roberto Wyllows, Husband', et Alicia vx̃ ejus, <i>Braciatrice</i> . . .	vj.d.
De Willelmo Anoyt, Husband', et Emma vx̃ ejus . . .	iiij.[d.]
De Johanne Huchonson, Husband', et Agnete vx̃ ejus . . .	iiij.[d.]
De Thoma Jonson, Husband', et Matilda vx̃ ejus . . .	.....
De Thoma Huchonson, Husband', et Elena vx̃ ejus . . .	.....
De Thoma Lillyng, Husband', et Johanne vx̃ ejus . . .	.....
De Johanne Grindall, <i>Taillour</i> , et Margoria (<i>sic</i>) vx̃ ejus . . .	.....
De Willelmo Marchand, Husband', et Juliana vx̃ ejus . . .	.....
De Ricardo Gaby, Husband', et Cecilia vx̃ ejus . . .	.....
De Willelmo Carter, Husband', et Johanna vx̃ ejus . . .	.....
De Roberto Seriantson, Husband', et Beatrice vx̃ ejus . . .	.....
De Roberto Champnays, Husband', et Alicia vx̃ ejus . . .	.....
De Waltero Spayn, Husband', et Juliana vx̃ ejus . . .	.....d.
De Thoma Yung, Husband', et Elena vx̃ ejus . . .	iiij.d.
De Johanne Colburū, Husband', et Cecilia vx̃ ejus . . .	iiij.d.
De Thoma Waht, <i>Taillour</i> , et Juliana vx̃ ejus . . .	vj.d.
De Thoma Coke, Husband', et Agnete vx̃ ejus . . .	iiij.d.
De Johanne Byschop, et Alicia vx̃ ejus, seruant . . .	iiij.d.
De Willelmo Steuenson, Husband', et Johanna vx̃ ejus . . .	iiij.d.
De Willelmo Lang, Husband', et Elena vx̃ ejus . . .	iiij.d.
De Thoma Mason, Husband', et Cecilia vx̃ ejus . . .	iiij.d.
De Johanne Wra, Husband', et Cristiana vx̃ ejus . . .	iiij.d.
De Ricardo Cotteslato, <i>Smyth</i> . . .	xij.d.
De Roberto Cok, Husband', et Alicia vx̃ ejus . . .	iiij.d.
De Willelmo Grayne, Husband', et Elena vx̃ ejus . . .	iiij.d.
De Henrico Dykson, Husband', et Alicia vx̃ ejus . . .	iiij.d.
De Henrico Wndyrwynd, Husband', et Agnete vx̃ ejus . . .	iiij.d.

De Roberto Rogerson, Husband',
et Margareta vx̄ ejus iiiij.d.
De Johanne ffort', Laborer iiiij.d.
De Johanne Seriant, seruiente, et
Juliana vx̄ ejus iiiij.d.
De Alicia Elyndoghter, seruant iiiij.d.
De Roberto Carter, Husband' iiiij.d.
De Johanne Mell', Husband' iiiij.d.
De Elena Pereswyff', Laborer iiiij.d.
De Cristiana filia Roberti, seruant iiiij.d.
De Elena filia Custancie, *Webster*. vj.d.
De Matilda Nailor, Laborer iiiij.d.
De Ricardo Douson seruant iiiij.d.
De Willelmo Anoyt seruant iiiij.d.
De Isolda Anoyt seruant iiiij.d.
De Waltero del Wyglows seruant iiiij.d.
De Alicia seruiente Roberto iiiij.d.
De Roberto Lang seruant iiiij.d.
De Emma Bylburgh, vidua iiiij.d.
De Margareta del Solers seruant iiiij.d.
De Willelmo Rogerson, Husband',
et Alicia vx̄ ejus iiiij.d.
De Emma Dicondoghter seruant iiiij.d.
De Alicia Grayne seruant iiiij.d.
De Willelmo Qweldryk seruant iiiij.d.
De Johanne Vndyrwynd seruant iiiij.d.
De Willelmo Wandesforth, Hus-
band', et Alicia vx̄ ejus iiiij.d.

KNEDELINGTON'.

De Rogero Newit, Husband', et
Elena vx̄ [ejus] iiiij.d.
De Johanne filio ejus, seruant iiiij.d.
De Thoma filio ejus, seruant iiiij.d.
De Willelmo filio Johannis, Hus-
band', et Alicia vx̄ ejus iiiij.d.
De Johanne seruiente ejusdem iiiij.d.
De Alicia Chappeman, Laborer iiiij.d.
De Thoma Walteson, Husband',
et Agnete vx̄ ejus iiiij.d.
De Emma filia ejus, *Webster* vj.d.
De Johanne Jonsoñ, Husband', et
Johanna vx̄ ejus iiiij.d.
De Willelmo Benetland, Husband',
et Alicia vx̄ ejus, *Webster* vj.d.
De Johanne Stransall', Husband',
et Juliana vx̄ ejus iiiij.d.
De Emma filia ejus, seruant iiiij.d.
De Johanne Swan, Husband', et
Alicia vx̄ ejus iiiij.d.
De Rogero Aldus, Husband', et
Johanna vx̄ ejus iiiij.d.
De Thoma Schappeman, Laborer iiiij.d.
De Agnete Stransall' seruant iiiij.d.
De Thoma Romnes, Husband', et
Cristiana vx̄ ejus iiiij.d.
De Stephano Bene, Husband', et
Cecilia vx̄ ejus iiiij.d.
De Emma Grayne seruant iiiij.d.
De Johanne Coke, Husband', et
Alicia vx̄ ejus iiiij.d.

De Willelmo filio ejus, seruant iiiij.d.
De Thoma filio ejus, seruant iiiij.d.
De Agnete Palmer seruant iiiij.d.
De Johanne filio ejus, Laborer iiiij.d.
De Ricardo filio ejus, Laborer iiiij.d.
De Katerina filia ejus, seruant iiiij.d.
De Alicia filia ejus, seruant iiiij.d.
De Waltero Pape, Husband',
Lucia vx̄ ejus iiiij.d.

(Membrane 12.)

YUKFLETE.

De Isabella seruiente Roberti
Beset iiiij.d.
De Johanne Askell' juniore, Hus-
band', et Matilda vx̄ ejus iiiij.d.
De Petro Drak, Husband', et
Alicia vx̄ ejus, *Braciatrice* vj.d.
De Alexandro Gilbertsoñ, *Tail-
lour*, et Margareta vx̄ ejus vj.d.
De Waltero ffouler', Husband', et
Johanna vx̄ ejus, *Braciatrice* xij.d.
De Thoma Gote et Alicia vx̄ ejus,
seruant iiiij.d.
De Nicholao Gilberdsoñ et Auicia
vx̄ ejus, *Braciatrice* xij.d.
De Henrico filio ejus, Laborer iiiij.d.
De Johanne Burnett, Husband',
et Isabella vx̄ ejus iiiij.d.
De Willelmo Darby, *fleschhewer*,
et Margareta vx̄ ejus vj.d.
De Radulpho Chiperd, Husband',
et Alicia vx̄ ejus iiiij.d.
De Dionisio Durant seruant iiiij.d.
De Willelmo Scott', Laborer, et
Juliana vx̄ ejus, seruant iiiij.d.
De Roberto Tailleur et Elizabetha
vx̄ sua vj.d.
[De] Thomassoñ, Hus-
band', et Elena vx̄ sua iiiij.d.
[De] ll' wehng', Laborer iiiij.d.
[De] , Husband', et
Alicia vx̄ ejus iiiij.d.
[De] ñ, Husband', et
Emma vx̄ ejus iiiij.d.
[De] Tailleur et Mar-
gareta vx̄ ejus vj.d.
[De] ... , [Hu]sband', et
Elena vx̄ ejus iiiij.d.
[De] ... , [Hus]band', et
Agnete vx̄ ejus iiiij.d.
[De] ... , vidua iiiij.d.
[De] ... , *Smythl'*, et Isa-
bella vx̄ ejus xij.d.
[De] ... s seruant iiiij.d.
[De] ... rouncroft, Hus-
band', et Alicia vx̄ ejus iiiij.d.
[De] ... o Trailweng', Hus-
band', (et) Juliana vx̄ ejus iiiij.d.
De Johanne Askell', Husband', et
Johanna vx̄ ejus iiiij.d.

De Thoma Gilberdson, Husband',
et Cecilia vx̃ ejus iiiij.d.
De Roberto Schepherd, Husband',
et Auicia vx̃ ejus iiiij.d.
De Willelmo Alweder', *Webster*',
et Emma vx̃ ejus vj.d.
De Petro Skelwar', *Smyth*', et
Lucia vx̃ ejus vj.d.
De Henrico filio ejus, seruant iiiij.d.
De Petronilla Rayner' seruant iiiij.d.
De Johanne Swalow et Juliana vx̃
ejus, Laborer iiiij.d.
De Willelmo Higecok, *Taillour*,
et Emma vx̃ ejus vj.d.
De Radulpho Houk', Laborer, et
Elena vx̃ ejus iiiij.d.
De Johanne Alweder', *Milner*', et
Agnete vx̃ ejus vj.d.
De Cecilia dell' Hesell' seruant iiiij.d.
De Johanne Webster' et Cecilia
vx̃ ejus, *Braciatrice* xij.d.
De Johanne Williamson et Matilda
vx̃ ejus, *Braciatrice* vj.d.
De Johanne de Houke, *Webster*,
et Elena vx̃ ejus vj.d.
De Thoma Pynder', Laborer iiiij.d.
De Thoma Leper', Laborer iiiij.d.
De Johanne Benet', Laborer, et
Agnete vx̃ ejus iiiij.d.
De Willelmo Sponer', Laborer, et
Juliana vx̃ ejus iiiij.d.
De Rogero Drak', Laborer, et
Margareta vx̃ ejus iiiij.d.

ASKELBY.

De Emma Horne, Laborer iiiij.d.
De Thoma Atte Wodehall', La-
borer iiiij.d.
De Matilda Atte Wodhall', La-
borer iiiij.d.
De Johanne Taillour vj.d.
De Willelmo Atte Barke, Hus-
band', et Beatrice vx̃ ejus iiiij.d.
De Johanne Judson, Husband', et
Beatrice vx̃ ejus iiiij.d.
De Johanne Martynson, Husband',
et Agnete vx̃ ejus iiiij.d.
De Willelmo Judde, Laborer iiiij.d.
De Willelmo Bene, Husband', et
Agnete vx̃ ejus iiiij.d.
De Thoma seruiente ejusdem iiiij.d.
De Rogero Drader', Husband', et
Agnete vx̃ ejus iiiij.d.
De Alicia Rome seruant iiiij.d.
De Thoma Barker', Husband', et
Alisia vx̃ ejus iiiij.d.

De Johanne Claybrok', *Wryght*',
et Johanna vx̃ ejus vj.d.
De Johanne Snaw, *Wright*', et
Margareta vx̃ ejus vj.d.
De Roberto Husband', et
Johanna vx̃ ejus iiiij.d.
De Johanne Laborer iiiij.d.
De Johanne ber, Husband',
et Agnete vx̃ ejus iiiij.d.
De Roberto [seruiente (?) ejusdem iiiij.d.
De Marrio[ria seruie]nte ejusdem iiiij.d.
De Johanne Grayne, Husband', et
Juliana vx̃ ejus iiiij.d.
De Roberto Emmnotson (*sic*),
Husband', et Annya (*sic*) vx̃
ejus iiiij.d.
De Margareta Pacok seruant iiiij.d.
De Johanne Pacok, Husband', et
Magota vx̃ ejus iiiij.d.
De Margareta Leuet' seruant iiiij.d.
De Johanna filia ejus, seruant iiiij.d.
De Margareta Skipwyth' seruant iiiij.d.
De Johanne Blak', Merschall' vj.d.
De Thoma Blak', Laborer, et Isa-
bella vx̃ ejus iiiij.d.
De Johanne Whippotte, Husband',
et Agnete vx̃ ejus iiiij.d.
De Roberto Sandesby, Husband',
et Dionisia vx̃ ejus iiiij.d.
De Roberto Gardeiner, Husband',
et Alicia vx̃ ejus iiiij.d.
De Agnete filia ejus, seruant iiiij.d.
De Agnete Godhall' seruant iiiij.d.
De Johanne Kirklestouff, Hus-
band', et Agnete vx̃ ejus iiiij.d.
De Thoma de Barnby, Husband',
et Marioria vx̃ ejus iiiij.d.
De Johanne Pesigod',³ Husband',
et Isabella vx̃ ejus iiiij.d.
De Roberto Wygott, Husband',
et Beatrice vx̃ ejus iiiij.d.
De Johanna filia ejus, seruant iiiij.d.
De Johanne Cortnay, Husband',
et Idonia vx̃ ejus iiiij.d.
De Roberto Layston, Husband',
et Johanna vx̃ ejus iiiij.d.
De Ricardo Jillett', Husband', et
Dionisia vx̃ ejus, *Braciatrice* vj.d.
De Thoma ffremañ, *Smyth*', et
Isabella vx̃ ejus vj.d.
De Agnete Bene seruant iiiij.d.
De Johanne Spaldyngtoñmañ,
Husband', et Johanna vx̃ ejus iiiij.d.
De Willelmo Dobyn, Laborer iiiij.d.
De Isabella filia ejus, seruant iiiij.d.
De Roberto seruiente ejusdem iiiij.d.
De Roberto Alldus, Husband', et
Alicia vx̃ ejus iiiij.d.
De Juliana Aldus seruant iiiij.d.
De Roberto Blak', Husband', et
Agnete vx̃ ejus iiiij.d.

³ The "t" is written above the "d." Perhaps an alteration to "Pesigot" is intended.

Membrane 12 dorso.)

SANDHOLM'.

De Roberto Balyff, Husband', et Johanna vx̃ ejus, <i>Brewster</i>	xij.d.
De Adam Chappman et Agnete vx̃ ejus, <i>Braciatrice</i>	xij.d.
De Johanne Whippatte, <i>Webster</i> , et Margareta vx̃ ejus	vj.d.
De Roberto Roberdman, Husband', et Emma vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.
De Adam Saltmaw, Husband', et Alicia vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.
De Johanne Smyth' et Rosa vx̃, <i>Blakster</i>	vj.d.
De Coletta Saper, <i>Blaister</i>	vj.d.
De Johanne Dandy, <i>Taillour</i> , et Johanna vx̃ ejus	vj.d.
De Johanne Day et Alicia vx̃ ejus, Laborer	iiij.d.
De Willelmo Dauson, Husband', et Coletta vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.
De Willelmo Sleght, Husband', et Alicia vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.
De Symone Milner et Alicia vx̃ ejus, Laborer	iiij.[d.]
De Johanne Lessham, Husband', et Johanna vx̃ ejus	.....
De Isabella Thekher seruant	.....
De Roberto Gartoñ, <i>Chappman</i>	.....
De Johanna filia Roberti Bailyff, seruant	.....
De Willelmo dell' Park', Husband', et Agnete vx̃ ejus	.....
De Stephano Milner, Husband', et Margareta vx̃ ejus	.....

LAXTON'.

De Johanne filio Roberti Constabell', seruant	iiij.d.
De Willelmo Euerard, Husband'	iiij.d.
De Hugone Roudon, Laborer	iiij.d.
De Roberto Custon, Laborer	iiij.d.
De Willelmo Smythson, Laborer	iiij.d.
De Johanne Dayuill', <i>fraunkleyn</i>	dimid. marc.
De Thoma Scott, Husband', et Alicia vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.
De Johanne Batell' et Johanna vx̃ ejus, Husband'	iiij.d.
De Willelmo Stapelton, Husband', et Matilda vx̃ ejus, <i>Braciatrice</i>	vj.d.
De Ricardo Dayvelman, Husband', et Agnete vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.
De Roberto Parvay, Husband', et Alicia vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.
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De Johanne Pacok' seniore, Husband', et Katerina vx̃ ejus	iiij.d.
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De Johanne filio ejusdem, Laborer iiij.d.
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Written at the bottom is :—

HAUDENSHIRE		Examinatur cum
Ouse et Derwent.		Indenturis Collec-
		torum.

Indentura Assessatorum *in duabus*
bundellis. (The portion in italics is
cancelled.)

ALDBOROUGH CHURCH, NEAR BOROUGHBIDGE.¹

By ALEX. D. H. LEADMAN.

THEY built in marble, built as they
Who wished these stones might see the day
When Christ returns, and these vast walls
May stand o'er them when Judgment calls.
Not that the shrines in grandeur built
Can do away the stains of guilt ;
But witnesses they are of love,
Which only shall unfailing prove
Of paths in deep abasement trod ;
Of self that died to live to God.

The Baptistery, 1848.

THIS venerable structure, whose walls have stood the vicissitudes of five centuries of time, at whose shrine there is every reason to believe the continuity of the worship of God has never been broken, stands picturesquely situated in a wooded and capacious churchyard, where lie the ashes of many generations of former parishioners. The very site of the church of Aldborough, with its surroundings, is classic ground to all who are interested in antiquarian lore. Here was the capital of our country's earliest race, and the court

Where bold Brigantian Kings
Ruled awful, ere the martial claim was hailed
By the loved name of York.

Celt, Roman, Saxon, Dane, and Norman have swept over the district, and Aldborough can yet show traces of their respective occupation or invasion.

The present church must have replaced an earlier building

¹ In preparing this contribution I have to thank the Rev. R. W. Marriott, the vicar, for his great kindness in giving me every facility for my work ; the Rev. J. R. Lunn, vicar of Marton-cum-Grafton, for kindly placing at my disposal his "Notes on the Ecclesiology of the Rural Deanery of Boroughbridge" (York Archi-

tectural Society, 1867) ; the Rev. Canon Raine for notes from the Records of the Dean and Chapter of York, and also for notes from the York Ecclesiastical Court ; Mr. J. J. Cartwright for copies of the Chantry Certificates ; and Mr. G. W. Tomlinson for his help with several of the heraldic shields.

which had been destroyed or become unfit for use, for, though there is no mention anywhere of a Saxon or Norman edifice, yet the chapels at Boroughbridge and Low Dunsforth contain Norman work, and it is hardly likely that these places in the parish should have chapels and the principal town be without its church. Then the list of vicars begins in 1316, whilst the present building would not be erected until the latter part of the 14th century. Nor is anything recorded as to who built or rebuilt it. Local tradition assigns the nave and aisles to a Sir William de Aldeburgh, who died about 1360, and there is a further tradition that another Sir William de Aldeburgh added the chancel, tower, and clerestory some hundred and twenty years later. The different styles of architecture bear testimony to these statements, and the memorials of these two knights remain in good preservation, while others in the church have been injured or destroyed.

The site of the church nearly marks the centre of the Roman Isurium, and a statue of Mercury, which is built into the east wall of the vestry, is said by local tradition to have been discovered when digging the foundations, whence it is supposed that a temple to that god stood here. Coins and other relics of the Romans have often been and are still dug up in the churchyard. The older portions of the church are said to have been erected of stones taken from the Roman wall which surrounded Isurium, and anyone who will take the trouble to compare the blocks of red sandstone, coarse grit, and limestone in the walls of the church with those to be seen in the excavated portions of the Roman wall will find plenty of evidence to confirm this.

The church, which stands south-east and north-west, consists of a chancel 47 ft. by 19 ft. 3 in.; nave 65 ft. 6 in. by 22 ft. 3 in.; with aisles—the northern being 13 ft. 9 in. wide and the southern 15 ft.; western tower 15 ft. 6 in. by 12 ft. 6 in.; also a sacristy and an organ-recess, both on the north side of the chancel. This last was added in 1875, and a powerful organ, erected by Brindley and Foster, of Sheffield, placed therein during the same year.

The nave, north aisle, and chancel arch belong to the decorated period; the chancel, clerestory, and tower to the perpendicular. The south aisle was rebuilt in 1827 of magnesian limestone, and I am informed that it is a copy of the

older structure, which had become very dilapidated and unsafe. It is all decorated and modern, except the eastern window, which is old. At its restoration in 1827 the south porch, which had been taken down with it, was unfortunately not rebuilt.

The entrances into the church are both north and south—the doorways being decorated. In the chancel there is a priest's door on the south side. It has a handsome square dripstone over it, and is perpendicular in style.

The nave is divided from the aisles by bays of four chamfered arches—those on the north side having hood mouldings supported by corbels carved into grotesque heads, said to be caricatures of some early vicars, whilst those on the south side are plain. The chancel arch is plainly chamfered. Each aisle contains four windows of two lights, with quatrefoil heads and varied reticulated tracery, and an eastern window similar to the rest in style, but of three lights. The upper half of each of the north aisle windows is filled with old stained glass representing canopies, and giving the idea that at some time the lower portions have contained figures of saints. In the quatrefoils above each window is a shield of arms.

Crest.—A greyhound passant, gules.

Arms.—1. Azure, 2 lions rampant combatant argent chained or, supporting a triple tower of the second (Kelly) impaling, Quarterly 1 & 4, Azure, semee of crosses crosslets or a lion rampant argent (Dalton); 2 & 3, Azure, on a chief or three martlets gules (Wray).²

G. D. Kelly, Vicar, A.D. 1830.

2. Gules, a bend compone argent and azure a chief or (Sir John Mauleverer).³ (Torre mentions this.)

² The following extract from the pedigree of Dalton of Slenningford will explain several of the quarterings in this shield:—

JOHN DALTON, Esq., Captain Royal Engineers. Resident at the Court of the Nabob of Arcot, Governor of Trichinopoly. Died July, 1811.

ISABELLA, 2nd daughter of Sir John Wray, Bart. (of Glentworth), co-heiress to her brother, Sir Cecil Wray, Bart., and eventually heiress to her uncle, Thomas Norcliffe, Esq., of Langton, and 10th in descent from George, Duke of Clarence, brother of King Edward IV. She descended about twenty different ways from Edward I., and had a shield of 200 quarterings. She died 29 May, 1760.

JOHN DALTON, Esq., of Slenningford, co. York, and Fillingham Castle, co. Lincoln, lieutenant-colonel in the army, born 24 July, 1758, married 10 March, 1783, died 29 September, 1841.

SUSANNA, eldest daughter of the late General Robert Prescott, of Rose Green, co. Sussex, born 21 December, 1765.

ALBINIA DALTON, born 29 October, 1798, married 1 July, 1820, to the Rev. George Kelly, vicar of Aldborough, who, in 1835, assumed in addition the name of Holdsworth.

Foster's Yorkshire Pedigrees.

³ According to an old Roll of Arms (Harl. MS. 6589, date 1300-12), such arms were assigned to Sir John Mauleverer. My thanks for this information

3. Sable, a saltier argent.

Mr. Edward Marris, Vicar of Aldbrough, 1700.

4. Gules, a castle or.

Aldeburgh de Aldeburgh.

The east window of the north aisle has a central figure of S. Andrew the Apostle, with the inscription "**SATS ANDREAS APOSTVS.**" Above and around are seven shields containing arms.

1. Argent, a fess inter 3 crosslets azure. (Ricardus de Aldeburgh, H^a Cⁱ Fundator.)
2. Argent, a chevron inter 3 escalops gules. (Tancred Barⁱ.)
3. Sable, 3 greyhounds courant argent. (Maleverer.)
4. Azure, a fess ermineois between three unicorns passant or, Crest, out of a mural coronet gules a demi-unicorn erased ermineois armed and maned or. (Andr^w Wilkinson, of Burghbridge, 1536.)⁴
5. Wilkinson impaling Jessop.
6. Wilkinson impaling Cholmley.
7. Wilkinson impaling: Paly of 4 gules and vert, on a chevron or a greyhound's head erased sable between 2 cinquefoils azure, a chief of the third charged with a pellet thereon a demi-lion rampant argent between two crescents of the fourth each charged with three plates. (Lawson.)

are due to Mr. A. S. Ellis. On referring to the pedigree of Mauleverer of Allerton (Glover and S. George's Visitation of Yorkshire, edited by Joseph Foster, page 67), I find the following arms:—1st and 4th, Gules, 3 greyhounds courant in pale argent, collared or, a crescent for difference of the last (Mauleverer); 2, Gules, a chief or, over all a bend gobony (or compone) azure and argent; 3, Azure, a bend between 6 martlets argent, a crescent for difference gules (Lutterell), &c., &c.

⁴ The Wilkinsons were an old family in this neighbourhood. The first mentioned is Andrew Wilkinson, and dates of him are recorded:—viz., on a shield of arms in this church, 1536; in Boroughbridge Hall, 1568 and 1606. They bought property from the Tancred 1650–1700; in Boroughbridge, 1654; in Aldbrough, 1659, and with this last purchase the old Manor House and the Aldeburgh Chapel. They are also named in a Charter of Fairs dated 1666.

Andrew Wilkinson married Deborah Cholmley 1685, died 1711.

Charles, his son and heir, born at Spinster Hall, near Killinghall, parish of Ripley, was High Sheriff in 1716, married and had issue Andrew (he represented Aldbrough in Parliament in 1735–72), who married Barbara Jessop, sister to the last Lord Darcy of Navan, and co-heiress of William Jessop of Broomhall (Mr. Jessop was member of Parliament for Aldbrough 1762–34). Andrew Wilkinson, son of the above, married Dorothy, 2nd daughter of Richard Lawson, some time Alderman and Lord Mayor of York. He was captain in the Royal Navy, and died without issue in 1785, 2 May, æt. 56.

Children of Andrew Wilkinson, died 1784, and Barbara Jessop, his wife:

1. Charles, barrister-at-law, M.P. for Aldbrough in 1774, died unmarried 1782.
2. William, colonel in the army, died unmarried 1761.
3. Andrew, captain R.N., *vide supra*.
4. James, vicar of Sheffield, J.P., died unmarried at Boroughbridge 1805.

The eastern portion of the north aisle is called the Aldeburgh Chapel, and here stood the chantry of Our Lady, founded in this church by Richard de Aldeburgh and others. A small piscina still remains in the right-hand wall.

The clerestory is lighted by four two-light windows on each side. The roof is of 16th century work—flattish and panelled. The tower is square and somewhat low; both it and the chancel are embattled. The arch into the tower springs from the wall, and is more pointed than any of the others. The west window of the church is in the tower, and is divided by transomes and mullions into nine compartments filled with rich stained glass—the three lights containing the subject “Our Lord as the Good Shepherd,” while above are fruitful vines and foliage conventionally treated. The whole is highly skilful as far as artistic work is concerned, but the mullions divide the picture and somewhat mar the effect. On a brass plate below is inscribed—

TO THE GLORY OF GOD
AND IN MEMORY OF GEORGE KELLY HOLDSWORTH, M.A.
FOR FORTY YEARS VICAR OF THIS PARISH
THIS CHURCH WAS RESTORED AND THIS WINDOW ERECTED
BY HIS PARISHIONERS FRIENDS AND FAMILY
A.D. 1865.

The chancel is wholly perpendicular, and is lighted by a large east window, two two-light windows on the north side and three similar ones on the south—the one on either side nearest the nave being longer than the others. All the chancel windows are filled with stained glass. The great east window is divided by its mullions and transomes into twenty-five compartments, the central figure being Our Lord as the King of Kings, and beneath, a Lamb with banner and scroll—✠ Ecce Agnus Dei. The other four great divisions are filled with the figures of SS. Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. Each of the evangelists bears his emblem, and below them are four angels kneeling in adoration,

5. Thomas, captain of engineers, died unmarried 1773.

6. George, in the East India Company's service, died unmarried 1761.

7. John, who left a daughter, who was

married to the Rev. Marmaduke Lawson.

8 and 9. Cholmley and Mary, both died in infancy.

each bearing a scroll containing the first words of the four gospels.

Liber generationes Jesu Christi.
Quoniam quidem multi conati sunt ordinati.
Initium evangelii Jesu Christi.
In principio erat verbum et Verbum erat.

In the upper compartments are cherubin and seraphin, some angels bearing scrolls inscribed respectively--

Gloria in excelcis Deo
Omnia pro Christi
Te deum laudamus

Et in terra pax hominibus
Vigiliendum
Alleluia cantemus Dominum

whilst others bear shields charged with emblems of the Crucifixion. The general effect of the window is very good. It was erected in 1842 by public subscription, and was executed by Mr. Wailes, of Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

The window near the nave on the north side contains for its subjects, Mary sitting at the feet of Jesus, with the text "But one thing is needful, and Mary hath chosen that good part;" Timothy reading the Scriptures, with the text "And that from a child thou hast known the scriptures;" above, a crown, with scroll "Blessed are they that wait for Him." Below, on a brass plate:—"Albinia Holdsworth Wife of George K. Holdsworth Vicar died Sept' 12, 1859, aged 59. To her beloved memory this Window is erected by near relatives and dear friends."

The window near the sacarium on the same side, has Charity bearing a lamp, with the text "She hath done what she could;" Faith carrying a cross with a scroll inscribed "Come unto me;" and the text "Thy will be done." Above, is a crown with scroll "Glory to God." Below, on a brass plate:—"Albinia Holdsworth Wife of George K. Holdsworth Vicar died Sept' 12, 1859, aged 59. In pious memory this Window is offered by her children John, George, Susan, Henry, Elizth."

On the south side within the sacarium a window containing, above, an angel bearing a scroll "Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord;" below, the Raising of Jairus' daughter; with the text "Damsel I say unto thee arise;" and Mary at the feet of Christ, with the text "Mary hath chosen that good part." In the border of the window "✠ To

the memory of M. A. Dalton, who died July 9, 1852. ✠ By her sister A. Holdsworth." ⁵

The window next the chancel door has depicted in it the Resurrection of Our Lord, with the texts "He is risen—he is not here." "They that sleep in Jesus will the Lord bring with him." The Ascension of Our Lord—"Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world." "Whosoever liveth and believeth in me shall never die." Above, a crown with scroll "He went not up into joy, but first he suffered pain." Below, on a brass plate "In memory of Albinia, Wife of George K. Holdsworth, vicar of this parish, died September XII. MDCCCLIX, aged LIX."

The window near the reading-desk has, above, on a scroll "I am the Resurrection and the life," and below—

The raising of the widow's son.

The healing of Jairus' daughter.

The raising of Lazarus.

The healing of Peter's wife's mother.

and this text "See that ye sorrow not as those who have no hope." It is called the Cawood window, and was erected by public subscription to the memory of the late Miss Cawood, of Whixley, a liberal benefactor to this parish.

The east window of the south aisle has been recently filled with rich stained glass in memory of the late Rev. T. Hutton Croft, M.A., canon of York, and vicar of Hutton Buscell and of Stillington in this county, and also in memory of Eliza Mary, his wife, sister of the late Sir Harry Meysey-Thompson, Bart., of Kirby Hall. The subject is the Nativity, representing Our Lord in the arms of the Virgin, who is seated in a stable, whilst St. Joseph, the shepherds and magi kneel in adoration. In the quatrefoils above are the shields of Croft quartered with Bowes, Croft of Aldborough Hall, and Richards of Caerynoch. The whole design is from the pencil of Mr. E. C. Kempe.

To the south wall of the chancel is fixed a curious piece of wood carving, black with age, of 14th century work. The subject is "Daniel in the Lion's den." The oak panelling in the sacrarium is partly of 16th century work and partly of later date, and appears to have been derived from various

⁵ This window formerly contained some stained glass representing a large baronial Hall, with an inscription, "Tout

pour l'Eglise." I have made every endeavour to trace it, but in vain.

sources—the chief part having been brought from Thornton Bridge Hall in this county, the former home of the Nevilles. Two oak chairs in the sacrarium are dated 1633 and 1676. Three similar oak chairs are kept in the vestry, where the old altar-table of the 16th century is preserved.

The pulpit is a handsome piece of furniture with panelled sides. The pedestal which supports it was made from one of the piles of the old Roman bridge⁶ which crossed the Ure at Milby. The several panels contain reticulated tracery which once formed part of the ancient rood-screen in this church. Surmounting the panels is a cornice bearing in gilt letters the Master's command to S. Peter, PASCE OVES PASCE AGNOS. It was placed in its present position in 1865. Prior to 1827 the chancel of this church was only used on the great festivals of Christmas, Easter, and Whit-Sunday, when the Holy Communion was administered. People now living can remember how the brick-paved floor was black with damp. A glass screen separated the chancel from the nave, and over it was a pew placed so as to block up the chancel arch. All the services were read from an ancient "three-decker," which stood by the first bay on the south side of the nave, in the corner where it joins the chancel, and over the pulpit⁷ was a huge sounding-board. At the west end there was a gallery which had been rebuilt through the liberality of the Right Hon. Richard Pepper Arden (His Majesty's Attorney-General), who represented Aldborough in Parliament in 1785.

There are pews of carved oak, one in the nave dated 1615, and another in the chancel dated 1690.

The door leading into the vestry is very ancient; it is studded with square-headed nails, and its hinges are of 15th century iron-work.

A piscina is still existing in the south wall of the sacrarium; it has a semi-circular basin, but any design about it is obscured by whitewash.

The font is of Caen stone—octagonal and panelled, and is decidedly poor for the church.

A handsome brass lectern stands in the nave, inscribed :—

⁶ Some piles remaining of this Roman bridge were to be seen in the Ure during the latter portion of the 18th century. Probably one of these was used.

⁷ The present pulpit formed a part of this "three-decker," but was on a much higher pedestal, and was obscured in part by the reading desk.

To the Glory of God and in loving remembrance of George Crow of Ornhams Hall, who died 27 January 1872, aged 80. This Lectern is dedicated by Richard and Elizabeth Paver Crow A.D. 1878.

My trust is in the Lord. Psalm CXIX. 42.

The Communion Plate consists of two silver patens, two chalices, and two large flagons. The two patens and the larger chalice have the Hall mark—a lion passant and a leopard's head crowned, also the date mark, a small black letter G. This mark was used in 1564 and in 1684, but it is more probable that the plate here dates from the later period; there is also the maker's mark, GG. The smaller chalice has a cover and the maker's mark, i. m.—it has no Hall or date mark, but on the chalice a coat of arms “gules, on a bend argent 3 crosses patonce sable—on an inescutcheon the badge of a baronet of England,” with this inscription above, “MERCY JESU,” and below “*Deo et Ecclesiæ.*” On the cover is engraved this crest, “on a cap of maintenance pupure, a goat statant argent.”

These armorial bearings are those of the Reresbys of Thrybergh, baronets in Yorkshire from 1642–1748. Sir John Reresby represented Aldborough in Parliament from 1673–79, and again from 1681–85, and the evidence points to him as the donor. Beyond the marks specified the patens and chalices are quite plain, and free from carving. The two large flagons are of copper, silvered, and each bears the same monogram, A. W., surmounted by the crest of the Wilkinson family. They are both engraved—

The Gift of ANDREW WILKINSON Esq.
to Aldborough Church
Anno Dom: 1771.

This Mr. Wilkinson represented Aldborough in Parliament from 1735 to 1772.^{7a}

On the altar-table are two handsome brass candlesticks, and two brass alms-dishes. The latter are 16 inches in diameter and of Flemish hammered-up workmanship; on both is represented the “The Temptation of Adam and Eve.” One dish much older than the other, has on the border of its inner side an inscription, but energetic rubbing with bath-brick has well nigh effaced the letters, which now cannot be made out.^{7b}

^{7a} See note 4, p. 166.

^{7b} There is a note about this dish in

the *Gentleman's Magazine* for Nov. 1785, vol. 55, p. 848; the inscription as then

This has been in Aldborough Church a very long time—the other was brought from Stillingfleet Hall at a later period.

The Bells are six in number, bearing the following inscriptions :—

1. "To honour God & king. In melody we ring. Thomas Mears late Lester Pack and Chapman of London fecit 1790."
2. "I call the people, I adorn the festivals. 1784. Dalton, fecit, York."
3. "Chapman & Mears of London, fecerunt, 1782."
4. "Sancte Toma ora pro nobis."
5. "Sit nomen Domini benedictum."
6. "Jesus be our speed. Anno Domini 1627."

There are five hatchments fixed to the walls of the nave.

- South side. A. Quarterly, 1 & 4. Wilkinson. 2 & 3, Cholmley. Crest, Wilkinson.
- B. 1. Sable, 3 horse-shoes or 2 & 1, over all a label of 3 points erminois (Smithson) impaling, Argent, a fess gules with 3 garbs or between 2 chevrons azure each bearing 3 escallops argent (Eden).⁸
- North side. C. 1. Smithson. 2. Eden. Crest, on a torse sable and or, a horse's head argent bridled or (Smithson).⁸
- D. 1 & 4 Wilkinson, 2 & 3 Cholmley. Crest, Wilkinson.
- E. 1. Wilkinson (Quarterly of 4).
 2. Argent, 2 bars gules between 9 mullets gules, 3, 3 & 3 (Jessop of Broomhall).
 3. Azure, 3 bars gemelles and a chief or (for Meynell).

read is given as NIEMBTRE . ALZE . HOSL . VEKIEE . The late Mr. R. Carr Ellison, of Dunston Hill, near Gateshead, spent some time in examining this dish (1875), and the first portion of the inscription he read NIEMBTRE . ALZE . HOSL . VEKIEE, which he thought was Northumbrian Anglo-Saxon for the standard Saxon NEMBARE . ALLE . HUSL . WACIGE . Acceptibiles omnes Hostiam celebrate . All who are purified celebrate the Host . Wacian—to watch, whence too our wake in the sense of a fair or celebration . In consequence of the pains Mr. Ellison took, I feel bound to give his opinion, but at the same time I think the inscription is almost untranslatable, and this view is taken by Professor George Stephens of Copenhagen, Mr. Charles H. Read of the British Museum, and the Rev. G. F.

Brown, St. Catherine's Hall, Cambridge. It is one of the Nuremburg dishes of the end of the 15th century.

⁸ The following extract from the Registers will help to explain the quarterings of the hatchments B and C:—

Mark Smithson, of the parish of St. Bride's, London, merchant, and Clare Eden, of this parish, were married in this Church by Licence this twenty-ninth day of December, in the year 1763, by me,
 John Foster, Curate.

This marriage was solemnized between us

In the presence of }
 Matt^r Harrison. } Mark Smithson.
 The Mark of + J. } Clare Eden.
 Eden.

The hatchment B is for Mrs. Smithson, and C for Mr. Smithson.

4. Azure, a fleur-de-lis or 3 cinquefoils between 8 cross-crosslets argent (Darcy), impaling; Quarterly of 4,
 1. Or, a chevron vair between 3 stags trippant sable (Swyft).
 2. Argent, a fess azure between 3 cinquefoils gules, 2 & 1 (Wickersley).
 3. Cholmley.
 4. Lawson. Crest, Wilkinson.

In this church formerly there was a curious custom of hanging garlands of flowers over the entrance into the choir. They were in memory of the deceased young maidens and bachelors of the parish, and were a token of the esteem and love in which their memories were cherished, and also an emblem of their reward in the heavenly church.

The village feast is on January 6th—the Epiphany—and until recently it was usual for a number of people to parade the parish in the grotesque costume of mountain shepherds. They carried with them a large doll in a kind of cradle—evidently a corruption of the Bambino, and a relic of mediæval practices.

Aldborough Church in the Taxation of Pope Nicholas IV. (made 1288–92), is taxed as a “peculiar, belonging to the Church of York,” and its value given at £20.

A return made by Charles James [Blomfield], Bishop of Chester (1824–28), says, as regards Aldborough, “that the Vicar is collated by the Dean and Chapter of York, who claim and exercise all other Jurisdiction; but many Wills, especially ancient ones of the Parish, have been proved in the Dio. of Chester,” as also was the case with regard to Dunsforth, then in the parish of Aldborough.

The living is a discharged vicarage in the gift of the Dean and Chapter of York. It is valued in the King’s Books at £9 19s. 11½*d*.

The dedication is to S. Andrew the Apostle, and it does not appear to have been ever changed.

Anciently Aldborough was the parish church for the following villages and townships: Aldborough, Boroughbridge, Branton Green, Clareton, Concythorpe, Dunsforth High, Dunsforth Low, Ellenthorpe, part of Humburton and Milby, Minskip, and Roecliffe, comprising an area of about 17,500 acres. The creation of several distinct parishes has curtailed this large ecclesiastical parish, and besides Aldborough, there now remain Minskip, Ellenthorpe, portions of

Milby and Humburton, yet claiming the services of the mother church.

In 1865, this church was thoroughly restored internally, the floor lowered as far as the intra-mural interments would allow, the numerous sheep-pen pews abolished, and the church seated for the most part with open benches, the old gallery removed, and the whole interior beautified as a temple meet for the worship and glory of God should be.

Built into the east wall of the vestry is the statue of Mercury before mentioned. It is a piece of hard gritstone two feet five inches high. The top has been tampered with and added to, but the caduceus and the alæ of the cap can be still distinguished. Torre mentions it as being in the north wall of the church in his time, 1691. There is in the churchyard a peculiar limestone slab which has given rise to much conjecture as to its date; it measures 7 feet long, 3 feet 9 inches wide, and upon its surface is carved in relief the half-length bust of a female, the hands crossed upon the breast. Channels have been cut out to allow the rain water to run off its surface, which accounts for its good state of preservation. I think it belongs to the early decorated period, and is probably co-eval with the present fabric.

In the new portion of the churchyard a massive stone gutter of Roman workmanship runs from south to north, about three feet below the surface.

On the exterior of the south chancel wall is a very weather-worn tablet, on which is inscribed, in faint characters :—

M. S.

Edw. Maurici,

LL.B.

Hon canonici. (The rest illegible.)

Mr. Maurice was vicar from 1677 to 1720, and was a friend of Dr. Gibson, Bishop of London. He took a great interest in antiquarian matters, and a long letter from him respecting various discoveries of Roman remains at Aldborough is contained in Gibson's edition of Camden's "Britannia," vol. ii. p. 875.

MONUMENTS AND INSCRIPTIONS.

In the Chancel on the north wall is a marble tablet with this inscription :

In this Church are deposited the remains of
ANDREW WILKINSON, Esq.

Late of Boroughbridge and one of the Representatives
of this Borough in several Parliaments :

He departed this life March 29th, 1784,
in the eighty-seventh Year of his Age,
leaving two Sons, ANDREW and JAMES.

He married

Barbara, eldest Daughter, and Co-heiress of
William Jessop, Esq., of Broomhall,
who died Feb. 13, 1768, in the seventy-first Year of her Age,
and is likewise interred in this Church.

They had issue

CHARLES, WILLIAM, MARY, ANDREW,
JAMES, CHOLMLEY, THOMAS, GEORGE, and JOHN,
of whom

CHOLMLEY and MARY died in their infancy.

Of the others it may be justly said
that they were all of them, Men of ingenuous Tempers,
and singular goodness of Disposition ;
and in the several Professions they embraced
truly respectable.

In grateful and affectionate Remembrance,
this Monument is erected by
the Revd. M. L. and B. L. his wife.

Arms—1 & 4 Quarterly Wilkinson, 2 & 3 Cholmley. *Crest*—Wilkinson.

On the same wall, within the altar rails, is a white marble
with a medallion and two heads in relief, the whole being
inserted into a coloured marble frame. It is thus inscribed :—

IN MEMORY OF

HENRY WYNDHAM PHILLIPS

CAPT COMMANDING 38th MDD. V.R.C.

DIED AGED 48.

DEC^R 8, 1868.

A TRIBUTE OF AFFECTIONATE
REMEMBRANCE ERECTED BY THE OFFICERS
AND MEN OF HIS COMPANY.

On the south wall of the chancel is a white marble tablet
bearing this inscription :—

SACRED

to the memory of the Rev. JAMES WILKINSON, M.A.
fourth and last surviving Son of ANDREW WILKINSON, Esq.

he held the Vicarage of Sheffield fifty Years, and for
nearly the same length of Time performed the Duties of a
Magistrate ;

For the Execution of which important Trusts,
extensive and accurate Knowledge, uncommon Discernment,
superior Talents, and conciliating Manners, eminently
qualified him ;

He was candid, modest, and unassuming, yet of steady Courage,
unshaken fortitude.

Uninfluenced by selfish views, he ever firmly persevered in the
path of Duty.

His Piety was sincere, and without ostentation,
His Benevolence diffusive, active, and unwearied.

What wonder that one in whom so many great and amiable Qualities
were united, whilst living should be revered, and when dead
be regretted as a public loss.

He departed this life January 18th, 1805, in the seventy-fifth year of
his Age.

The remains of ANDREW WILKINSON, ESQ., a Captain in
His Majesty's Navy,

and third son of ANDREW WILKINSON, ESQ.

being interred in this Church near those of his Parents and
above mentioned Brother : This marble is intended also to record, that
he was an Officer of distinguished Courage, Probity, and Humanity ;
and that after being employed in active service, he
departed this life May 24th, 1785, in the fifty-eighth Year of his Age
beloved and respected.

The Rev. MARMADUKE LAWSON and BARBARA ISABELLA, his
Wife, in testimony of Respect and Gratitude have caused this Monument
to be erected.

Arms—Quarterly, 1 & 4 Wilkinson, 2 & 3 Cholmley. *Crest*—Wilkinson.

The following is from Torre, but no trace or recollection
of it remains :—

On the wall side is depicted this escocheon impaled, viz.

1. A. a chev. inter 3 hind's heads erased gu : (Beckwith).⁹
2. A. a cross moline sab : (Copley of Sprotborough).

In the Quire floor lies a large stone with the greater part

⁹ The Beckwiths of Clint held property in the parish ; Sir Godfrey Copley

represented Aldborough in three successive Parliaments from 1678–85.

of the inscription worn out, but when Torre was here he copied it out :—

Hic situs est Thomas Leeming de Ponteburgo,
Ludimagister in felicis spe certæ resurrectionis
..... 7^{mo} ætatis suæ obiit
Anō dñi 1680.

It should, however, read 1689, as by the Register it appears that Mr. Thomas Leeming, Curate, was buried March 17, 1689.

At the foot of this is a large blue stone, about 2½ yards in length, with this inscription :—

Here lyeth the body of James | Brooke of Ellinthorpe who | was twice
Lord Maior of the | City of Yorke and buried the | 6th day of december
Anno | Domⁱ 1675 and in the 82 | Year of his age. | Here lyeth alsoe
interred the | Body of | Dame Priscilla Brooke | widdow of the above
named | James Brooke who Dyed the | fourth day of Aprill Anno Dom |
1692 | and in the 79 Year of her age.

Partly hidden by a pew, and close by the south wall of the chancel :—

Underneath is interred | Edward the | infant son of the | Rev. Edward
Duncombe | curate of this parish | who died | October 8th 1826.

On the side of the east window of the north aisle is a canopied marble which reads thus :—

SACRED TO THE MEMORY OF
MARMADUKE LAWSON, M.A.,
OF BORO'BRIDGE HALL, IN THIS PARISH,
LATE VICAR OF SPROATLEY,
AND PREBENDARY OF RIPON.
HE DIED OCT. 10TH, 1815,
AGED 65.
BEYOND THIS GENERAL RECORD
LET THE SEPULCHRAL MARBLE
ATTEMPT NO MEMORIAL.
BUT LET THE VOICES OF HUNDREDS,
WHO WITHOUT HIM WOULD NOT HAVE
BEEN ABLE TO READ THEIR BIBLE,
BEAR TESTIMONY TO HIS MANY
VIRTUES,
FOR HE WAS THE FIRST PROMOTER
OF SCHOOLS FOR RELIGIOUS
EDUCATION IN THIS PARISH.
BARBARA ISABELLA HIS WIDOW
PLACED THIS MONUMENT
A.D. MDCCCXXX.

On the other side of the same window is a similar monument :—

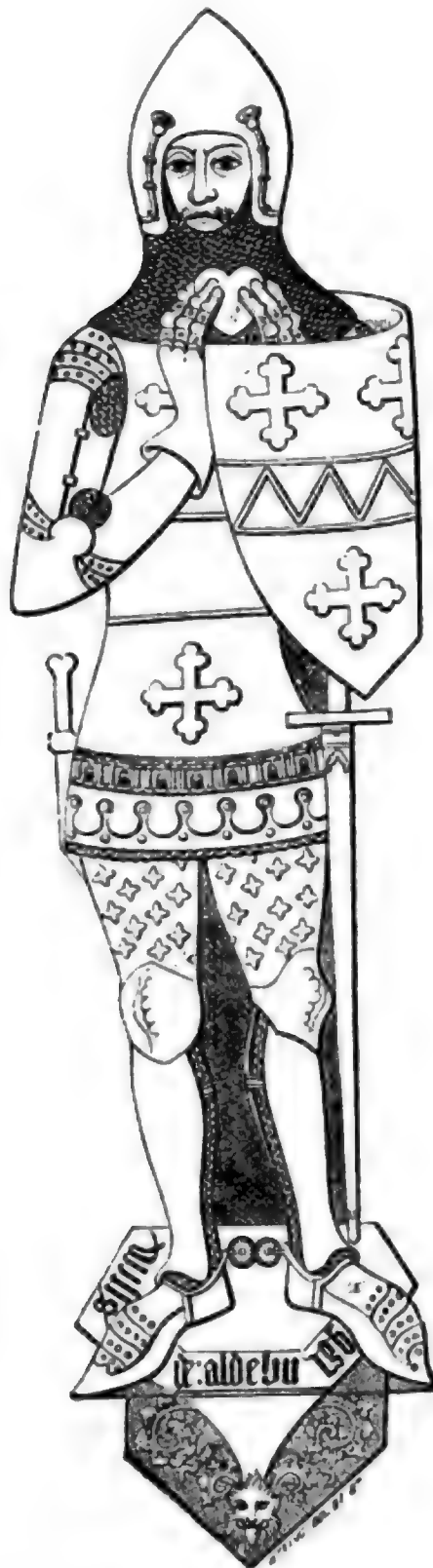
M. S.
 MARMADVCI LAWSON,
 REVERENDI VIRI . MARMADVCI LAWSON,
 FILII . NATV . MAXIMI .
 QVI . SVMMIS . APVD . CANTABRIGIENSES .
 HONORIBVS . IN . LITERARVM .
 STVDIIS . ORNATVS .
 DEINDE . AD . SENATVM
 BRITANNICVM
 PRO . VILLA PONTEBVROI
 SVORVM . SVFFRAGIIS TER DELIGATVS
 CVM . MAGNVM . HOMINVM . OPINIONVM
 DE . SE . CONCITASSET
 ET . IN . LEGIBVS . ADMINISTRANDIS
 ET . IVRE . CIVIVM . TVENDO .
 STRENVE . INTEGRE . QVE . VERSATVS .
 ESSET IMMATVRA . MORTE . PRÆEREPTVS .
 EST . VIXIT . ANNOS XXX MENS VIII .
 DECESSIT VI ID MART .
 A . S . MDCCCXXIII .
 FRATRI . OPTIMO . CARISSIMO
 ANDREAS LAWSON . P .

Against the north wall of the north aisle is the well-known Aldborough Brass.¹⁰ The date assigned to it is circa 1360. It is in four pieces, and represents a knight in chain mail armour and bearing his arms, not only on his shield, but also

¹⁰ This Brass is of especial interest, as marking the transition from chain-mail armour to the splendid plate armour of the latter years of the reign of Edward III. and the "age of chivalry." It is a combination of chain-mail and plate, and is said to be the latest example in which the warrior *carries* a shield, emblazoned with arms. The head, neck, and shoulders are covered by a camail of chain-mail, and over the head is a basinet of sugar-loaf form. The body is protected by the hauberk, over which is a long surcoat studded with small circular plates at its border, and over this again is the jupon of silk or velvet with scalloped border and emblazoned with heraldic bearings. The arms are encased in brassarts and vambraces of plate with goussettes of mail at the joints, and long leather gauntlets for the hands, with flexible plates for the fingers. The hands, up-lifted, as in devotion, clasp a heart. The thighs are protected by genouillères of plate, which probably covered chausses de mailles, as these are plain to see

behind the knee-plates and jambarts which cover the knees and legs respectively. The thigh-plates are studded with trews, each shaped like a quatre-foil. Sollerets curved, pointed, and protected by laminated plates cover the feet. The spurs are fitted with "rowels"—no doubt owing to the proximity of Ripon, famous at that time for this particular kind of spurs. The weapons are a straight sword on the left side, and a dagger on the right, both suspended by a handsome hip-belt. The figure stands as if on a bracket, which has a singular terminal, viz., a lion's head with protruded tongue. This illustration of the brass of Sir William de Aldeburgh is from an electrotype of the woodcut of the same brass in Haines' Manual of Brasses. It was most courteously supplied by Messrs. Parker and Co., Oxford. In Haines' work the fess on the shield is not *indented*, and the inscription is not accurate. The necessary alterations were kindly made by Messrs. Parker, and this interesting brass is now correctly illustrated for the first time.

on his jupon—"azure, a fess inter three crosslets-botony or." A scroll at the feet bears the legend "Wills de Aldeburgh."¹¹



BRASS OF SIR WM. DE ALDEBURGH IN ALDBOROUGH CHURCH. DATE CIRCA 1360.

¹¹ The identification of this family has long been involved in mystery, and they have been confused with the Aldburghs of Harwood, who, though collateral, are

evidently a distinct house. What the relationship (if any) was I am unable to make out. The arms of the Aldburghs of Aldburgh are depicted on several

It was formerly fastened "to a white stone about three yards long," laid in the floor of the Aldeburgh Chapel, on the "south side" of a "broad blue marble," which is still to be seen. It is said to have been covered up by pews, and thus to have escaped the notice of Puritan iconoclasts. But a better tradition lingers, to the effect that this knight having founded and built the greater portion of the church, his memorial was piously respected. It was fixed to the wall in 1827.

Westward of this brass is a heavy stone fixed against the wall, but resting on the floor. It bears the outlines of a large incised cross, inverted, also the Aldburgh arms, but it should be noted that the crosslets have now become cross crosslets. It is inscribed :—

Orate pro Ana Willi Aldbu
Armigi qui obiit x^b die Aprili
Anno dni millmo cccclxxb
Anime ppicietur deus. Amen.

This stone was formerly in another Chapel at the east end of the south aisle. It was then in "table form," and the electors of the borough of Aldborough used to record their votes on this very stone whenever a Parliamentary contest took place.

Above this is another memorial of the Aldburghs, a species of bracketed recess, probably intended for a bust.

monuments in the church, and are: "B. a fess inter 3 cross crosslets or;" the crest is: On a torse or and azure an ibex or (Glover and S. George's Visitation, p. 279). The earliest mention of them in this locality is in 1318, when a Richard de Aldeburgh was returned as having Aldburgh Manor, Knaresburgh honor, and Minskip (Cal. Inquis. ad quod damnum, p. 260). In the same year he got grants of lands in Aldborough, Minskip, and Humburton (Gross Fines of the Chancery, Rot. Orig. p. 245). In 1325 a Richard de Aldeburgh paid a fine of 40 shillings for leave to acquire the manor of Humburton and certain property in Milby (Rot. Orig. p. 393). In 1332-33, Richard de Aldeburgh left lands in Aldborough, Milby, and Humburton for the endowment of a chantry priest (Cal. Inq. P.M., sive Eschætarum, vol. ii. p. 58). "Pateat universis per patentes quod ego de Ricardus de Alde-

burgh miles dedit Humphrido de Aldeburgh, personæ ecclesiæ de Aberford fratri meo." Seal. A fess between 3 cross crosslets. Anno 10 Edw. III.—1335-36. (Glover and S. George's Visitation, p. 279.) In 1339-40 Richard de Aldeburgh got free warren in Marton-in-Burghshire (Cal. Rot. Chart. vol. i. p. 175). In 1378 the Pipe Roll gives: "Lucia quæ fuit uxor Ricardi de Aldeburgh, xld." (*Journal*, vol. vii. p. 13.) In 1393, "Margareta quæ fuit uxor Ricardi de Aldeburgh et Ricardi filio eorundem" (Glover and S. George). So there is no record of "Wills de Aldeburgh," save the testimony of the brass. Leland, in 1538, writing of his visit to this church, "wher ly buried 2 or 3 knightes of the Aldeburghes dwelling sumtyme in that Paroch," tells the tale of their decadence in these words: "whos Heires yet remaine ther, but now men of mean Landes."

Over the top is an "escoccheon" now illegible, but according to Torre quartered thus :—

1. B. a fess inter 3 crosslets O. (Aldburgh.)
2. Sab. 3 greyhounds currant in pale A. collered gu. (Mauleverer.)
3. O. a fess gu. & 2 (? 3) torteaux in chief. (Colville.)
4. A. a chev. sa. inter 3 crosslets gu. (Wycliffe.)
5. A. on a chev. sab. 3 bucks' heads embossed A. (Ellerton.)
6. B. a fess inter 3 crosslets O. (Aldburgh.)

and under it is this inscription :

The Memorial of Willi. Aldbrough son to Rich. Aldbrough, Esq^r, decea^d,
who married Anne Daughter of Arthur Key, of Woodham, Esq^r,
and by her had issue Arthur, Willi., Dorothe, Mary, and Jane.

[Kay of Woodsome, *vide* Glover & St. Geo. Visit. p. 320.]

This monument was re-lettered 5th September, 1829.

On the floor lies a flat blue stone about three yards long, with the matrix of what must have been a handsome cross ; there are places for six shields, but all are now empty. It is probably another memorial of the Aldburghs, and may be dated about 1430.

By the side of this lies the "blue marble" already referred to. It bears no inscription or mark whatever whereby to identify whose remains rest beneath it, but that it is sepulchral is beyond question. It was carefully measured by the late Mr. Lawson in 1829, when many alterations appear to have taken place in the church, and he records it as 9 ft. 2 in. long, 6 ft. 1 in. broad, and 7½ in. thick. It is now partly covered by pews.

On the west wall of the south aisle :—

A tribute of respect | for the memory of Elizabeth | the wife of Christopher Earnshaw, | of Knaresborough, | who died the 28th of February, 1812, | in the 21st year of her age. | "Cropped like a rose before 'tis fully blown | Or half its worth disclosed."

In remembrance of | Mary | the wife of Peter Earnshaw, | of Knaresborough, | She died the 26th of July, 1805. | Aged 53 years.

Elizabeth his second wife | who died May, 1817, | and was interred at Leeds.

Frances Catherine | second wife of | Christr. Earnshaw of Knaresbro'. | She died the 30th of June, 1824, | Aged 33 | and was interred at Knaresbro'. | Ann | the only daughter of | the said Peter and Mary Earnshaw. | She died the 4th of January, 1835, | Aged 58 years.

And of | the said Peter Earnshaw, | who died the 25th of November,
1836. | Aged 86 years.

The Charities in this parish are numerous and valuable, as appears by the following list copied from a board against the internal north wall of the tower:—

George Smithson of Boroughbridge gave the rents of certain lands to the value of £2 per annum for ever, to be distributed on Good Friday, in the manner following, viz. £1 5s. 0d. to y^e poor of Boroughbridge; 5s. to y^e poor of Aldborough; 5s. to y^e poor of Roecliffe; and 5s. to y^e poor of Minskip.

Edward Marks of Minskip gave the sum of £1 per annum for ever, to be distributed on S. Luke's day, viz. 5s. to the poor of Aldborough; 5s. to the poor of Boroughbridge; 5s. to the poor of Roecliffe; and 5s. to the poor of Minskip.

John Thompson of Aldborough gave the sum of 10s. per annum for ever, to be distributed on Good Friday, viz. 5s. to the poor of Aldborough; 1s. 8d. to the poor of Boroughbridge; 1s. 8d. to the poor of Roecliffe; 1s. 8d. to the poor of Minskip.

William Earl of Minskip gave the sum of £4, the interest to be distributed yearly on the 1st day of May in equal proportion to the poor of Aldborough, Boroughbridge, Roecliffe, and Minskip. (This, which was a money bequest, has been *lost*.)

Richard Sutton of Aldborough gave the sum of six shillings per annum for ever to be distributed on Good Friday, to the poor of Aldborough only.

William Thompson of the Parish of S. Margaret, Westminster, gave for ever, the sum of one pound per annum to the minister, and two pounds to be distributed on S. Thomas' Day to the poor of Aldborough only.

(The charge is on some houses in Wood's Place, Wood Street, Westminster.)

Robert Scruton of Aldborough gave the annual interest of £10 for ever, to be distributed on Good Friday to the poor of Aldborough only.

Roger Arton of Minskip gave the annual interest of £10 for ever, to be distributed on Christmas Day to the poor of Minskip only (*lost*).

William Hutton of Minskip gave the annual interest of £20 for ever, to be distributed on S. Thomas' day to the poor of Minskip only (*lost*).

William Catton of Roecliffe gave the sum of 5s. per annum for ever, to be distributed on Good Friday to the poor of Roecliffe only (*lost*).

Thomas Dove of Aldborough gave the sum of 10s. per annum for ever, to be distributed on S. Thomas' day to the poor of Aldborough only.

Peter Simpson of Aldborough, in lieu of Michael Simpson's donation of £10, hath, in his last will and testament, charged land (a field called Daly Acres) with the payment of 20s. a year for ever, to the poor of the township of Aldborough, to be distributed on Good Friday.

Daniel Legate

John Silversides.

On a similar board affixed to the south wall of the tower :—

Mark Smithson of Aldborough, by his last will dated the 12th of May, 1787, bequeathed to the Vicar and two Churchwardens so much money as would purchase Three Thousand Three Hundred and Thirty Three Pounds Six Shillings and Eight Pence, Three per cent. consolidated bank annuities to be vested in them, so as to receive the dividends and interest, being £50 half yearly, to be applied to the use of the township of Aldborough, in the manner following, viz. : Ten pounds a year for ever to the ringers of the said town to be paid at Christmas, provided they always ring a peal on Thursday evenings, and likewise on Sundays before morning service. Thirty twopenny loaves to be distributed by the Churchwardens every Sunday to so many of the most necessitous poor who shall attend divine service, and to no others unless prevented by sickness. Ten pounds in money at Christmas to be laid out in butchers' meat to be distributed to the said poor at two different times. Five shillings apiece to be given to thirty of the most necessitous poor on S. Thomas' Day. Ten stuff gowns, ten woolsey petticoats, and ten black stuff bonnets to be given to the ten most ancient poor women of the said town. The remainder of this bequest, for the first year only, to be expended in the purchase of an additional bell and better paving the aisles of the church and other ornamental repairs in the inside thereof ; and ever after the first year to be applied by the Vicar and Churchwardens for the relief of the most deserving poor of Aldborough, either daily or weekly, as shall seem to them most necessary, by an allowance of coals in the winter at times as usual, and in repairing their houses when wanted. And in case of any misapplication of the said dividends, the Testator ordered, that the said Bank annuities should devolve unto his wife M^{rs} Clare Smithson and her heirs.

N.B.—Those annuities could not be transferred to the Vicar and Churchwardens as a body corporate without an Act of Parliament, and therefore were transferred to the Rev. Henry Goodricke and James Wilkinson, clerks, Mrs. Clare Smithson and Peter Earnshaw in trust for the charity.

In 1783 Mr. Smithson gave a handsome new minute clock, made by Messrs. Clemetshaw, for this church.

The founder of this munificent charity lies buried in the churchyard under an altar tomb placed in an angle formed by the south side of the tower and the western wall of the south aisle. The position and affluence to which he had attained were solely effected by his own talents and industry. The following is the inscription :—

Sacred | to the memory | of Mark Smithson, Esq. | of Aldborough,
who | departed this life the 21st | Day of November, 1789, | Aged 57
years.

Sacred | to the memory of | Clare, the widow | of Mark Smithson, Esq.
| who departed this life the 20th | Day of June, 1803, | Aged 72 years.

VICARS.

WILLIAM DE CARLETON, presbyter, is the earliest on record. He was collated 29 April, 1316, by the Dean and Chapter of York or their lessees.¹² (*Torres Peculiars*, p. 920.)¹³

ROGER DE GIBLINGTON, vel BODYN, capellanus, collated 27 June, 1340, on the death of Carleton. (*Torre*).

WILLIAM ANBY, collated 11 March, 1349, on the resignation of Giblington. (*Torre*).

ROBERT BONDE, presbyter, collated 9th September, 1362. (*Chapter Acts*). In October he exchanged this living for the vicarage of Winton. (*Torre*).

SIR JOHN FULFORD collated 18 October, 1362. (*Torre*).

THOMAS ESCRIKS, vel OSGODBY, presbyter. He held this living until 1372, when he was instituted to the vicarage of Conisboro'. (*Torre*).

JOHN DE WINTWORTH, collated 9 November, 1372, on the resignation of Osgodby, with whom he had exchanged. (*Torre*).

JOHN DE KILBURN, presbyter, collated 23 June, 1373, on the resignation of Wintworth. (*Torre*).

WILLIAM DE THORBY, presbyter, on the resignation of Kilburn. In 1380 he was instituted to the vicarage of Langtoft. (*Torre*).

THOMAS MYTON, presbyter, collated 21 February, 1380, on the resignation of Thorby. (*Chapter Acts*).¹⁴

HENRY AKE, presbyter, on the resignation of Myton. (*Torre*).

ALAN COCHON, collated 22 March, 1390, on the resignation of Ake. In 1403 he was instituted to the vicarage of Pagula or Paul. (*Torre*).

ROBERT BARDESAY, capellanus, collated 15 October, 1403. He had exchanged with Cochon. (*Chapter Acts*).

WILLIAM NORMANBY, capellanus,¹⁵ collated 13 January, 1418-19, on the

¹² In every vacancy of the vicarage of Aldborough, the Dean and Chapter of York or their lessees collated, save one, that of Richard Nightingale, in 1612, for which see *infra*, and there are two vicars, Sir James Plumer and Sir Thomas Sowerbie, whose presentations are unknown, but in all probability they would be admitted by the Dean and Chapter.

My thanks are due to the Dean of York for his kind permission to examine the Chapter Acts and other records—a privilege I have freely made use of in compiling the List of Vicars and other matters connected with this church. I have also to thank Mr. Thiselton, Chapter Clerk, for his kindness.

¹³ For the first twelve vicars here recorded, with the exception of Robert Bonde and Thomas Myton, we are wholly dependent on Torre. Many of the Records and Acts of the Dean and Chapter from

which Torre compiled his list, and which he mentions, are irretrievably lost.

¹⁴ The following entries occur in the Chapter Acts during the vicariat of Thomas Myton:—

- (1.) 21 February, 1380-81. Mandate to admit Thomas de Myton to the vicarage of Aldborough, addressed to John de Hamerton, capellanus at Boroughbridge, and Peter de Newton, capellanus in the church of Aldborough.
- (2.) A commission, dated 21 March, 1381, to Thomas, vicar of Aldborough, and Adam de Escricks, capellanus, staying at Boroughbridge, to institute to the vicarage of Kirby Ouseburn.

¹⁵ Robertus de Normanby et uxor ejus in Poll-Tax for Aldborough, 1397. This may be their son.

death of Bardesay. In 1420 he exchanged his living for the vicarage of Bloxham, dio. Lincoln. (*Chapter Acts*).

ROBERT LANGLEY, presbyter, collated 10 July, 1420. He had exchanged with Normanby. (*Chapter Acts*).

JOHN PAPE, collated 13 December, 1428, on the death of Langley. (*Chapter Acts*).

JOHN PRESTON, capellanus, instituted 30 January, 1447-48, on the death of Pape. He resigned in 1473, and died at Aldborough in 1474. (*Chapter Acts*). See Testamentary Burials.

WILLIAM WARD, presbyter, collated 14 October, 1473, on the resignation of Preston. In 1487 he exchanged this living for the vicarage of the prebend of Weighton. (*Chapter Acts*).

WILLIAM SHAKE, presbyter, admitted 14 May, 1487, having exchanged with Ward. (*Chapter Acts*).

JOHN JACKSON, presbyter, collated 17 June, 1488, on the resignation of Shake. He resigned in 1524 with a pension of 8 marks per annum, to be paid by his successor. (*Chapter Acts*).

WILLIAM GARTHYNG, capellanus, instituted 8 October, 1524, on the resignation of Jackson. (*Chapter Acts*). He was vicar when the Valor Ecclesiasticus was made. He was also vicar of Marton cum Grafton. He died in 1537.

NICHOLAS HOLME, admitted 31 August, 1537, on the death of Garthyng. (*Chapter Acts*). The Registers begin during his incumbency. He is said to have died at Aldborough, but there is no entry of his burial there.

ROBERT MARSHALL, presbyter, collated 10 January, 1541-42, on the resignation of Holme. (*Chapter Acts*).

SIR JAMES PLUMER, instituted 14 October, 1560, on death of Marshall. (*Aldborough Registers*). He is not mentioned in the Chapter Acts, and how he got presented to the living of Aldborough is a mystery. He is first entered in the Register of Baptisms, and he must have been a curate from 1542-60. He died in 1569, and was buried 11 June.

SIR THOMAS SOWERBYE, admitted 20 October, 1569, on the death of Plumer. (*Aldborough Registers*). He also is not mentioned in the Chapter Acts, but in the Register of Burials for 1569 there is a distinct entry of his institution. He died in 1585, and was buried 25 May.

THOMAS HUNDESLEY, clericus, collated by the Dean and Chapter 3, and inducted 4 August, 1585, on the death of his predecessor. (*Chapter Acts*).¹⁶

¹⁶ The following events during the vicariat of Mr. Hundesley are of interest. They are taken from the Rolls of the Ecclesiastical Court of York.

(1.) 1595 (before and since). Articles by Thos. Hunsley, vicar of Boroughbridge, v. eq. Thos. Smithson, W^m Niccolls, and John Thompson, of Boroughbridge.

That upon Trinitye Soday laste, beinge the fourthe daye of June, there was a runninge or couringe performed that daye upon wages before layde, and matches made about the same betwixte one of the pariahe of Topcliffe, and one servante to Edward Thompson of Bur-

rowbrigg. By reason whereof, all the inhabitantes of Burrowbrig, namely, etc. were presente at the saide runninge, beinge runne in the eveninge prayer tyme, betwixt three and fower of the clocke in the afternoone, at which none were presente but one man and one woman.

The said Thomas Smithson [thoughe nowe somethinge reformed] haith bene a non communicante, and haith harboured in his house recusants, one or moe, and namely one Izaack Gibson, a notorious and known recusante.

After the eveninge prayer was saide, the said Thomas Smithson, etc.

JOHN TAPSELL, "bachilour of divinitie," instituted 7 February, 1611-12, on the death of Hundesley. Patrons as above. (*Chapter Acts*).

came and requyred the clerke to ringe againe to the eveninge prayer, offeringe and urginge that the said John Thompson (beinge a pretended schoolemaster there teachinge) shoulde reade unto them the eveninge prayer againe. And when the clerke toulde him that it was done allreadye, and that it coulde not stande with anye goode order that it should be done againe, especially by the said John Thomson, being a lay man, and did refuse to ringe againe, wereupon they tooke the key of the chappell doore from the saide clerke and dischargd him of his office of clerkship.

That they have appointed the saide John Thomson to be parishe clerke, to reade prayers and saye devyne service in the said chappell, againste the consente of Thomas Hunsley vicar there, and in verye deede upon Frydaye laste, beinge the feaste daye of Sainte John Baptiste, the said M^r Hunsley comminge to the said chappell after nyne of the clocke, when the said John Thomson had ronge and tolled to morninge prayer, and had broughte the service bookes into the said chappell, the said M^r Hunsley purposinge firste to say prayers and then to preache, demanded the books, but the said Thomson then and there openlye refused to deliver them, and not onlye sayde that he woulde keepe them, but also, in reproche of the said M^r Hunsley, that a good reader was better than a bad preacher. And upon Sondaye laste, the xxvjth of June, did keepe the bookes, and haith taken upon him and sayd publique prayers in the sayd chapell.

In answer, Thomson says that he was licenced to be a schoolmaster, and also a reader. On a Friday M^r Hunsley willed him to deliver him the bookes of prayers, and he answered that he was commanded to the [clerkey] by the inhabitantes there, and also licenced by M^r Parkinson to be reader there himselfe. And the said M^r Hunsley said, "Will they go about to displace a preacher and admit a reader?" and then respondent answered a good reader was better than an ignorant preacher, not meaning [anything] by M^r Hunsley.

(2.) 1596. Aldbroughe. May it please your worshipes to understand that the 14 day of July last, the towneshipe of Rocliffe in the parishe of Aldbroughe brinyng rissches to the church and havynge strowed them, because the minister dyd reprove certayne disgised persons y^t were comed into ye church, and wylled

to come in more humble and reverent maner to y^t place, Robert Rodes, alias Scotson, beyng in ye ale-house, and understandinge of it, hiered a gonne of Richard Scruton of Burrobridge, and gave him ijd. to have a shott, and comyng into the church, so sone as ever ye minister had ended his sermond, and before he stirred his fote, the foresayed Robert Scotson discharged his gonne, amygng directly over the minister, eyther to hit him, as it was reported, or to afray him. And in deed the paper where w^t ye gonne was ramed light very nighe him when he was comed out of ye pulpit. More over that the same Robert Rodes alias Scotson came not ult the church agayne tyll the 25 day of September, and so hathe offended agaynst the statutes both in discharging his gonne in that place and absenting himselfe from ye church three monthes.

(3.) Item the vjth day of January instant these (whose names are subscribed) havynge folowed theire vanitie al the night in sekyng there *maumet*, commonly called *the floure of thwell*, would nedes bringe the same on a barrow into ye church in prayer times; and althoughe they were admonished by one of the churchwardons bothe before and when they came to ye church stile, for to leave of theyre enterprise, and not to trouble the congregation, yet they would not but proceeded foward w^t such a noyse of pyping, blowyng of an horne, rinyng or strikinge of basons, and showtinge of people, y^t the minister was constreyned to leave of readinge of prayer; ye it was suche disorder y^t M^r Raufe Ellicar, beyng a stranger, merved att it, and spoke him selfe to ye churchwardons y^t they should stay it: where upon the other churchwarden and ye cunstable went forthe: and althoughe by them they were stayed from comyng into the church, yet they continued the same tumult in the church yeard for ye space of a quarter of an hore to the greate disquiettinge bothe of ye minister and people.

The names of ye principall of them which mayd this disorder and tumult: Richard Wharse, John Tomson *alias* Glover, Richard Gibson, Lenerd Lennie, Raufe Clemetson, William Montayne, Thomas Mason, Peter Simson, George Waringe, and others.

Wyttnesses { Thomas Hundislay, vicar.
John Scruton } church-
John Allon } wardens.

RICHARD NIGHTINGALE, admitted 27 February, 1612-13, on the death of Tapsell. He was instituted to the living by the Archbishop of York, the Dean and Chapter having let the presentation lapse. (*Chapter Acts*). He died 1616-17, and was buried 30 January.

WILLIAM WADE, B.A., collated by the Dean and Chapter 6, and inducted 14 March, 1616-17, on the death of Nightingale. (*Chapter Acts*).

JOHN WADDINGTON, B.A., admitted 5 June, 1623, on the cession of Wade. (*Chapter Acts*).

MICHAEL GILBERT, "clericus," B.A., collated 21 April, 1629, on the death of Waddington. (*Chapter Acts*).

EDWARD MAURICE, LL.B., "e Com. Lincoln, de Ripon Preb." Admitted 31 December, 1677, on the death of Gilbert. (*Chapter Acts*). His name is variously spelt Morris, Marris, &c. With him Torre's list ends.

THOMAS ELCOCK, A.B., admitted 8 June, 1720, on the death of Maurice. (*Chapter Acts*). It is worth while noting that Mr. Elcock always signs his name after each year's entries in the Register, and frequently this signature is accompanied by the churchwardens for the time being. He was buried at Aldborough 9 November, 1730.¹⁷

WILLIAM BOWMAN, M.A., collated 19 December, 1730, on the death of Elcock. (*Chapter Acts*). He was also vicar of Dewsbury (1729-44), and in 1741 published proposals for an Ecclesiastical History in one vol. folio. He was a most remarkable man, and had a strange fondness for vexing both friends and foes alike by his hostility to Holy Orders.¹⁸ He died 1744, and was buried at Aldborough 27 March.

FRANCIS WANLEY, M.A., was collated 30 April, and instituted 12 May, 1744, on the death of Bowman. He was presented to the Deanery of Ripon 1 September, 1750. (*Chapter Acts*).¹⁹

HENRY GOODRICKE, M.A., was collated 10 October, and instituted 23

¹⁷ From 1744-52 Thomas Lambe signs the Registers year by year as "Curate;" from 1753-57 Thomas Knipe does the same; and from 1770-1801 John Carter does likewise.

¹⁸ London, Aug. 3. A sermon preach'd at the Visitation held at Wakefield in Yorkshire on the 25th of June, by the Rev. Mr. Bowman, Vicar of Dewsbury (intitul'd The Traditions of the Clergy destructive of Religion with an inquiry into the Grounds and Reasons of such Traditions), which gave great offence to many of his auditors, and has made such a noise abroad, is now publish'd, and runs in such a strain as is matter of surprise to most Persons. The said Author asserts that a Priestcraft is the undoubted Interest so it has been the great Design of Priests of all Religions: That both Jewish, Mahometan, Romish, and even the Church of England wants yet Purity and Reformation: And further obtains that Episcopal Ordination was not instituted by the Apostles for a positive and per-

petual Ordinance. . . . What should induce the Preacher thus to fall on his own Order, we shall leave to the judgment of his Superiors: But in the Preface he professes it to be only for the sake of Truth, for which he is content to face an Inquisition, to starve in a Dungeon, or to be broken on Racks.—*Gloucester Journal*, Aug. 10, 1731.

London, Aug. 10. By letters from Dewsbury we hear that the Rev. Mr. Wm. Bowman has finished his Defence of himself and his Sermon from the many Pamphlets that have been out against him, which is now printing; he has also added a Letter to the English Laity, which he says is design'd as a Preservative against the Principles and the Practices of the Clergy.—*Ibid.* Aug. 15, 1732.

Mr. Bowman's famous sermon is keenly criticised, and commented upon in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1731, vol. i. pp. 333, 349-50, 366-67, 419-20; vol. ii. 1732, p. 622.

¹⁹ See *Journal*, vo vi. p. 200, note.

October, 1750, on the translation of Wanley. (*Chapter Acts*). He died 24 October, 1801.

ROBERT WIRELL, collated 10 October, and instituted 5 November, 1801, on death of Goodricke. (*Chapter Acts*). He died 2 January, 1822.

GEORGE DESMETH KELLY, M.A., afterwards HOLDSWORTH, collated 20 February, 1822, on the death of Wirell. (*Chapter Acts*). On the 8 September, 1832, George Kelly changed his name to George Holdsworth. (*Aldborough Registers*). He died 22 August, 1863.

RICHARD WALKER MARRIOTT, M.A., collated 16 September, and instituted 24 September, 1863, the present vicar, whose courteous and kind assistance the author here gratefully acknowledges.

CHANTRIES AND CHANTRY-PRIESTS.

In this church there were three chantries, viz. : The chantry of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin, to which Torre refers as follows :— "There was a Chantry founded in this Church at the Altar of St. Mary y^e Virgin by Richard de Aldburgh, Esq., whose heirs were the Rightful Patrons of it." This was (as already stated) at the east end of the north aisle. There was another chantry dedicated to "Our Lady" (*Valor Ecclesiasticus*), which stood probably at the east end of the south aisle ; and another dedicated to St. John the Baptist (*ibid*), but these two last when, or by whom, founded is unknown. An imperfect list of chantry-priests is given in Torre's Peculiars. Chantry priests were abolished in 1547.

SIR PETER DE NEWTON, "capellanus" in 1380-81. (*Chapter Acts*).

SIR WILLIAM DE THORNTON instituted 20 July, 1395, presented by the patrons, the lords of Aldborough. He vacated it for the vicarage of Burton Leonard. (*Torre*).

SIR JOHN MARSTON, capellanus, instituted 5 September, 1425, presented by Richard de Aldeburgh, on the resignation of Thornton. (*Torre*). He was buried at Aldborough, February, 1474. See Testamentary Burials.

SIR ROBERT WALKER, presented 1474 by Richard de Aldeburgh, on the death of Marston. (*Torre*).

SIR JOHN BURTON, capellanus, presented 5 September, 1483, by Agnes, the widow of Richard Aldeburgh, miles, on the death of Walker. (*Torre*).

SIR THOMAS SMYTHE, capellanus, instituted 16 May, 1520, presented by Richard de Aldeburgh, armiger, on the death of Burton (*Torre*). He was here when the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* was made. He died at Aldborough, and was buried 20 December, 1544 (*Registers*). See Testamentary Burials.

SIR ROBERT AIRTON, capellanus, collated 9 January, 1544, on the presentation of Mr. Peter Slingsby, guardian for Richard de Aldeburgh, a minor. (*Torre*).

JOHN GAYNEFORTH, chantry-priest of St. John the Baptist in 1534. (*Valor Ecclesiasticus*). He was buried at Aldborough 2 April, 1543. (*Registers*).

JOHN JACKSON, chantry-priest of the Blessed Mary in 1534. (*Valor Ecclesiasticus*).

RICHARD LANGFELLS, chantry-priest of St. John the Baptist in 1547.

CHRISTOPHER SOREME, chantry-priest of Our Lady in 1547.

PRIESTS OF OTHER CHANTRIES WITHIN THE PARISH OF ALDBOROUGH:—

ADAM DE ESCRICKS, capellanus, at Boroughbridge, occurs in 1381.

JOHN DE HAMARTON, capellanus, at Boroughbridge in 1381.

THOMAS HUNTROD, chantry-priest of St. Saviour in the chapel at Boroughbridge, in 1534, and in 1547.

WILLIAM GRAY, chantry-priest of St. Agatha in the chapel at Boroughbridge, in 1534, and in 1547.

JOHN HORNER, chantry-priest of Our Lady in the chapel at Roecliffe, occurs in 1534, and in 1547. He was buried at Aldborough 2 June, 1550.

The Registers are in very good preservation, chiefly in English, though now and again a few pages written in Latin occur, according to the fancy of the vicar for the time being. They are prefaced as follows:—

1612.

A true Register of all the christenings, burials, and marriages within the parish of Aldbrouge, according to the Antiente Register in Paper, from the yere of our Lorde God 1538 & from the 30 yere of the reigne of Our Souvraigne Lorde Kinge Henrie the eighte, until this present year of our Lorde God 1612 newlie written in parchmente at the commands of the Deane & chapter of Yorke.

By me John Dobson Curate of Aldbrough.

Edward Thomson	}	Churchwardens of Aldbrough the year 1612.
Thomas Buckle		
Arthure Buckle		

Received of the said Churchwardens for writing the sd	}	s.	d.
register the 30 day of October in the yere of our lord			
god 1612		26	8

By me John Dobson curate of the parish
of Aldbrough 1612.

The Registers begin with baptisms, in 1538, of which the number is 16. They continue until the year 1611. Among the entries of 1542 is the following:—

After 22 April. "The Entrie of Sr James Pluēr. Anno dn° 1542."

1566. It^m Thomas son to Rich Barker of Roel baptized y^e 29 day of June, *alias* money god of Roecliffe.

1568. 8 Jan. The first entry of a baptism from Boroughbridge.

1573. It^m Elizabeth nobodie, dr to nobodie was baptized y^e 16 day of Januarie.

1575. It^m Joan Greene, non legitimâ was baptized y^e 15 of October.
1577. 25 May. The first entry of a baptism from Dunsforth.
1591. It^m Nicholas, the sonn to a strange woman baptized y^e 24 day of December.
1584. At end of the entries of Baptisms—
 “ Thomas Hundesley institutus est vicarius de Aldbrough }
 Anna Domin 1585 Annoq Reg Reginæ Elizab 27^o ” } Aug 4^o.
1601. It^m Francis sonn to John Earle was baptized y^e 27 day of August.
 By Divine Providence afterwards Bishop of Exeter. [This has
 been added at a later day and is in a different handwriting.
 —There *never* was a Francis Earl, Bp of Exeter.] ²⁰
1611. At the end of Baptisms—
 “ Memorand^m that M^r John Tapsell²¹ Bachilour of Divinitie &
 parson of Thornton Watles²¹ was instituted & inducted into the
 Vicarage of Aldbrough the third of March 1611—these being
 witnesses John Dobson, Richard Meneld, Michael Luley, Tho.
 Fall, Richard Dove with other mo^e.”

The Marriage Registers also begin in 1538 and continue until 1611. The chief feature they present is, that from the year 1538 to 1549 and afterwards, the wife's surname is frequently omitted.

The Register of Burials is also consecutive from 1538 to 1611, but soon after this date the entries of Baptisms, Marriages, and Burials for each year are grouped together.

1541. It^m Xtopher Sutoⁿ was buried 1 day of ffeb in the churchyard of Topcliffe.
1543. In the margin “Easter day as this year fell upon y^e 25 day of March.”
1543. It^m Sir Jo Gainforth chantry prest of S^t Jo Baptist buried y^e 2 day of April.
1544. It^m Sir Thomas Smythe Chantrie Priest of the Service of Our Ladies Annunciation was buried y^e 20 day December 1544.
1544. It^m John Robinson and Jenot his wife were buried in one grave y^e 21 day of November.
1545. It^m Tho : y^t died in minskipp & was buried in S^t Andre's churchyard y^e 23 day of November.
1550. The first burial registered as from Boroughbridge 18 March 1550.
1550. It^m Sir John Horner was buried y^e 2 day of June.
1551. It^m John Bravheu the herde of Minskip was buried y^e 18 day of April.
1558. It^m Sir John Parker of Dunsforth was buried y^e 3 daye of November.

²⁰ John Earle—cons. 30 Nov. 1662, in Henry VII. chapel, to the Bp. of Worcester—trans. to Sarum, 1663—died 17 Nov. 1665. He was born at York. A family of the same name has existed in this

parish for several hundred years. No doubt related to the Earles of York: hence the mistake.

²¹ Thornton Watlass near Bedale.

1560. Sir Jāes Plūmer instituted to y^e vicar of Aldb y^e 14 of October.
1569. Sir Jāes Plumer, vicar, buried 11 June.
1569. Sir Tho Sowerbye his entrie to y^e vica^ge of Aldb June 22. Institutus est idem ds T. S. vicarius vicariæ de Aldb 20 die octobris. Anno 1569 Anno Regiæ Eliz 11^o.
1580. It^m Sir Tho Broking Curate of Dunsforde was buried y^e 16 day of December.
1585. Item Sir Thomas Sowerby vicar of Aldb was buried y^e 25 of May 1585.
Anno D^mi 1585 here did S^r Tho Hundesly enter to be vicar of Aldbrough and he was instituted to y^e vica^ge of Aldbro afore-said y^e 4 daye of August anno sup^e (superiore).
1588. Item A stranger slaine with M^r Slingsby draught was buried y^e 24 day of August.
1589. It^m Y^e mother in law to Gabriel Murfit was buried y^e 24 daye of August.
1593. It^m A poure woman found in calfe house was buried y^e 26 daye of November.
1593. Item John Ellis was buried in y^e chappell hill y^e 22 day of febraurie.
1596. Raphe Meneld parysh clerk was buried y^e 3 day of March.
1596. It^m A poore Bastard of Conniⁿ was buried y^e 4 day of March.
1604. Item here endeth the year of o^r L. God 1604 in which yere about the begining of June there was a great plague in Burrowb wherein died 80 at the least.²²
1605. Item James Dickenson dying of the plague was buried y^e 3 day of Maye.
Item Wilfrey Scruton dying of the plague was buyred y^e 18 day of Maye.
Item y^e wife of Robte Swaⁿ dying of the plague was buried y^e 24 day of Maye.
Item Tho Baughwhime curat of Dunsf was buried y^e 20 daye of Januarie.
1606. Hellen vulgato nomine Pedler was buried y^e 16 daye of November.
1609. Item M^r Jackson an harmophadit was buried y^e 26 daye of October.
1610. A Strang^r dying of a sore dysease was buried y^e 27 daye of Maye.
1611. In the margin of Burial Register—
“Here began John Dobson to serve as Curat for Mr. John Tapsell Vicar of Aldbrough & Burwb:”
1612. “Mr. John Tapsell Vicar & John Dobson Curate.”
It^m Joan wife to John Warwick of Burb a recusant was buried the 8 of December upon the chappell hill without y^e towne's ende.
1613. Item the Right^{ful} M^r Rich Auldbrough of Ellenthorpe was buried y^e 6 of September.

²² Burials registered during that year at Aldborough are only 25. There must have been a burial ground of some kind at Boroughbridge.

1604-5.—The plague here referred to would be a milder visitation of the Black Death which appeared at various places in England during the years 1604-30.

1616. Item uxor vicar of Aldburghe was buried the 7 of October.

Ricardus Nightingale vicar sepultus 30 Januarii.

In the Register of Marriages for 1617—

“William Wade clerke was inducted to the vicarage of Aldbroughe the 14 day March. anno dom̃ 1616.”

After this entry is the following memorandum of a contract.

Mem^{al} that the 21 daye of August Anno dom̃ 1617 it was agreed betwene the churchwardens and the Inhabitants of the pshe of Aldbroughe on the one part and George Brownlowe of y^e cittye of York that the said George Brownlowe shall mende and repayre the Organe at Aldbroughe fro time to time when and as often as need shall require. And shall have for his paynes six shillings yearly upon Maye daye and alsoe be provided of a horse at the chardge of the pshe from York and home againe : And also be furnished at the chardge of the pishe with all things needfull for the mendinge and repayre of them, and alsoe with meate drinke and lodging during the worke.

1628. John Waddington of Aldburgh vicar buried January the seaventeenth.

Richard Mennell of Aldburgh Clarke buried February the fourth.

Anne daughter of one Bainbridge of Markintoⁿ a Tinker baptized March the Sixth.

Elizabeth wife of one Bainbridge a tinker of Markington (buried) March the Eighth.

1629. In the Register of Baptisms—

“Michael Gilbert, Vicar
was instituted and inducted April 21.”

1637. George y^e sonn of Elizabeth Harrison a wandering begger baptized Julii 2.

1652. A child borne at Borrowb : and murthered by its mother was buried Dec 30.

Up to 22 March, 1653 (*i.e.* 1654, N.S.), the registers are in Mr. Gilbert's writing, then the entries are in Latin for two years, and by a different hand. After which a transcript made by Mr. Maurice is inserted for the years 1653 to 1659, then Mr. Gilbert's hand-writing begins again in 1659. This was the year of the Restoration, and evidently Mr. Gilbert, owing to being a Royalist, had been deposed for the previous six years.

At the beginning of the “transcript” the following remarks occur concerning civil marriages during the Commonwealth :—

MARRIAGES.

“From the Years 1653 till 1656 which were made by Cromwel's Justices of the Peace (y^e impious Arch Rebell²³ . . . appointed out of

²³ Erasion in original, but not very complete. The words were : “Oliver Cromwell.”

the basest Hypocrites & dissemblers with God and man) the manner of whose certificates, that they might appear to after ages I do here register, one from Tho' Dickinson, whom Cromwel made believe he had Knighted —viz: according to a certificate written, attested by the Parish Register with others: The s^d W^m Dove and Eliz: Clemetshaw both of the town and Parish of Aldburgh came this day before me M^r S^{re} Thomas Dickinson²⁴ Esquire one of the Justices of Peace within the West Riding of the County of York, and declared their desire and consente to proceed in Marriage according to the Act in that behalf provided, whereupon the said W^m Dove did take for his wife the said Eliz Clemetshaw and the said Elizabeth Clemetshaw did take for her wedded husband the said Wil^m Dove, with consent of Parents before me, and in the Presence of Wil^m Burnand, Tho Catton, Edw: Thompson, Nicholas Smithson, These witnesses on the seventh day of Feb: in the Year of 1653."

"Note y^t many would not be so marryed; and such for the most part as were so marryed, were also marryed in their own Parish Churches by their ministers."

At the end of the Transcript (1658) is the following:—

"Transcribed out of an imperfect Register taken in The Times Oliver Cromwel's impious Rebellion by a Register appointed²⁵ by one of his wise Justices upon the first day of April Anno Dom 1704.

by me

Edw Morris Vic ibid."

1661. Maria Wilson a wanderer of Moor Mountain as appeared by her pass was burried Decemb 15.

1662. Marie the daughter of Richard Blackeburne a quaker of Aldb was bapt: No: 9.

Isaac y^e son of Richard Blackeburne a quaker of Aldburgh was bapt: Novemb: 9.

Abigail y^e daughter of Rich Blackeburne of Aldbrugh a quaker was bapt: No: 9.

1664. Rachael y^e daughter of Richard Blackeburne of Aldb: quaker was bapt: June 11.

1667. Margaret y^e daughter of Richard Robinson of Roel a quaker was bapt: May 10.

A man found in Roccliffe lordship y^t was drowned was buried Sept 24.

1672. Michael Wright of Minskip a papist was buried on the chappell hill Dec: 8.

1675. James Brooke of Ellenthorpe Esquire was buried. December 8.

1677. Michael Gilbert de Aldb: Vic: pro tempore 49^o anno sepultus fuit Decemb 10.

"Given by M^r Michael Gilbert late vicar of Aldb: to y^e Vicaridge, y^e chamber over y^e house for y^e use of the succeeding incumbents for ever."

1678. Jana Northfield de Ponteburgo virgo prima in lana quæ sepulta fuit Aug 25.

²⁴ He lived at Kirby Hall.

²⁵ "To the traitor."

1689. Mr Tho : Leeming Curate (buried) March 17.
1692. Dame Priscilla Brook of Ellinthorpe (buried) April 4.
1706. Tax upon Registers.
 "The remaining part of the Register for the year 1706 being the time when the Tax for Births, Marriages & Burials Passed."
1711. Edward Gowdrey A Scotch Laird buried without any burial office November 15.
 Andrew Wilkinson Esq in Commission for the Peace above 20 y^r aged about 50 (buried) Jan 25.
 Rob son of Tho Brigham & Ralph, Son of James Poor of Aldburgh drownd & buried June 4.
1716. A child of W^m Penteth of Roccliffe 'tis supposed Baptiz by a Presbeterian buried Aug 1.
 West Riding }
 Counr Ebor. } "The Information of Margaret Robinson made on Oath before Mr Thomas Wilkinson her Grand child that she the said M^{rs} Eliz : Wilkinson was buryed in Linning on the fifth day of Feb: 1717 contrary to the Act of Parliament for bureying in Woolen."
1717. Thomas Hill under Sexton of Aldburgh (buried) Feb : 14.
1719. A Papist Child of W^m Surr of Roccliffe (buried) Sep^r 17.
 Tho : Veeping a 102 yrs old of Up^r Dunsforth (buried) Nov. 18.
 Mr Edward Maurice, C^l : L.L. B. vicar of Aldburgh Forty two years and eight weeks and Prebendary of Ripon }
 years and was Buried the seventh } March
 Day of March 1719 and in the seventyth year of his } 7.
 age }
1725. W^m Spurious son of W^m King a soldier & Mary Peacock (baptised) March 6.
1727. "Memorandum : several of Upper and Low Dunsforth, & Branton Green were buried at Great Osburn : as there are some in almost every year by the leave & consent of the Vicar of Aldburgh paying him his fees."
1728. George Surr of Up : Dunsforth Buried (by leave) at Ousburn Sept 20.
1730. The Rev^d Mr Thomas Elcock Vicker of Alb (buried) Nov 9.
1744. The Rev^d Mr W^m Bowman Vicar (buried) March 27.
1747. Isabel wife of George Hardcastle of Roccliffe a Papist (buried) August 20.
1751. Margaret Sparrow Widow a Papist of Minskip was Buried October ye 5.
 A still born Child of George Sparrow of Minskip a Papist (buried) November 24.
1752. William Son of William M'Kenie a Soldier in General Charles William Stuart's Regiment of Foot was Buried May y^e 16th.
 Charles Lowrie a Roman Catholick of Minskip was Buried December y^e 14th.
 Rebecca wife of George Hardcastle of Roccliffe a Roman Catholick was Buried December y^e 20th.

1752. Mary Daughter of John Barrick a Roman Catholic of Borough-
bridge was Buried December y^e 21st.
 1767. James Thompson of Richmond supposed to be drowned Buried
Sept^r 5th.
 1769. Glover and Panther sons of Glover Slater of Roel. were Buried
26 Aug.
 1772. A stranger found at Marton on the Moor buried Dec 7th.
 1774. Ranald Macdonald from the Highlands of Scotland buried April
22nd.
 1778. Mary Kenegin. Wid. a Passenger from Edinburgh buried Jan
19th.
 1781. Arthur Brown of Aldborough (killed by Acc^t in the Gravel Pitt
buried Aug^t 5th.
 1783. Matthew Harrison of Aldborough Parish Clerk buried July 10.
 1786. John Anderson of Parish London buried Oct 21st.
 1794. After Sept 24. "Tax of Burials, &c. ends here." ²⁶
 1836. Samuel Morrel Boro'bridge (buried) May 1. "Killed in falling
from a tree when stealing Rooks."

On the first blank leaf of the second volume of the Registers is the following Latin couplet, in Mr. Morris' handwriting:—

"Da dum Tempus habes : tibi propria sit manus hæres
 Auferet hoc nemo, quod dabis ipse Deo."
 Give whilst Thou hast time ; let your own hand be your heir
 This no one will take away, which you yourself shall give to God.

1635.

One briefe for James Kidd alias Ireland collected Aug 20 : delivered
 the monies to him Sep 12 the sum of 3s. 10d.

James ?

One briefe for Burden in Huntingtongshire collected 5s. 1d. Aug : 27.
 and the monies returned to Gregorie Foxe.

One briefe for John Matthew of Harwick collected s4. 9d. Sept 10
 and the monies paid to me

Thomas Has.

One briefe for Charles Blow of Market Rasn^e collected s5. 8d. Jan 20,
 1638 and y^t monies paid to me

by me Charles Blow.

One brief for . . . uffington (?) collected Novemb 4, 1638 the sum
 of 3s. and pd to William Emonson.

Will^m Emonson.

²⁶ There are many Tancreds of Bramp-
 ton and Boroughbridge, and also many
 Blackets of Newby registered as buried at
 Aldborough, but no monument or other
 evidence of their burial places exists;

the Blackets entries are very prominent
 and are at beginning and end of the years.
 The Clareton and Coneythorpe people
 were buried at Alborough.

One briefe for George Bates jn of Bourne coll Oct 14. 1638 the sum of 4s. 11d. ob and y^e monies paid to

(sheet ends here).

Written in Latin on one of the blank leaves at end of 1st volume of the Registers by Mr. Gilbert :—

“The vicarage of Burg is endowed with all the oblations of parishioners, and with mortuaries, excepting live cattle ; it also had the tithe of orchards and virgults, and the increase of cattle, except of wool and lambs : in which respect, the vicar shall cause the mother church, with its chapels of Dunsford and Boroughbridge, to be honestly served.”
Torre's Peculiars.

On another leaf occurs the following :—

“These persons by Doctor Easdale's commande we denounced the 30th of March 1634 excommunicate by mee Michael Gilbert vicar of Aldburgh—

(absol) Roger ffawcett, (absol) Isabella his wife, John Parker, John Earle, Ellen his wife, John Wright, Jane his wife, and Will Wright his son ; Thom Parker, Ellen Yonge wid : Margaret fawcet wid : Elizabeth y^e wife of Will : Yonge, Jane ffawcett wid : Ann, the wife of Richard Yonge,

(absol) Isabell Buruand, Jane Sturdy, (absol) Maude Candy of Burrowbridge, Robt Parker, Thom : Tankard, Margaret his wife, Edmund Tankard, Daniel Smithson, Judith y^e wife of George Hamerton, Will Dickinson, Margaret Thorpe, Dionis her daughter, Richard Tailer, Elizabeth his wife, Raph Parker, Dorrithy his wife, ffancis Warwicke, Dorothy his wife, and ffancis his sonne. Will Bell, Jane Burniston, ffancis Thorpe and Jane his wife. An Sisen.”

“These persons were denounced excommunicate by D^{ter} Burwell's order Jan^y 17. 1663 : Isabella Sutton, Michael Wright, Ursula his wife, Anne Gray, Marie Earle, Peter and Rich : Earle, Margaret Allen, Anne Hebden, Roger Tutin, Rich : Blackburne, Dorotheie his wife, Richard Robinson, John Allen, ffancis Thorpe, Jane his wife, Marie Wilkinson, Anne Yong, Anne Calvert, Thomas Woolsindale, Ralph Grimston, Lawrence pourtnaye.”

“Mr Gilbert.”

“If any recusant not being excommunicated shal be buried in any place but in church or church-yard his executors shall forfitt thirtie pounds by statute, therefore I conceive you ought to burie him but let it be according to the forme of the Church of England, these directions were sent under Doctor Burwell's owne hand Aug : 18. 1663 when S^r Thomas Tanckird was to bee buried.”

Thomas Burwell.

(To be continued.)

DESCRIPTION OF THE BUILDINGS OF TWELVE SMALL YORKSHIRE PRIORIES AT THE REFORMATION.

By WILLIAM BROWN.

THE descriptions of the Monasteries given here, are taken from the Surveys made by the Visitors of Henry VIII. at the time of the Reformation, and are now preserved among the Exchequer Papers in the Public Record Office.¹ The twelve houses described are, Thicket, Wilberfoss, Yedingham, Handale, and Nunkeeling, Benedictine houses; Arthington, Cluniac, an order which had adopted a stricter variety of the Benedictine rule; Grosmont, which was dependent on the alien Abbey of Grosmont in Normandy, another variety of the same rule; and Esholt, Wykeham, Baysdale, Swine, and Kirklees, Cistercian houses. In addition to these descriptions there are various other documents and accounts relating to the same houses, and also to the Priory of Hampole and the Charter House at Hull; but of these two last no account of the buildings is given. To persons interested in the history of these Priories the collection will afford a mass of valuable and unique information. They comprise pretty full accounts of their landed possessions with the names of the tenants and the rents they paid; the size of their woods and their value; the names and ages of the nuns and the pensions assigned to them at the dissolution, and also general remarks on their character, which are usually favourable; a list of the debts owing by and to the houses, including corrodies; and a few letters from Thomas Cromwell, afterwards Earl of Essex, and from his kinsman Richard Cromwell, the ancestor of the Protector, recommending certain persons to the Visitors as purchasers of the monastic property.

¹ Ex. Q. R. Miscell. Suppression Papers. Henry VIII. 32. See also 33 and 34 in the same collection. An ex-

cellent description of the disposition of a Cistercian House will be found in the viith volume of this *Journal*, p. 239.

With the exception of Grosmont, all the houses were Nunneries. They contained but few inmates, the number ranging from five at Grosmont to sixteen at Swine. Their revenues also were on a small scale, but as the gross amount is generally only given, it is difficult to ascertain how much their income really was. At Thicket, with twelve inmates, the gross income was £27 18s. 7*d.*, and the net £22 6s. 8*d.*, being a cost of about twenty per cent. for collecting it. At Esholt, with eleven inmates, it cost £4 2s. to collect £35 8s. 6*d.*, which is about ten per cent. These two examples show that it is by no means easy to calculate their net revenue from their gross income. No return is given for Arthington. Swine had by far the largest revenues, £135 13s. 5*d.*; the next being Wykeham with £55 12s. 1*d.*, and the two smallest Grosmont and Baysdale, with £25 18s. 6*d.* and £27 18s. each. Leaving out fractions this would be £1 17s. 2*d.* per head at Thicket and £2 16s. 11*d.* at Esholt. The valuation of the different corrodies² shows that these sums were quite sufficient to

² A corrody was a grant of food and lodgings for man and beast, made by religious houses either in consideration of past services or more usually for money. Where the Crown was the patron, it had the right of presenting a nominee to whom the monastery was obliged to grant a corrody, until it should be able to present him to some ecclesiastical preferment. This right usually accrued on the appointment of a new abbot or prior, and was also exercised by the bishop. In the middle ages corrodies occupied very much the place of annuities, and were the means by which a man, or a man and his wife provided for their old age. The following grant of a corrody will show of what it usually consisted:—“This Indentur made the xxvij day of february y^e xxj yere of the reigne (of) our soveraigne lord King Henri the viij (1530), between dame Agnes Bradrige Prioress of the Monasteri of our blissed lady of Edyngham (Yedingham) and y^e Covent of the same house of th'on partie, And Richard Dobson husbondman and Mald his wiffe of the other partie, Witnesseth that we the said Prioress and Covent, for a certen sum of money to vs paid by y^e said Richard and Mald, hath geffen and granted, and by thea presentes giffith and grauntith vnto the said Richard and Malde, one cotage lyeng at y^e Est ende of y^e churche of Yedyngham, the yerly

fyndyng of two kye emonges the kye of the said Prioress and Covent, on horse, on swyne founde and fed, on best somer fed from Seynt Ellynmes to Martinmes (May 21st—Nov. 11th), vj hennes and on cok yerly, euery third yere two Calves fownd to the(y) be on full yere of age, and euery yere the ledyng of iiij lode of turfes. To haue and to holde to the said Richard and Mald, during lyffe naturall of y^e said Richard, paying yerely vnto y^e said Prioress and Covent and their successors on pepercorne at the feast of Cristinmes: and after the decease of the said Richard the said Mald shall haue duryng her widowe-hede the said cotage, j cowgate, vj hennes and j coke, found at the costes and charges of the said Prioress and Covent and ther successors, and no more; and if she fortune to marre and take a husband then alle the said premisses sursese, and the said Prioress and Covent and ther successors to retain all the said premisses in ther own handes this Indentur in any wyse to y^e contrary notwithstanding. Provided alway that y^e said Richard and Mald shall vphold the said cotage in alle maner of necessaryes, and so sufficiently to leave it. In witnes wherof as well y^e said Prioress and Covent, as the said Richard and Mald, hath enterchangably set to ther sealles, the day and yere aboue written.” The following is the valuation of thi

maintain a nun. Thus a corrody for two persons at Esholt was valued at £2 9s. 6*d.* per annum : another for a widow at Yedingham at 18s., for which she had paid £7 3s. 4*d.*, and for a man at the same place at 16s. 4*d.*, which had cost him £10.

Somewhat similar descriptions to those given here, will be found printed in Dugdale (iv. 191, 510), of the Benedictine houses of Sandwell in Staffordshire and Bradwell in Buckinghamshire. There is also one of Rievaulx Abbey at Belvoir Castle. These are all in the same handwriting, which differs from that used in the other papers. In consequence of the surveys having been made solely with the view of ascertaining the value of the building materials, many points of great interest to architects and archæologists are left unnoticed. It is much to be regretted that, with the exception of some buildings at Kirkstrees and part of the church at Swine, practically no remains of these Priors exist with which we might compare the descriptions. The reader cannot but be struck by the number of important offices which are in many cases left unmentioned. This may arise from the offices never having been erected in consequence of the poverty of the house, or from their having been converted to other uses, when the monastic orders began to fall away from the strict observance of their rules. The locutorium or parlour and the calefactory on the east side of the cloister beyond the chapter-house are often disguised under the name of chambers. The chapter-house and dorter are never omitted, but at Wilberfoss, Handale, Grosmont, and Esholt, the Frater is not specifically mentioned, although there can be little doubt that the Hall on the side of the cloister opposite the church is the Frater. At Thicket, however, this side is entirely occupied by different offices, more especially the garner, the position of the hall being by no means clear.

It may be useful to collect together the more important facts mentioned in these papers. The poverty of most of

corrody. "First a cotage at th'est ende of the churche of the late Priory, nichil quia manet ibidem. The yerely fyndynge of ij kye, per annum iijs. The yerely fyndynge of one horse, ijs. One swyne of his owne to be fownde and fedde, ijs. Somer fedyng of one beste from Seynt Elynmes unto Martynmes, xij*d.* Meate

for vj hennes and a cok, per annum xv*d.* Euery third yere ij Calves founde tille they be one yere old, viz. per annum xij*d.* Cariages of iiij lodes of turfes euery yere, iijs. Summa per annum xvjs. iiij*d.* M^d that he paid for the same corrodie xli per testimonium Priorresse."

these houses prevented their being able to indulge in magnificent buildings. The size of the Priory Church varied from 80 by 22 at Wykeham to 46 by 20 at Nunkeeling. In two instances, at Wilberfoss and Nunkeeling, both Benedictine houses, the Priory and Parish Churches were contiguous. At the latter place there were two doors by the high altar into the Parish Church. In most cases the roof was of lead, but at Wilberfoss, Esholt, and Kirklees it was of slate. The material at Arthington is not mentioned. Inside the ceiling was made of boards or wainscot, which was painted at Swine. The plate and movable church furniture would form the subject of another return, which accounts for the meagre list of the contents of the churches. The only possible exception to this rule is a gilt frontal for the high altar at Wilberfoss, worth ten pounds. Besides the high altar, there were generally two altars in the choir, and one beneath in the body of the church. With the exceptions of Esholt there were no stalls or seats anywhere but in the choir; they were made of boards or wainscot, and at Nunkeeling were carved, probably with Misereres. No mention is made of the carved stalls at Swine, which are still *in situ*. There was a rood-loft at Arthington and Esholt, a belfrey, or steeple, at Nunkeeling, and a steeple of board covered with slates at Arthington. At Nunkeeling there was a little closet in the church where the Prioress could hear the service, and at Wilberfoss there was a room over the chapter-house looking into the church for the same purpose. Following the general rule, the cloister is on the south side of the church.

To this there are three exceptions, Thicket, Wilberfoss, and Arthington. At Wilberfoss the proximity of the Parish Church may have caused this anomaly, and in the other two cases it was probably due to the position of the Priory. The cloister was usually about sixty feet square, and surrounded by a covered passage five to ten feet broad, which was glazed on the side away from the buildings at Nunkeeling and Swine. The passage next the church on what is normally the north side of the cloister, was roofed in, but on the other three sides it was very often built over. Round this cloister, or inner court, most of the important buildings of the Priory were placed. On the east side next the church was the chapter-house, and at Gros-

mont the vestry. Beyond this were two or three chambers, representing the locutory, parlour, and calefactory. Above the chapter-house and these chambers, and extending all along the upper story of the east side, ran the Dorter. On the south side, usually in the upper story, the Frater, or dining house was to be found. At Thicket, as has been before noticed, and also Handale, a garner occupies the upper story of the south side. At the last-named place the hall is in the upper story of the west side. At Wilberfoss and Nunkeeling it was on the ground-floor. The kitchen, buttry, and pantry were usually placed near the Frater. Besides the nuns' hall there was another hall for guests, usually on the West side. As the position of the remaining buildings varies in nearly every case it will only be necessary to give a list of them. The most important is the Fermery or infirmary, which is mentioned at Swine and Kirklees, but in neither case were the windows glazed, and at the former it was placed above the poultry. The other houses were a guest chamber, an ostry chamber, a guest stable, a brewhouse, a gyle-house, a bolting-house, a bakehouse, a larder, a buttry, a pantry, a milk-house, and other houses of office. The Prioress had a separate chamber at Arthington, Wykeham, Basedale, and Kirklees, and the Prior at Gros-mont. At Thicket, Wilberfoss, Arthington, Wykeham, Basedale, and Swine, there were special rooms for the priests. At Arthington there was a Misericorde between the Frater and parlour.

BENEDICTINE.

I. THICKET.³—SCITUS DOMORUM.

The church lx ffoote longe and xvij ffoote brode w'tyn, and a lowe rooffe coueryd w't leade, hauynge v glasse wyndowes conteynyng xliij ffoote of glasse, w't xvj stalles in the quyre, and the high alter, ij in the quyre, and one benethe.

Item the cloyster at the northe syde of the church, in length lx ffoote square, and vj ffoote brode, coueryd w't tyles one parte, and iij partes under chambres.

³ The Priory of Thicket or Thickheved was situated in the parish of Thorganby, about ten miles south of York, and stood on a piece of ground projecting towards the river Derwent which runs near. It was founded in the reign of Richard I. by Roger Fitz Roger in honour of the

Virgin. Its gross annual revenues were £27 18s. 7d. leaving a net income of £22 6s. 8d. There were eleven nuns and a Prioress here at the Reformation, all of good living and conversation. It is believed there are no remains.

Item the chapter house at th' este parte of the cloyster, xij foote long and viij foote brode, w^t a little glasse wyndow, iiij foote of glasse.

Item ij other low chambres by the same.

Item the dorter over the seid cloyster and chapter and chambres lx foote longe and xv ffoote brode, coueryd w^t tyles.

Item the brewynge house and bultyng house,⁴ alle the length of the northe parte of the cloyster and x foote brode.

Item ane olde bakehouse by the same xx foote square, dawbid⁵ walles alle coueryd w^t thak.

Item the garner ouer the seid brewhouse and the cloyster, lj foote longe and xvij foote brode, tymbre walles, coueryd w^t tyles.

Item a newe woode house at the west parte of the cloyster, xxxij foote longe and vj foote brode and tymbre walles.

Item a chambre ouer the same, xxxij foote longe and xij foote brode, tymbre walles, coueryd w^t tyles, and the floore but half bourdid for it is not yet fynysshid.

Item the new parler at the seid west parte by the church doore, xxiiij foote longe and xx foote brode, w^t one baye wyndowe glased conteynyng xxx foote of glasse, and iiij other litle glasse wyndowes, and tymbre walles w^t a chymney.

Item a little buttrye by the same.

Item a new chambre ouer the seid parler, xxiiij foote longe and xx foote brode, w^t a chymney, tymbre walles coueryd w^t tyles and a glasse wyndow conteynyng xij foote of glasse.

Item a little chambre by the same ouer the seid buttrie and cloyster.

Item a little chese house betweene the parler and the kychyn.

Item the new kychyn xvij foote longe and xij foote brode, w^t a fayer chymney, tymbre walles, coueryd w^t tyles.

Item a chambre ouer the kychyn⁶ callid the kychyn chambre or chese

⁴ A bulting-house was the place where the meal was sifted. Boulted-bread according to Halliwell means bread made of wheat and rye. Shakespeare speaks of a bolting-hutch (1 Henry iv. 11, 4, line 495); and the following passage in the Winter's Tale (iv. 4, 373) clearly shows the meaning of the word :—

I take thy hand, this hand,
As soft as dove's down, and as white
as it,

Or Ethiopian's tooth, or the fann'd
snow that's bolted

By the northern blast twice o'er.

⁵ I have known walls built of wrought mud or clay made in two ways: The one, the clay or mud with the straw or haulm duly worked into it, was laid or built to a certain height (several inches say), and then suffered to dry and harden, when another layer would be laid on, and so on until the wall was brought to the required height. Of course if built up hastily, the soft stuff would yield and slip, and the wall come down. The second, large rectangular blocks of the material were formed in moulds, like those used in

brick making, only six or eight or ten times as big: these blocks were set to dry, and then used in building with some fresh soft mud or clay in place of mortar. The dawbed wall proper was of tempered clay smeared over wattle, lattice, laths, etc. (J. C. A.).

⁶ This room probably formed part of the following corrody. "To alle trewe Cristen people to whome theis presentes lettres shalle come to here, seo, rede, Kateryne Piores of the Monastery of oure Lady Saint Mary of Thykhed, of Saint Benett ordre, w'in the dioces of Yorke, and the Conuent of the same, Greeting in oure lord god euerlastyng. Be ytt knowne vnto youre vniuersitie that whe the said Piores and Conuent of oure comon assent and consent doithe gyff and grant, and by this oure present charter confirmeth, vnto our welbelouid Brother in Criste Herry Wilkynson Prest duryng his lyffe naturalle, for and in recompens of gude and faithfulle seruices by hym doone and here after to be doone to vs and oure Monastery, mete and dryng as the Piores and Conuent afore-

chambre, xviii foote longe and xij foote brode, plastered floore, goode tymber walles, coueryd w^t tyles and no glasse.

Item a little chambre by the same, x foote square coueryd w^t tyles.

Item a chambre at the nether ende of the church, xiiij foote square, w^t a chymney, a little glasse wyndowe, tymbre walles, coueryd w^t tyles.

Item a little chambre by the same, viij foote square.

Item the mylke house, viij foote square, by the kychyn.

Item a little larder, x foote longe and vj foote brode.

Item the low halle, xx foote longe and xiiij foote brode, w^t a fayer chymney, a glasse wyndowe somewhat brokyn, tymber walles, coueryd w^t tyles.

Item a little buttrie at the vpper ende of the same by the parler, xij foote longe and viij foote brode.

Item the parler at the vpper ende of the halle, xvj foote square, w^t a chymney, a baye wyndow glased, x foote of glasse, and tymbre walles and seyld above w^t waynescottes.

Item a chambre ouer the parler, xx foote longe and xvij foote brode, w^t a chymney, a glasse wyndow, tymber walles, coueryd w^t tyles.

Item ane other buttrie, xij foote longe and x foote brode, w^t a litle chambre or house by the same.

Item ane other chambre ouer the buttrie, xvj foote square, w^t a litle glasse wyndow of vj foote of glasse, tymbre walles, coueryd w^t tyles.

Item a dove cote before the halle dore, xij foote square, tymber walles, dec(ayed), ille coueryd w^t slates.

Item a gest stable, xxij foote longe and xij foote brode, tymber walles, coueryd w^t thak.

Item ane old hey barne, lx foote longe and xx foote brode, ille dawbed walles, dec(ayed) and ill coueryd w^t thak.

Item a corne barne, ^{xx}/_{iii} iij foote longe and xx foote brode, tymber walles coueryd w^t thak.

Item ane old stable for worke horses, xx foote longe, and xiiij foote brode, old dawbid walles, coueryd w^t thak.

Item ane ox house and cowhouse together, ^{xx}/_{iii} xvj foote longe and xvj foote brode, dawbid walles, coueryd w^t thak.

said fareth, aswelle in seknes as in health; and xvjs. viij*d*. of lefulle englishe money to be paid by vs and oure succemurs to y^e said Sir Herry yerly duryng the terme of his lyffe naturalle at four termes in y^e yere, that is to say, Lammas, Martynmas, Candylmas, and the Inuencion of the holy crosse by even porcions; And also y^e chambre above the kechyñ next y^e church, a lyttille orchard wiche y^e said Sir Herry maid hymself; the fourth parte of a closse called y^e Nunpallyons; halfe an acre of medew called y^e hude of Dynershille; and y^e gressyng of xx^{thi} scheepe yerly. Provided alway that y^e said Sir Herry Wilkynson Preat shall duryng the terme of his lyff naturalle, abide and contennue styll in seruice as chapleyñ in y^e said Priory, and doo seruice likewise as he haith beyñ accustomed to do, except he be diseased w^t seknes or age and may not do no seruice,

otherwise this present to be void and of no effect. In wytnes wherof to thes presentes we haue putt oure Commune sealle. Datted in oure Chapertour-house at Thykhed, the tenth day of Aprille the yere of oure lorde god a M^{le} ffyvehundreth twenty and sex, and the xvijth yere of the Reign of Kynge Herry the eight." This corrody was valued at £4 7*s*. 2*d*. per annum, for which he had £2 13*s*. 4*d*. allowed him. It is noted "y^t he hath beyñ xxx yere in the house by the saynge of alle the nonnes, and he is aboue lx yere of age." There are letters to the Commissioners from Thomas Cromwell in favour of William Wytheham the king's trusty servant, and from Richard Cromwell on behalf of Richard True, "seruaunte to my cussen Gregory (Cromwell) and my lady Vtredd his wief, . . . as he is my ffreend and an honest man."

Item the prestes chambre, xij foote square, dawbid walles coueryd w' thak.

Item the kilne house, xxiiij foote longe and xiiij foote brode, dawbid walles, coueryd w' thak.

Item ane old swyne cote.

II. WILBERFOSS.⁷—SCITUS DOMORUM.

The church conteynith in length lx ffoote and in bradith xxij ffoote w'yn, and seylid aboue w' goode substancyalle bourdes, and coueryd w' slates, hauynge xvj goode stalles in the quere for nounes, and the high alter w' a fayer new ffronte⁸ alle gilted which conteynith by estymacon xli., ij alters in the quere and one benethe, ix glasse wyndowes containing by estymacon lxx foote of glasse.

M^d that the parish church is adioynynge to the same at the nether ende.

Item the cloyster at the northe syde of the church conteyneth in length lx ffoote square, and in bredith vj ffoote w'out any glasse, and chambres over iij partes therof, and the iiijth parte coueryd w' slates.

Item the chapter house at th' este parte of the cloyster new made, xx foote longe and xvj foote brode, seylid aboue and plasterid, and goode substancyalle tymber walles, whitlymed, a glasse wyndow conteynung viij foote of glasse.

Item the mylke house, xij foote longe and viij foote brode, and tymber walles w'out glasse.

Item an other litle chambre or store house, viij foote s(quare).

Item the gyle house⁹ viij foote square, w'out glasse, tymber walles.

Item a fayer new chambre ouer the chapter house, xx foote longe and xvi foote brode, goode substancialle tymber walles, seylid and plasterid

⁷ Willberfoss, eight miles East of York, was founded in 1153 by Helias de Catton in honour of the Virgin Mary. At the Reformation there were eleven nuns and a Prioress here, all of good conversation. Its entire gross annual rental amounted to £39 10s. No remains of the Priory exist.

⁸ The front or frontal of an altar is defined by Lyndwood to be, "*apparatus pendens in fronte altaris, qui alias dicitur Palla.*" (Provenc. 252). The synod of Exeter, A.D. 1287, ordained that in every church the parishioners should provide "*frontellum ad quodlibet altare.*" (Wilkins, ii. 139). Abp. Winchelsey, in his Constitutions, A.D. 1305, prescribes that provision should be made of "*frontale ad magnum altare, cum tribus tuellis.*" (Lyndw. 252). The frontal must not be confounded with the permanent decoration of the fore-part of the altar, properly termed *tabula*, or *tablementum*, which was formed either of sculptured or painted work, and sometimes of the most precious metals, chased, enamelled, and set with gems, as was that in Winchester Cathedral,

described in the Inventory given by Strype, Life of Abp. Parker, App. 187. The frontal was formed of the most costly stuffs, and often, if not properly by prescribed usage, was of the same suit or colour as the vestments used at the same time in the service of the altar. (Note to the word Fruntelle in Promptorium Parvulorum, 181). As the frontal is gilded, which could hardly have been done to any kind of stuff or cloth, it seems most likely that the scribe has confused the *tabula* with the frontal.

⁹ Mr. Albert Way in his note to the word *gyylde*, new ale, in the Promptorium Parvulorum points out that there is a distinction between the gile-house and the brew-house, the former being perhaps the chamber where the wort was set to cool. In support of this he quotes the Inventory of Jane Haule of Durham, 1569 (Wills and Inventories, Surtees Soc., i. 297), where both the "gile house" with a gile fatt, and the "brew house" with a brew lead and mash fat, are enumerated. At Nunkeeling both a gylng-house and a brew-house are mentioned.

aboue ; a baye wyndow glased, conteyning xij foote of glasse and coueryd w^t slates ; a chymney.

Item a little closett by the same for to loke into the churche to hear seruyse.

Item the dorter ouer the chapter house and cloyster and other foote longe, foote brode, tymber walles, coueryd w^t slates.

Item the kychn at the northeast corner of the cloyster, vij foote square, w^t a chymney, tymber walles, and coueryd with slates.

Item one new larder house by the kychn vnder the garner, xiiij foote longe and ix foote brode, tymber walles.

Item ane other inner larder house, xiiij foote longe and xj foote brode, w^t new tymber walles, whitlymed and under the garnar.

Item the low halle at the north parte of the cloyster, xxiiij foote longe and xvij foote brode, tymber walles w^tout any glasse.

Item a buttrye xvij foote longe and viij foote brode.

Item a fayer new chambre ouer the halle, xxx foote longe and xxj foote brode, welle seilid and plasterid aboue and couerid w^t slates, ij baye wyndows glased conteyning xxiiij foote of glasse, and a chymney.

Item a little buttrye by the same.

Item a low parler at the norwest corner of the cloyster, xvj foote square, w^t a baye window glased conteyning xij foote of glasse, a chymney, the floore bourded, seilid aboue and plasterid and payntid and tymber walles.

Item a litle buttrye by the same.

Item ane other buttrye at ane other syde of the same.

Item a litle kychn by the said parler w^t a fayer chymney.

Item a chambre ouer the said parler, xvj foote square, seilid and pargett¹⁰ aboue, coueryd w^t slates, a baye wyndow glased conteyning vj foote of glasse, and a chymney.

Item ane other chamber by the same, xvj foote longe and xij foote brode, seilid aboue and coueryd w^t slates.

Item ane other chamber ouer the west parte of the cloyster, xvj foote longe and xij foote brode, coueryd w^t slates, tymber walles, w^toute glasse.

Item iij other chambres ouer the west parte of the cloyster, coueryd w^t slates, w^tout glasse.

Item iij litle houses vnder the same to ley woode yn.

M^d that alle the seid houses are aboute the cloyster.

Item the new garner by the greete kychn at th' este parte of the inner courte, xliij foote longe and xv foote brode, tymbre walles, whitlymyd, and coueryd w^t slates.

Item a workehouse and a store house vnder the same, besyde ij larder houses, tymber walles.

Item the bakehouse at the north parte of the courte, xx ffoote longe and xvj foote brode, tymber houses coueryd w^t slates.

Item a little bultynge house by the same.

Item a pultrye house xvj foote longe and x foote brode.

¹⁰ The term appears to have been used in several senses, sometimes for plain plastering on walls, but usually for such as was made ornamental. This was effected by mouldings, foliage, figures, and other enrichments, applied in relief,

and by various patterns and ornaments sunk in the surface of the work or formed on it in a smoother material than the rest. (Parker's Glossary of Architecture).

Item a garner ouer the same, xvij foote longe and xvj foote brode, coueryd w^t slates.

Item a new parler at the west parte of the courte, xxiiij foote longe and xvj foote brode, a chymney, tymber walles, a baye wyndow glased conteyning (*blank*) foote of glasse, and seylid aboue.

Item ij chambres ouer the same w^t one chymney, one glasse wyndo of x foote of glasse, and coueryd w^t tyles.

Item the pristis chambre w^toute the gates, xx foote longe and xij foote brode, daubid walles, coueryd w^t thak.

Item ane ox-house and ij stables vnder ane hole roof, lxx foote longe and xvj foote brode, dawbid walles, coueryd with thak.

Item ane old swynecote, xij foote longe and viij foote brode, brokyn walles, coueryd with thak, decayed.

Item a corne barne, $\frac{xx}{iii}$ xvj foote longe and xvij foote brode, dawbid walles, coueryd w^t thak.

Item ane old barne to ley turfes yn, xxiiij foote longe and xx foote brode, brokyn walles, coueryd w^t thak, decayed.

Item a dovecote, x ffoote square, mudde walles, coueryd w^t thak.

Item a kylne house, xvj foote longe and x foote brode, dawbid walles, coueryd w^t thak.

Item ane orchard where the dovecote standith.

Ane acre di., fulle of esh trees.

Item gardyns.

III. YEDINGHAM.¹¹—SCITUS DOMORUM.

The church conteynith in length $\frac{xx}{iii}$ ffoote longe and in bredith xx foote, alle one story w^t a low rooffe coueryd w^t leade, xxj wyndowes conteyning by estymacion $\frac{xx}{iii}$ ffoote of glasse, the hygh alter, and one alter in the quere, and ij in the church.

Item the quere conteynith in length xlvj ffoote w^t olde stalles of tymbre and bourdes payntid.

Item the cloyster at the southe conteynith in length lx ffoote square and x ffoote brode, coueryd w^t leade ouer ij quarters, and of iiijth w^t slate, and no glasse.

Item the dorter at th' este parte of the cloyster conteynith ix foote longe and xvj foote brode, w^t a low rooffe coueryd w^t leade.

Item vnder the dorter the chapter house and ij olde chambres or store houses.

Item at the southe parte of the cloyster the fraytour and iiij litle chambres ouer the cloyster, and one chamber and ij store houses benethe, and a litle buttrye, alle coueryd w^t slate.

Item the halle aboue at the west parte of the cloyster, xvj ffoote

¹¹ The site of the Priory of Yedingham or Little Mareis is thirteen miles inland from Scarborough. It was founded in 1163 by Helewisa de Clere in honour of the Virgin. At the Dissolution the Convent consisted of nine nuns and a Prioress, all of good name and living. Their names and ages were as follows, Agnes Bradrigge, Prioress, aged 44; Katherine flecher aged

79, blind and deaf; Agnes Butterfelde aged 49; Anna Pecok aged 29; Elizabeth fferman aged 33; Johanna ffooster aged 29; Johanna Orton aged 29; Alice Pecok aged 29; Elizabeth Sutton aged 40; and Matilda Leghe whose name is crossed out. There are no remains of the buildings.

square, coueryd w^t slate, a chymney of tymber, ij litle glasse wyndowes conteyning xij ffoote of glasse, and stone walles, w^t a litle buttry and a litle chambre at the nether ende of the same.

Item a chamber at the vpper ende of the halle, conteyning xiiij ffoote square, stone walles, coueryd w^t slates, a chymney of woode, a litle glasse wyndowe.

Item a nother chamber at th' ende of the same.

Item a lowe halle, a gylynge house, and a litle parler vnder the seid high halle and chambres.

Item the kychyn at the nether ende of the halle, conteyning xx ffoote square, stone walles, coueryd w^t slates.

Item ij low chambres and ij high chambres, newe, vnder one rooffe by the inner courte syde, callid th' ostry chambres,¹² conteyning alle together xxx ffoote longe and xvj ffoote brode, dawbid walles, whitlymyd, and coueryd w^t slates.

Item a lathe or a barne in the vtter yarde, $\frac{xx}{iii}$ ffoote longe and xxiiij brode, stone walles and welle coueryd w^t slates.

Item a cow-house, a swyne-house, and ane old stable, vnder one rooffe conteyning $\frac{xx}{vj}$ ffoote longe by estymacion and xx ffoote brode, stone walles, coueryd w^t slates, decayed.

Item a garnard conteyning xl ffoote longe and xvj ffoote wyde, stone walles, coueryd w^t slates.

Item a store house vnder the same.

Item a litle dwellynge house by the same, stone walles and coueryd w^t thak.

Item a carte house of postes, thekid.

Item a hey house xl ffoote longe and xx brode, stone walles and coueryd w^t thak, decayed.

Item ane oxehouse xx ffoote longe and xij brode, stone walles and coueryd with thak, decayed.

Item a stable and ane other old house vnder one rooffe, xx ffoote longe, stone walles, coueryd w^t thak, decayed.

Item an other house therby w^t a chambre, xxiiij ffoote longe, stone walles, coueryd w^t slates.

Item a kylne house w^t a malyng floore and a garnar ouer, conteyning xxx ffoote (longe) and xvj brode, stone walles, coueryd with thak, decayed.

M^d that the oute houses are some what in decaye of thekyng.

¹² Generally the ostry-chamber is synonymous with the guest-chamber, but that there was a distinction is evident from both of them being mentioned at Nunkeeling. I am unable to state in what this distinction consisted. In a list of officers of the Benedictine House of Bury St. Edmund's (Dugdale, iii. 158), made in the reign of Edward 1, there appears to have been two houses or chambers for the reception of guests, the one presided over by an officer called the

Hostilarius forinsecus who also kept the keys, and the other by an officer called the *Hostilarius intrinsecus*. The former was by far the most important official, for while the latter had no servants, he had five including a clerk, a man to wash the dishes, and another to attend to the fires. Did the former entertain the general public, and the latter only monks and other religious persons who would necessarily be few in number?

IV. HANDALE.¹³—SCITUS DOMORUM.

The church conteynyth in length lx ffoote and in bredith xvj ffoote, w^t a low rooffe coueryd w^t leade, hauynge vij glasse wyndowes conteyning l ffoote of glasse by estymacoñ, w^t a high alter, ij alters in the quyer, and one benethe the quere.

Item the cloyster at the southe syde of the church conteynith in length xlvij ffoote square and v ffoote brode, one quarter of it coueryd w^t leade hauynge no glasse.

M^d that the dorter and chambres are ouer iij partes of the same cloyster.

Item the dorter at th^e este parte of the church conteynith in length xlvij ffoote and in bredith xvj ffoote, tymber walles w^{yn} and stone walles w^{oute}, w^t a lowe rooffe and coueryd w^t leade.

Item there is the chapter house and one litle chambre and ane olde chambre vndir the seid dorter.

Item iij low chambres at the southe parte of the cloyster, wherof one is the larder house.

Item the garner ouer the seid chambres at the southe parte of the cloyster conteyning xl ffoote longe and xvj ffoote brode, stone walles, a low rooffe, and coueryd w^t leade.

Item a gest chamber at the nether ende of the seid garner and ouer the cloyster, conteyning xvj ffoote square, w^t a chymney and coueryd w^t leade, hauynge ij wyndowes parte glased conteyning v ffoote of glasse.

Item ane other chamber by the same conteyning xx ffoote longe and xij ffoote brode, stone walles, a chymney, and coueryd w^t

Item the high halle ouer the weste parte of the cloyster, conteyning xxiiij ffoote longe and xx ffoote brode, stone walles, a chymney, iij litle wyndowes parte glased conteyning x ffoote of glasse, and a low rooffe coueryd w^t leade.

Item the parler by the same conteyning in length xx ffoote and in bredith xij ffoote, w^t a chymney, stone walles, a lowe rooffe and coueryd w^t leade.

Item at the west parte of the cloyster vndir the halle a litle chamber w^t a chymney, a buttrye, and ane other litle chamber by the same.

Item the kychyñ at the nether ende of the halle, conteyning xvj ffoote square, w^t a chymney of stone, and coueryd w^t leade.

¹³ The Priory of Handale, or as it is sometimes called Grendale, was situated towards the western extremity of the parish of Lofthouse in Cleveland. From its site is obtained a pleasant view of the sea, which is about three miles distant. It was founded in honour of the Virgin in 1133 by William Percy of Dunsley. In the reign of King John Richard Percy, a descendant of the founder, granted the Priory to Richard Malebisse and his heirs for ever, yielding in lieu of all service, one pound of incense yearly at the feast of Pentecost, which incense was assigned in the same instrument to be paid to the Priory. At the Reformation the Convent consisted of nine nuns and a Prioress, who were all said to be of good living.

Their gross yearly income amounted to £36 15s. 4d. In Graves's History of Cleveland, written in 1808, it is stated, "There is little of the monastic buildings remaining, except the west end of the chapel, from which it appears to have been of considerable extent." A drawing of this ruin as it appeared in the middle of the eighteenth century will be found in the British Museum (Lansdowne MSS. 914, fo. 205). A large number of drawings of different Yorkshire towns and buildings, chiefly country gentlemen's seats, are given in this collection, which is well worth inspection. There are practically no remains of the Priory to be found at Handale now.

Item a litle parler by the seid kychyn, conteyning xij ffoote square, w^t a chymney and

Item the brewhouse and bultyng house, conteyning in length xl ffoote and in bredith xvij ffoote, wherof xvij ffoote coueryd w^t slates, and xxij ffoote w^t thak, dawbid walles, somewhat oute of reparacoñ.

Item ane olde house hauynge a halle and one low chambre and ij litle chambres aboue, conteyning in length xxxvj ffoote and in bredith xvij ffoote, olde stone walles, coueryd w^t thak, decayed.

Item ij chambres ouer the gates goynge into the inner courte, conteyning xxx ffoote longe and xvj ffoote brode, timber walles whitlymyd and welle coueryd w^t slates.

Item ij low chambres vnder the same ij.

Item ane olde house where they ley turf or fewelle, conteyning xxx ffoote longe and xiiij ffoote brode, w^t olde mudde walles, coueryd w^t thak, decayed.

Item one stable at th' ende of the brewhouse, conteyning xiiij ffoote longe and x ffoote brode, dawbid walles and coueryd w^t thak.

Item the kilne house conteyning xl ffoote longe and xiiij ffoote brode, dawbid walles and coueryd w^t thak.

Item the cowhouse xl ffoote longe and xvj ffoote brode, w^t olde walles myche brokyn and ille coueryd w^t thak, decayed.

Item a barne a litle fro' the house, conteyning lx ffoote longe and xxiiij ffoote brode, tymbre walles and welle coueryd w^t thak.

Item the oxehouse by the barne conteyning l ffoote longe and xvj ffoote brode, dawbid walles and coueryd w^t thak.

Item a calfhous xxx ffoote longe and xiiij ffoote brode, coueryd w^t thak.

Item there is a litle ouershot mylne goynge w^t a litle water, dawbid walles and coueryd w^t thak.

V. NUNKEELING.¹⁴—(SCITUS DOMORUM).

The church conteynyth in length xlvj ffoote and in bredith xx ffoote w^t yn, whereof the quere xxxvj ffoote longe and the body of the church x ffoote, and ix litle glasse wyndowes conteyning by estymacoñ l ffoote, w^t xxij fayre stalles carvid and bourdid w^t waynescott, and a high rooffe coueryd w^t leade, and a little closett in the church for the lady to here seruyce yn, a hye alter, ij alters in the quere, and one in the body of the church.

Item the belfray at the nether ende.

M^d that it stondith at the nether ende of the parish church of Nonnekelynge, and the walles and the rooffe are alle hole of one story, and the parish belles in their stepulle aforseid, and there are ij doorys by the hygh alter for to go and come into the parish church.

Item the cloyster conteynyth in length lx ffoote square and in bredith vij ffoote w^t yn, w^t glasse wyndowes rounde aboute conteyning by estymacoñ ^{xij}^{xx} ffoote of glasse, and coueryd w^t leade.

¹⁴ Nunkeeling, some three miles N. W. of Hornsea, was founded in 1152, or in the reign of Stephen, by Agnes de Archis, also called Agnes de Catfoss, and dedicated to God, St. Mary Magdalen, and St. Helen. At the Reformation there were

eleven nuns and a Prioress. Its gross yearly income was £28 18s. 2d. In Poulson's History of Holderness (i. 386) there is a plate of Nunkeeling as it appeared in 1784. There are no remains of it existing now.

Item the chapter house at th' este parte of the cloyster conteynith xvj ffoote longe and xij ffoote brode, seylid and bourdid alle w' waynescotte, and a glasse wyndow conteyning xvj ffoote of glasse.

Item iij litle chambres at the same parte of the cloyster.

Item the dorter ouer the seid chambres and chapter house, conteynith in length lx ffoote and xvj ffoote brode, w' a hye rooffe coueryd w' leade.

Item the freytour and ane olde store house at the southe parte of the cloyster, bothe lx ffoote longe and xx ffoote brode.

Item a garnard ouer the same conteynith lx ffoote longe and xx ffoote wyde, w' a hye rooffe coueryd w' leade.

Item the low halle at the west parte of the cloyster, xviiij ffoote longe and xiiij ffoote brode, seylid ouer w' waynescott, w' iij litle wyndowes glased conteyning xvj ffoote of glasse, stone walles.

Item a litle buttrye at the nether ende of the halle.

Item the kychyn and the larder, xx ffoote longe and xij ffoote brode, coueryd w' tyle, and a chymney.

Item a mylke house and a larder house betwene the halle and the kychyn.

Item the parler, xvj ffoote longe and x ffoote brode, w'oute a chymney, a glasse wyndowe conteyning v ffoote of glasse.

Item the gestes chambre, xxij ffoote longe and xij ffoote brode, coueryd w' leade, a chymney, and bourdid ouer.

Item the grete chambre ouer the halle conteynith in length (*blank*) ffoote and in bredith (*blank*) ffoote, and a hye rooffe coueryd w' leade.

Item the ostrye chambre, xxiiij ffoote longe and xvj ffoote brode, w' a chymney, dawbid walles, and a hye rooffe coueryd w' leades, w' a wyndow conteyning iij ffoote of glasse.

The gylynge house nere to the halle, xx ffoote longe and x ffoote brode, coueryd w' leade, vnder parte of the ostrye chambre.

Item the brew-house and bultyng house, xxx ffoote longe and xx ffoote brode, brik walles, coueryd w' tyles, vnder one hole rooffe.

Item a litle garnard ouer the bultyng house.

Item a garnard at th' one ende of the seid brewhouse conteynith xxiiij ffoote longe and xvj ffoote brode, w' tymber walles, coueryd w' tyle.

Item a chambre vnder the seid garnard.

Item ane other garnard at th' other ende of the brewhouse, xxvj ffoote longe and xvj ffoote brode, tymber walles and coueryd w' tyle.

Item a malyng floore vnder the same.

Item by the ynnur courte a chambre w' a chymney, and a litle chambre, a slaughter house, and a mylne house together vnder a rooffe, xl ffoote longe and xij ffoote brode, dawbid walles and coueryd w' tyle.

Item a swyne cote, xx ffoote longe, and coueryd w' thak.

Item a barne in the vtter yarde, lx ffoote longe and xx ffoote brode, dawbid walles, coueryd w' thak, decayed.

Item ane other barne conteynith l ffoote longe and xx ffoote brode, dawbid walles, coueryd w' thak.

Item ane oxe-house conteynith xl ffoote longe and xvj ffoote brode, dawbid walles, coueryd w' thak.

Item a cowhouse, xxxvj ffoote longe and xij ffoote brode, dawbid walles and coueryd w' thak.

Item the cartehouse, xxiiij ffoote longe, thekid.

Item a hey barne conteynith lxx ffoote longe and xx ffoote brode, dawbid walles and coueryd w' thak.

Item one stable and a calf-cote together, xvj foote longe and x foote brode, dawbid walles, coueryd w^t thak.

Item a litle smythe, xiiij foote longe and x ffoote brode, dawbid walles, coueryd w^t thak.

Item ij stabulles together w^t ij chambres for seruantes, xl ffoote longe and xij ffoote brode, dawbid walles, coueryd w^t thak.

Item a house for poore folkes and a hen-house, xx ffoote longe and x ffoote brode, coueryd w^t tyle.

Item a kylne house, xij ffoote square, dawbid walles, coueryd w^t tyle.

Item a dove house conteynyth xvj ffoote square, coueryd w^t thak.

Item iij or iiij litle pondes and a litle close behynde the stabulles.

Item ane orchard sett w^t frute trees conteynyth di. acre of ground.

CLUNIAC.

VI. ARTHINGTON.¹⁵—[SCITUS DOMORUM.]

The church, lx ffoote longe and xxiiij foote wyde, whereof the chauncelle xxiiij ffoote and lyke brode, w^t the high alter and viij stoolys to sytt vpon.

Item at the high alter one glasse wyndow conteynyng xl ffoote of glasse, and ij other wyndowes at the southe syde conteynyng xxx ffoote of glasse, and a wyndow at the north syde conteynyng vj ffoote of glasse.

Item the quere¹⁶ xxxvj ffoote longe and xxiiij ffoote brode, w^t xvij olde stalles of woode for nonnes, iij wyndowes conteynyng xxiiij ffoote of glasse, and a roode lofte of tymbre.

Item alle the church and chauncelle seyelid aboue w^t bordes, and the walles of lyme and stone xiiij foote depe, and a stepulle of bordes.

Item the cloyster lxiiij ffoote aboute and x ffoote brode.

Item the chapitre house at the northe syde of the high alter conteyneth xxvj ffoote longe and xv ffoote brode, ij wyndowes conteynyng vj ffoote of glasse.

Item ane olde dorter over the chapitre house conteynyth lx ffoote longe and xiiij ffoote brode.

Item a litle chambre by the dorter doore ouer th' este syde of the cloyster conteynyth xv ffoote longe and xij ffoote brode, w^t ij wyndowes of woode and lattys at the west syde.

Item ane other chambre at the northe ende of the same chambre of xv ffoote longe and xij ffoote brode, w^t one wyndow not glased.

Item a low chambre at th' este ende of the dorter conteynyth xiiij ffoote longe and x ffoote brode, w^t iij wyndowes not glased.

¹⁵ Arthington, seven and a half miles N.W. of Leeds, was founded in the latter part of the reign of King Stephen or the beginning of Henry II., by Peter de Arthington, in honour of the Virgin. Burton in his *Monasticon* says this priory stood very pleasantly near the river Wharf in a deep vale extending East and West. It was inhabited at the Reformation by a Prioress and eight nuns, whose names and ages are as follows: Elizabeth the Prioress 45 years, Elizabeth Moore 70

years, Isabella Moxon 72 years, Anna Cliff 40 years, Elizabeth Wormewelle 41 years, Anna Beckwith 40 years, Agnes Pettye 40 years, Eufemy Radcliffe 25 years, Isabella Whitehede 27 years. "Note that these persons be of good religious liffying and not slaunderid." In 1543 it was granted to Archbishop Cranmer.

¹⁶ The choir here means all the church except the chancel. It will be noticed that the choir and chancel are of the same width.

Item a chambre ouer the same conteyneyth lyke length and bredith, w^t one wyndow not glased.

Item ane olde ffreytour at the northe syde of the cloyster conteynyth xvj ffoote longe and xij ffoote wyde, w^t iij olde wyndowes not glased.

Item a nother chambre by the same callid Mysericorde.¹⁷

Item a parler conteyning xij ffoote square, w^t a glasse windowe caste oute at the southeeste corner conteyning xxx ffoote of glasse, and other wyndowes not glased, and w^t rydyng¹⁸ wyndowes and a chymney of stone.

Item a little chambre at the west syde of the same callid the maydyns' chambre, w^t a glasse wyndow conteyning viij ffoote of glasse, w^t ij wyndowes to shitt the same.

Item the halle at th' este parte of the parler conteynyth xx ffoote longe and xvj ffoote brode, w^t a baye wyndowe caste oute rounde glased conteyning lx ffoote of glasse at the southe syde, and a wyndow w^t iij ledges¹⁹ at the northe syde, a chymney of tymbre w^t yn the same.

Item the buttry at the west ende of the halle conteynyth xiiij ffoote longe and viij ffoote brode.

Item a chambre ouer the buttrye conteynyth xx ffoote longe and xij ffoote brode, w^t a litle baye wyndow conteyning vj ffoote of glasse w^t rydyng wyndowes.

Item the Prioress chambre ouer the parler xvj ffoote longe and x ffoote brode, w^t a baye wyndowe glased conteyning viij ffoote of glasse w^t ij rydyng wyndowes, and a chymney of stone.

Item a little square study at the southeest corner of the seid chambre, w^t a little baye wyndow glased conteyning iij ffoote of glasse.

Item a chapele at th' este ende of the halle conteynyth xvij ffoote longe and x ffoote brode.

Item a halle aboue th' este ende of the inner courte conteynith xxx ffoote longe and xx ffoote brode, w^t ij wyndowes not glased w^t xvij litle barris of yron and viij wyndowes to shitt the same.

Item the hye chambre at the southe ende of the halle conteynyth xxx ffoote longe and xvij ffoote brode, w^t a chymney and ij wyndowes, th' one glased conteyning vj ffoote of glasse w^t rydyng wyndowes.

Item ane other chambre at the weste parte of the same ouer the chapele w^t a chymney and a lattys wyndowe.

Item ane other little chambre by the same conteynyth xij ffoote longe and vj ffoote brode.

¹⁷ The *Misericorde* was the hall where the monks to whom the Abbot had granted any indulgence in food or drink, had their meals. "Ad haec statuimus, ut cum pro debilitate, vel alia justa de causa monachi seorsum in Misericordia commorantur, semper habeant secum duos ad minus seniores, qui aliorum levitates debita correctione compescant. Et qui postmodum in Capitulo testificentur qualiter Misericorditer fuerint conversati." (Lyndwoode, 211.)

¹⁸ The riding windows are shutters on hinges. In the next room to this one, called the Maidens' Chamber, there was a glass window containing eight feet of glass with two windows to shut the same :

and in the chamber above the buttry was a little bay window glazed, with riding windows. In the larder at Esholt the window was shut with a *riding* window of boards. The *Rides* in Sussex are the iron hinges fixed on the gate by means of which it is hung on the hooks in the post, and which enable it to swing or *ride*. (Halliwell.)

¹⁹ Ledge, a slight shelf, ridge, or small moulding. (Skeat's Etymological Dictionary). Here it refers to the transom of the window. In Norfolk the word still means a bar of a gate or stile, of a chair, table, &c. (Forby's Vocabulary of East Anglia.)

Item the kychyn at th' este ende of the inner courte conteynyth xvij ffoote square w'oute a chymney.

Item a chambre ouer the kychyñ conteynyth (*blank*) w^t a chymney and a glasse wyndowe conteynning iij ffoote of glasse.

Item ij lowe parlors at the kychyñ doore and at the nort(h)e syde of the courte, bothe conteynning xxvj ffoote longe and xij ffoote brode, w^t ij doores, j baye wyndowe, lattyssid in th' one and a litle wyndow in th' other, and a chymney.

Item a chambre over the same ij parlors of lyke length and bredith w^t ij wyndowes.

Item at the west ende of the courte a kilnehouse conteynth xxx ffoote longe and xij ffoote brode, w^t a chambre in the same to ley malte yñ.

Item the bakhouse and bowltyngs house together vnder one rooffe conteynyth xxxiiij ffoote longe and xvj ffoote brode, w^t a litle stable at the southe ende of the same house.

Item a chambre by the gate callid the pristis chambre conteynyth xiiij ffoote longe and viij ffoote brode, w^t a chymney dawbid and ij wyndowes.

Item a low chambre vnder the same.

Item a chambre ouer the gates conteynyth xiiij ffoote longe and x ffoote brode w^t ij wyndowes.

Item w^t oute the gates a garnard conteynning xxx ffoote longe and xij ffoote brode, w^t v bynnes and a litle chambre to lay corne yñ.

Item at the southeeste corner of the garnard by the church yeerde syde a dove house conteynning xx ffoote square, w^t stone walles xv ffoote depe and the rooffe x ffoote depe.

Item one corne barne at the southe syde of the vtter courte, conteynning lx ffoote longe and xxx ffoote wyde, w^t walles of iij ffoote depe of stone and iij ffoote hedgid, and the rooffe xxx ffoote depe.

Item one hey barne by the same conteynning lx ffoote longe and xxiiij ffoote brode, w^t walles of iij ffoote depe of stone and iij ffoote hedgid, and the rooffe xvij ffoote depe.

M^d that alle the houses aforeseid and the church are couerd w^t slate and in good reparacoñ.

Item ane oxe house at the weste ende of the seid^r vtter courte, iij^{xx} ffoote longe and xx ffoote wyde, and thakkid w^t strawe.

Item a carte-house of xx ffoote square.

Item a swyne cote conteynning xiiij ffoote longe and viij ffoote brode.

Item a ffayre orchard welle replenysshid w^t frute trees at th' este and southe parte of the church, and howses w^t many seueralle gardynes aboute the same, and a fayre gardyne conteynning in alle by estimacoñ j acre di. of grounde.

ALIEN ORDER OF GROSMONT.

VII. GROSMONT.²⁰—SCITUS DOMORUM.

The church conteynyth in length lxx ffoote and in bredith xxiiij ffoote w^t a low rooffe coueryd w^t leade, hauynge iij glasse wyndowes conteynning

²⁰ The site of the Priory of Grosmont about eight miles from Whitby, near its beautifully placed on the river Esk junction with the Goathland Beck. It

by estimacōn xl ffoote of glasse, and xvj stalles of tymber, and the high alter, and ij alters in the body of church.

Item the cloyster at the southe parte of the church conteynyth in length xxxvj ffoote square and vij ffoote brode, ille coueryd w' slates and no glasse, decayed.

Item the Revestrye²¹ and the chapitre house at th' este parte of the cloyster, stone walles.

Item the dorter ouer the same conteynyth xxxvj ffoote longe and xvij ffoote brode, coueryd w' slates and stone walles.

Item the halle at the southe parte of the cloyster conteynyth xxx ffoote longe and xvij ffoote brode, stone walles and coueryd w' slates.

Item a buttrye and a pantrye at the nether ende of the halle, stone walles and coueryd w' slates.

Item the kychyn at the nether ende of the seid halle conteynyth xxiiij ffoote longe and xvij ffoote brode, stone walles and coueryd w' slates.

Item a litle low chamber at the vpper ende of the halle, where they ley their brede.

Item ane other chamber therby conteynyth xx ffoote longe and xij ffoote brode, stone walles and a goode chymney of stone, and ij wyndowes wherof one parte glased conteynyth ij ffoote of glasse.

Item the priour's chamber ouer the same conteynyth xx ffoote longe and xvj ffoote brode, w' a chymney of stone and coueryd w' slates, ij litle glasse wyndowes, and a litle clossett in the same chamber.

Item the hygh halle ouer the west parte of the cloyster conteynyth xx ffoote longe and xiiij ffoote brode, coueryd w' slates, and alle the wyndowes vnglased, and tymber walles, decayed.

Item a chamber at the vpper ende of the same conteynyth xiiij ffoote longe and xij ffoote brode, tymber walles and coueryd w' slates.

Item ij litle chambres at the nether ende of the seid halle.

Item a larder house vnder the seid halle conteynyth xxxij ffoote brode (sic) and xiiij ffoote brode, stone walles.

was founded about the year 1200 by the liberality of Johanna, daughter of William Fossard and wife of Robert de Turnham. This lady was heiress to the estates of the Fossard family at Egton, Mulgrave, Doncaster, and elsewhere; which descended to her daughter Isabella, and by her came to the De Mauleys, on her marriage with the first Peter de Mauley. Johanna, by her charter, granted to the Prior and brethren of the order of Grandimont in France, (a branch of the Benedictines), a *mansio* in the forest of Egton, between Egton and Cukelwald, to be a cell to their monastery. There were only two other houses of this order in England, Alderbury in Shropshire and Cresswell in Herefordshire. The Prior or Governor of the house was called the corrector. At the Reformation there were five monks here called the "boni homines sancte Marie de grande Monte," their names and ages being, brother James Egton 68 years, brother Lawrence Birde 50 years, brother William Semer

36 years, brother Edmund Skelton 36 years, and brother Robert Holland 31 years. Its gross annual revenue amounted to £25 18s. 6d. Burton in his *Monasticon Ebor.* (p. 275) says, "A large dwelling-house with out-offices has long ago been erected upon the ruins of the convent at the west end of the Priory church, which church, dedicated to the Virgin, by the remains of it appears to have been very small." Three lithographs in a small pamphlet published in 1839 in aid of a proposed church at Grosmont, give views of the Priory church as it appeared in the years 1807, 1808, and 1823, but they are not minute or distinct enough to be of much aid in comparing them with the description given here.

²¹ Vestry, or Revestry: a room attached to the choir of a church, sometimes called the *sacristy*, in which the sacred vessels and vestments were kept, and where the priest put on his robe. (Parker's Concise Glossary of Architecture.)

Item the olde halle by the courte syde w^t a chamber at eyther ende, alle vnder one rooffe, conteynyth xxx foote longe and xvij foote brode, walles somewhat brokyñ and coueryd w^t slates and thak, decayed.

Item a low garnar at th' ende of the same conteynyth xij foote square, and the walles bourdid.

Item a garnar ouer the same, tymber walles and coueryd w^t slates.

Item a litle ouershott water mylne by the same, coueryd w^t thak, which went not this ij yeres. Nota decayed.

Item the brewhouse and bakehouse alle one, w^t a lyttill chamber at one ende, conteynyth xl ffoote longe and xiiij foote brode, stone walles and coueryd w^t slates.

Item a low parler and a low chamber w^t ij chambres ouer the same, a garnard, a low chamber, alle vnder one rooffe, conteynyth c^m foote longe and xiiij foote brode, tymber walls, coueryd w^t slates.

M^d that alle the houses aforseid stondes rounde aboute the inner courte.

Item a lathe or a barne iiij^{xx} foote longe and xx foote brode, stone walles ij foote hye and the rest w^t bussches and coueryd w^t thak in the vtter yard.

Item a cowhouse lx ffoote longe and xvj foote brode, olde brokyñ walles and coueryd w^t thak, decayed.

Item a litle rounde dove cote of mudde walles, somewhat in decay.

Item ane oxehouse l ffoote longe and xvij foote brode, olde stone walles, coueryd w^t thak, decayed.

Item ij stabulles and a workehouse vnder one rooffe, xl ffoote longe and xvj foote brode, stone walles, coueryd w^t thak.

Item a litle corrodye house²² w^t a chambre, xxiiij foote longe and xiiij ffoote brode, stone walles coueryd w^t thak.

Item a stable and a carte house, xx foote longe and xiiij ffoote brode, coueryd w^t thak, decayed.

Item ane other litle olde stable by the same, decayed.

Item the kilne house, xxxv ffoote longe and xiiij foote brode, dawbid walles and coueryd w^t thak, decayed.

Item a swyne cote, xvj ffoote longe and xij ffoote brode, couereyd w^t thak, decayed.

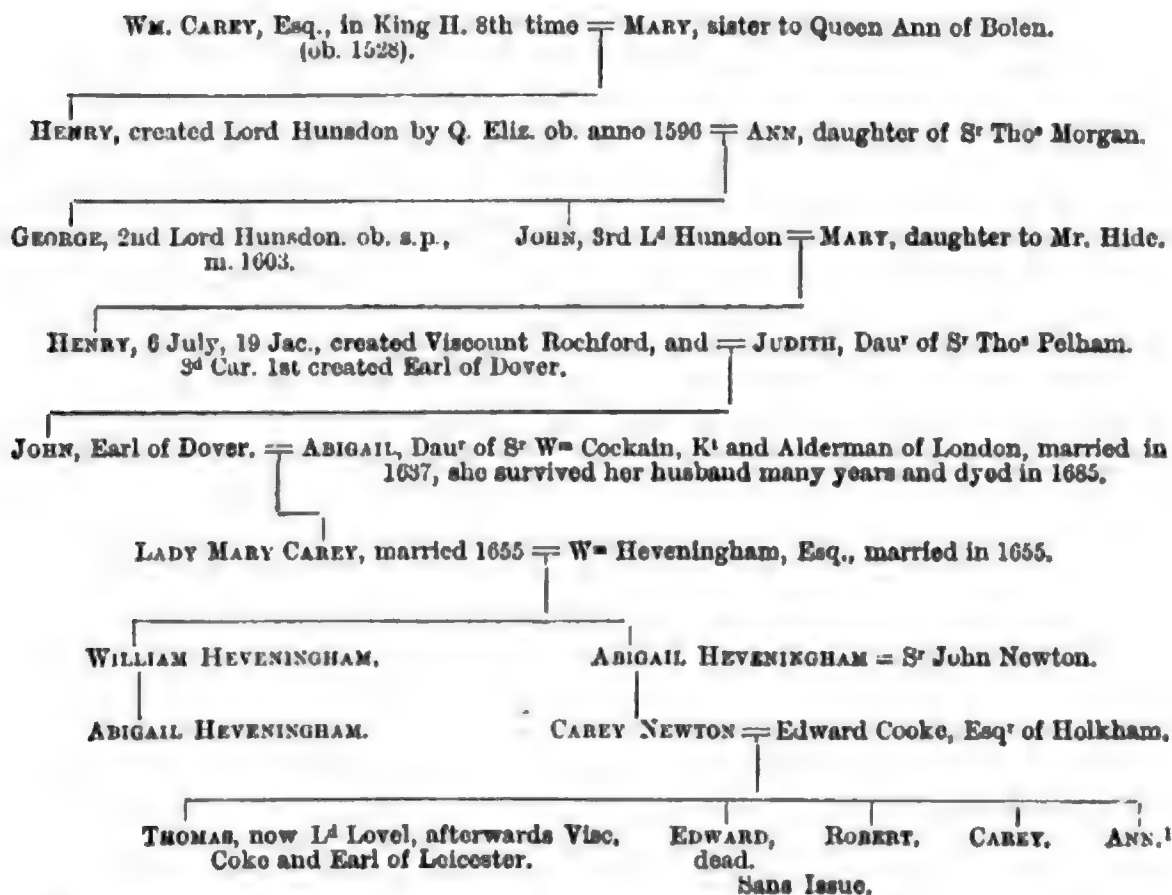
²² The corrody house mentioned here would be the house in which the grantee of the corrody lived. A valuation of a corrody granted by Grosmont to Agnes Bukyll is given amongst these papers. The word haver means oats, and to span, to wean. "j quarter wheat yerely, vs. j quarter haver malt yerely, ijs. viij^d. iiij kyes fflownd wynter and somner, xs. One calf fownd till it be able to be spanyd, nichil, iiij loodes turf yerely, xvij^d. iiij sleddefull wood yerely, xvij^d. Item a house w^t a chymney yerely, iijs. iiij^d. Summa xxiijs. xd., inde de(du-)cuntur iijs. xd., et remanent xxs., soluendi ad festa Annunciacionis et Sancti

Michaelis Archangeli equaliter." The only reference to any plate having been in any of these houses is in this note. "M^d that Sir Rafe Salvayñ and dame Anne his wyfe abowght xvij yeres paste borowyd of Sir John Bank, late Pryour of this Monastery, a stondynge cuppe of syluer parcellle gylte w^t a cover, which cost lxs. Item a flatt pece of syluer which was worth xls. Item a silver salt w^t oute a couer, which was worth by estymacyon xxs. Item vi syluer spones which was worth by estymacyon xiijs., and item a fludder (father) of leade which was worth iiij^{li}. Summa xli. xiijs."

(To be continued.)

ABSTRACT OF THE TITLE TO THE MANOR OF CONINGSBOROUGH IN THE COUNTY OF YORK.

Communicated by WILLIAM FRETWELL HOYLE.



20 March 1st Eliz: The said Queen by her letters patent In consideration of having called S^r Henry Carey Kn^t to the honour and Degree of Baron of Hunsdon and for his better support of the said dignity Did grant unto the said Henry L^d Hunsdon (among other . . . honors and Lands) The Manor and Castle of Conysborough in the County of York To hold to the said Henry, Lord Hunsdon and the Heirs male of his Body.

15 Dec^r 10 Char. 1st Grant from the said King to Henry, Lord Dover
22 May 1637. (Grandson of the said Henry L^d Hunsdon) of Conisborough to him and his Heirs By Ind^{re} between Henry Earl of Dover of the first part John, Viscount Rochford his

¹ Miss Anne Coke married Philip Roberts, Esq., Major in the Horse Guards. Her eldest son, Wenham Roberts, became eventually the heir of the

Cokes, the whole of the property devolving upon him at the death of his uncle the Earl of Leicester, in 1759.

son and heir apparent of the 2^d part and Oliver Botelor Esq^r and Jn^o Ward Gentlemen of the 3^d part. In consideration of a Marriage then-
tofore had between the said Viscount Rochford and the Lady Abigall
Viscountess Rochford his Wife and other cons^{ns} it is agreed that the said
Henry Earl of Dover shall before the end of Trinity Term then next
levy a fine come ceo &c. of the said Castle and Manor of Conisborough and
of all other his Lands in the County of York which it is thereby declared
shall be and enure to the use of the said John Viscount Rochford and
the Lady Abigall Viscountess Rochford his Wife and the Heirs of the
said Viscountess for ever.

Provided that if the said Henry Earl of Dover and Viscount Rochford
do during the Life of the Viscountess settle upon her in Jointure for
her Life Lands in Hertfordshire or Northamptonshire of the yearly rent
of 1000£ then the use of the said Fine to be to the s^d Viscount and his
Heirs.

Trinity Term 13 Cha 1st. . . Fine levied accordingly.

28 April 1655 Articles of Agreement between Abigall Lady Viscountess
Counterpart Rochford Wife of John Lord Viscount Rochford of the
one part and W^m Heveningham Esq^r of the other part
In cons^o of a marr^e to be had between the said W^m and Mary Carey the
only Dau^r and heir apparent of the s^d Viscountess (reciting that the s^d
Manors are settled after the decease of the s^d Viscount and Viscountess
upon the s^d Mary Carey and her heirs under the provisoes and agree-
ments contained in one Ind^{re} dated 22^d May 13 Car. 1st the s^d
Viscountess being disabled during her coverture with the s^d Viscount
she doth thereby promise upon her honour to settle the s^d Manor on the
said Mary and the heirs of her Body by the s^d W^m Heveningham &c.

26th Oct. 1685 Abigall Countess of Dover made her Will and did
thereby give devise and bequeath to her only dau^r and
heir apparent Dame Mary Heveningham and her heirs all her Lands
Tenem^{ts} and heredita^{mts} and all her Estate both real and personal and of
her Will made the said Dame Mary sole Ex^{cr}.

7th July 1691 The s^d Dame Mary Heveningham made her will and
thereby gave the s^d Manor and prem^s to her Grand
daughter Carey Newton and the Heirs of her Body, Rem^r to her Grand
dau^r Abigall Heveningham and the Heirs of her Body Rem^r to her
own right Heirs.

18 and 19 Jan^y 1704. By Ind^{re} of Lease and Release Edw^d Cooke Esq^r
and Carey his Wife for barring all Estates Tail Rem^r
convey the s^d Manor and prem^{es} to James Groundman and Robert Green
and their Heirs to the use of them and their heirs and Cov^t to levy a Fine
to them and their heirs To the intent to make them Tenants of the ffreehold
that a recovery may be thereof suffered wherein Rob^t Bertie Esq^r and S^r
John Newton Bar^t to be demand^{ts} the s^d Groundman and Green Tenants
who shall vouch to warranty the said Edw^d Cooke and Carey his Wife which
s^d ffine and recovery to be and enure To the use of the s^d Edw^d
Coke for his Life. Rem^r to the s^d Carey Coke for Life. Remaind^r to
Edward Coke their second Son for Life and after to his first and other

Sons successively in Tail male with remaind^{rs} over Power for the s^d Carey Coke notwithstanding her coverture and after her Husbonds death to revoke the uses and to limit new uses.

Easter Term 4 Anne. Fine and recovery levyed and suffered pursuant to the last Ind^{re}.

4 July 1707 Carey Coke Widow and Relict of Edward Coke Esq^r her late husband dec^d made her will and thereby in pursuance of the power to her reserved or given by one provision contained in one Ind^{re} dated 19th Jan^y 1704 (being the last Ind^{re}) and of any other power whatsoever in her did revoke and make void all and every the uses Estates and Trusts in or by the same Ind^{re} limited or declared of the s^d Manor and Castle of Conisborough and other the pre^mises in the s^d County of York and did thereby by Virtue of the s^d power or of any other power in her limit declare and appoint That the s^d Manor and pre^mises should be and enure to the uses following viz. To her Father S^r John Newton Bar^t for 2000 Years upon the Trusts following :

Rem^r to her second Son Edward Coke Esq^r and the Heirs of his Body.

Rem^r to her third Son Robert Coke and the Heirs of his Body.

Rem^r to her eldest Son Thom^s Coke and the Heirs of his Body.

Rem^r to her own right Heirs.

Trust of the 2000^d years term is for raising money for payment of 1000£ and Interest to Edw^d Stratford Esq^r on the Milden Hall Estate in Suffolk secured to him by Mortg^e and all such debts as she then owed or sh^d owe at her death and also to pay to her Son Robert Coke Esq^r 2000£ at his age of 21 years and to her Dau^{rs} Carey and Ann 1000£ between them to be paid to them at their respective ages of 18 years after the said Trusts performed the s^d 2000 years Term to be void and of her said Will she made her s^d flather S^r John Newton Ex^r.

14 June 1723 By Ind^{re} inrolled in Chancery the 17th July after the s^d Edw^d Coke the Son for barring all Estates Tail and Rem^{rs} and for 5^s did grant bargain and sell the s^d Castle and Manor of Conisborough and other the pre^mises in the Countys of York and Suffolk and in the Strand in Westminster unto Rob^t Harper Gent and his Heirs to the use of him and his Heirs To the intent to make him Tenant to the freehold that three Recoverys may be had of the pre^mises in the Countys of York Suffolk and Middlesex wherein Tho^s Coke Esq^r shall be demand^t the s^d Rob^t Harper Ten^t who shall vouch to warranty the s^d Edw^d Coke who shall vouch the co^mon Vouch^{ee} the uses of w^{ch} s^d Recoverys are thereby declared shall be to the s^d Edw^d Coke and his Heirs and to no other use whatsoever.

Trinity Term 1723 Recovery of the Castle and Manor of Conisborough suffered pursuant to the last Indenture.

11 and 12 April 1726 By Ind^{res} of Lease and Release S^r Tho^s Coke (now Lord Lovell) eldest son of the said Carey Coke did for extinguishing all his right Estate and claim and for 5^s grant release and convey the s^d Castle and Manor of Conisborough and

all other the premisses before mentioned unto the s^d S^r John Newton and his Ex^{rs} for and during the residue of the said term of 2000 years limited by the said Will and subject thereto To the use of the s^d Edw^d Coke and his Heirs.

27 April 1726 By indenture 4ptite made between s^d Edw^d Coke 2^d son of s^d Edw^d Coke and Carey Coke of 1st part the s^d Robert Coke their 3^d Son of the 2^d part the s^d S^r John Newton of the 3^d part and John Tufton Esq. of the 4th part Reciting the Will of Carey Coke and the term of 2000 years thereby created for payment of s^d 1000£ and In^t to Edw^d Stratford said 2000£ to Robert Coke and said 1000£ betw. said Carey and Ann her dau^{rs}. And that s^d Carey the mother dyed in August 1707 and that after her death S^r John Newton had by Rents and proffits paid off s^d 1000£ and In^t to Edw^d Stratford the debts of Carey Coke and s^d 1000£ for the benefit of s^d Carey and Ann the dau^{rs}. And that of the Incumbrances on the premisses by the said Will there then only remained unsatisfied the 2000£ to Robert Coke and all In^t thereof to the date of this deed. And also reciting the Indre of 14th June 1723 and the recovery suffered in pursuance thereof By Virtue whereof the premisses became vested in ffee in s^d Edw^d Cooke subject to s^d 2000 years term. In consⁿ of 2000£ to Rob^t Coke paid by John Tufton by direction of Edw^d Coke the son in full of the 2000£ directed to be paid to him by s^d Will. And of 2000£ to s^d Edw^d Coke paid by John Tufton making together 4000£ and of 5^s to S^r John Newton. S^r John by direction of Edw^d Coke the son and with the consent of Rob^t Coke did assign and Edw^d Coke did demise and confirm to s^d John Tufton the s^d premisses To hold unto the s^d John Tufton his Ex^{rs} Adm^{rs} and Ass^s for the residue of s^d 2000 years term subject to redemption by Edw^d Coke on payment of 4000£. and Int. to S^r John Tufton

28 Nov^r 1726. By an Indorsement on the back of s^d last Indre in consⁿ of 3000£ more paid to Edw^d Coke by S^r John Tufton the s^d Edw^d Coke covenanted with S^r John Tufton that the s^d 3000£ sho^d stand charged on s^d premisses.

John Tufton dyed intestate and admⁿstration of his effects was granted to Wilbraham Tufton Esq^r his Bro^r whereby the s^d 2000^d years term became vested in s^d Wilbraham Tufton.

31st July 1728 By Indenture between s^d Edw^d Coke of the one part and Matthew Lamb Esq^r of the other part the s^d Edw^d Coke in consⁿ of 3000£ did demise to s^d Matthew Lamb the s^d Castle and Manor and other premisses To hold to s^d Matthew Lamb his Ex^{rs} &c. for 2800^d years subject to redemption on payment of 3000£ and In^t by Edw^d Coke his Heirs &c.

31st Oct^r 1730. By Indorsement on the last Indenture s^d Matthew Lamb in consⁿ of 10^s did assign &c. to Hutton Perkyns Esq. the said premisses To hold to s^d Hutton Perkyns his Ex^{rs} &c. for the residue of 2800^d years term in Trust for M^r Lamb his Ex^{rs} &c.

11th Dec^r 1732. Edw^d Coke Esq. made his Will whereby he gives and devises all his real Estate unto Peniston Lamb and Matthew Lamb Esq^{rs} their Heirs and Ass^s to the use of them their

Heirs and Ass^s In trust to sell the same and pay the Incumbrances charged thereon and his Debts and Legacies, and the residue he gives to his Brother Rob^t Coke Esq. and makes the s^d Penniston Lamb and Matthew Lamb executors.

27th and 28th Sept^r 1731 By Ind^res of Lease and release between the s^d Edw^d Coke of the one part and Marg^t Tufton Sp^r of the other part The s^d Edw^d Coke did grant and release the Manor of Conisborough and other the pre^mises unto and to the use of the s^d Marg^t Tufton her Heirs and Ass^s subject to redemption on paym^t of 2000£ and In^t.

16th June 1737. By Ind^re of Bargain and Sale 4ptite inrolled in Chancery and by Lease and release between the s^d Matthew Lamb the only acting Ex^r and surviving Devisee of the s^d Edw^d Coke of the 1st part Marg^t Tufton Sp^r of the 2^d part Thos. L^d Lovell eldest Brother and heir of the s^d Edw^d Coke and Rob^t Coke Esq^r the other Brother of the s^d Edw^d Coke of the 3^d part and Thos. Duke of Leeds of the 4th part In conⁿ of 22500£ paid by the Duke as therein mentioned the s^d Matthew Lamb with the consent and approbaⁿ of the s^d Thos L^d Lovell and Rob^t Coke and also the s^d Marg^t Tufton Tho^s L^d Lovell and Edw^d Coke and every of them did bargain and sell and release to the s^d Tho^s Duke of Leeds and his Heirs the Castle and Manor of Conisborough and other the pre^mises To hold unto and to the use of the s^d Tho^s Duke of Leeds his Heirs and Ass^s subject to s^d term of 2000^d years then vested in the s^d Wilbraham Tufton for securing s^d 7000£ And subject to 2800 years by deed of 31st July 1728 granted to the s^d Matthew Lamb and then vested in Hutton Perkyns Esq^r In trust for s^d Matthew Lamb for securing 3000£.

Executed by M Lamb M^{rs} Margaret Tufton L^d Lovell and M^r Rob^t Coke.

24 June 1737 By Ind^re 4ptite then dated betw. the s^d Tho^s Duke of Leeds of the first part the s^d Wilbraham Tufton of the 2^d part, the s^d Hutton Perkyns of the 3^d part and Matthew Lamb of the 4th part Inter alia Reciting the Ind^re of 27 April 1726 and the Indorsement thereon of 28th Nov^r 1726 the death of John Tufton and the Admini^stions to his Broth^r Wilbraham and the Ind^re of 31st July 1728 and the Indorsement of 31st Oct^r 1730 and the Bargain and Sale to the Duke and the Will of Edw^d Coke and that M^r Lamb had agreed to pay the 7000£ to M^r Tufton and to lend the Duke 2500£ w^{ch} with the 3000£ secured to M^r Perkins In trust for M^r Lamb made 12500£ For 7000£ to said M^r Tufton paid M^r Tufton did assign the pre^mises. to M^r Lamb his Ex^{rs} &c. for the residue of 2000^d years term Perkins he by the Duke's direction also assigned the pre^mises to M^r Lamb his Ex^{rs} &c. for the re of s^d 7000£ paid to M^r Tufton and of the 3000£ before owing to as aforesaid and of s^d The Duke did assign grant and confirm Ex^{rs} &c. for the residue

For what was done in June 1740 on his Grace's Marriage please to see the Act of Parliament where youl find this Estate was then br^og^t into settlement.

VIEW OF THE CASTLES OF TICKHILL AND CONISBRO'
MADE BY SPECIAL COMMISSIONERS 29 HENRY VIII.
JAN. 12TH, 1537-8. [P. R. O., EX. T. R. MISCELLANEA, 20.]

Communicated by WILLIAM BROWN.

THE certificate of the vewe of the Castels of Tikhille and Cunesburghe made by Thomas ffareffaxe Sergent at Lawe, Thomas Grene, and frances ffrobyser, iij of the Commyssyoners assigned for the same Castels, the xijth day of Januarii the yere of the reigne of the kyng our soueraigne lorde Henry the viijth, by the grace of god kyng of England and of ffrance, defender of ffaythe, lorde of Irelaund, and in herthe supreme hed of Chirche of Englaunde, the xxixth ye^{re}, hauynge withe huse Johñ fformañ Masoñ, Thomas Jakesoñ Plummer, and John Thomsoñ Carpenter.

Tikhille.

In primis one rownde Tower of stone xij yerdes brode within, in decay, one dore and ij wyndows of stone, certen batylmentes and gabels of stone, one stayre to the seid Tower of stone, by estymacoñ to the valewe of cxi *li* and more.

Item the seid Tower decayd, one rowfe, one floure, to the valewe of fortye towne of tymber and borde.

Item in decay in leade in the seid Tower in spoytes, butters, and rowfe to the valewe of viijth ffuthers.

Item one hale, one logynge withe ffoure chambers xv yerdes longe, in decay in stone to the valure of v *li*.

Item decay in tymber and bordes xl townes.

Item one bakhouse, one kechyñ, one pantrey and yatehouse, in decay in tymber and borde to the valewe of xx s(core) towne, and in decay in leade viijth ffuther.

Item the decay of the wales rownde aboute by estymacoñ to the valur of xl *li*.

Item ij welles within the Castelle wiche is feyld wythe erthe.

Item no yates of yroñ their.

Item their is no maner of gownes nor other ordinaunce their.

Item no horse mylne their.

Item one horse-bryge ffalleñ downe and in decay.

Cunesburghe.

In primis the yates of the Castelle ffalleñ downe bothe tymber and stone.

Item the bryge is ffalleñ downe.

Item one rownde Tower of stone within the seid Castelle of foure storyes height, and the seid Tower wyde within the wales viijth yerdes.

In the loyst storye one welle ffylled vpe wythe gravelle, wiche seid storyes are alle welle reparyelled but one, wiche seid storye is ffalleñ in decay to the valure of xij townes of tymber and bordes.

Item the decay of leade in the seid Tower to the valure of iiij *li* and more.

Item the wales ffalleñ downe betwex the seid Tower and the bryge the valewe of lx yerdes by estymacoñ to the valewe of c *li* and more.

Item the stone wales within the Castelle and wales withoute the seid Castelle by estymacoñ to the valewe of cc *li* and more.

Item to alle reparaçoñs within the Castelle and withoute belongyng to Wryght Warke by estimacoñ to the valewe of viij^{xx} towne and more.

Item their is no artylrye nor ordynaunce within the seid Castelle.

Item no horse mylne their.

Item their remanythe within the seid Castelle to the valewe of one ffuther and hallfe wiche seid leade were of the gotters of the seid Castelle.

per me THOMAS GRENE

THOMAS FFAIRFAX

FFRANCES FFROBISER.

CISTERCIAN STATUTES.

By the Rev. J. T. FOWLER, M.A., F.R.A.

IN order that the Statutes which we propose to print may be seen in their relation to the monastic system generally, it may be well briefly to point out the origin and the antecedents of the Cistercian Order of Monks.

The Benedictine Order was founded by St. Benedict of Nursia, who was born A.D. 480, and died about 542. Monasticism in various forms had long been widely established. The shorter but stricter Rule of St. Columbanus, who was born in the year of the death of St. Benedict, for a short time spread all over Europe, but the Rule of St. Benedict, being less severe than its rival, and having the sanction of the see of Rome, which the other had not, speedily prevailed, and, as used to be said, it soon, like Moses' rod, swallowed up all other rules. The vow was made with greater solemnity than before, it bound the monks to a particular monastery, and it could never be recalled. A year's noviciate was provided, and this was prolonged to two years a century later. During this time the novice was to have the Rule read over to him thrice. The Benedictine Rule is an easy yoke compared with the rules of Eastern monastic orders, but it gave much prominence to study as a worthier pursuit than mere manual labour. A monk's day was occupied in the *opus Dei* or *divinum officium*, with *labor et lectio*, and with the short intervals required for food and rest. As time went on, disputes arose about the interpretation of the Rule, and abuses sprang up. To meet these, various "constitutions" were engrafted on it, and Clugni, in the 10th century, formed the first separate congregation with a distinct Rule of its own. The Rule of St. Augustine was originally drawn up for nuns, and is contained in his 109th Epistle; (No. cxi. in later order). It was imposed on canons regular, who were necessarily in holy orders, but otherwise differed only slightly

from monks, by Innocent II. in 1139. These canons were quite distinct from the Benedictines, but the Cluniacs were reformed Benedictines, who, like the Cistercians, began with rigorous asceticism, but at length became somewhat less strict in their mode of life. Monks were not necessarily in holy orders, nor usually at first, although in later times they were generally ordained. It is doubtful whether Benedict himself was ever in orders; he was certainly not a priest, but afterwards all abbots were raised to priest's orders if not priests when elected.¹ More than twenty orders of reformed Benedictines arose in the four centuries which followed the tenth, of which the Cistercian became the most important.² The original Benedictine fervour having grown cold, not to say extinct, Robert, Abbot of Molesme, by leave of Hugh, archbishop of Lyons, papal legate, and the munificence of Otho, Duke of Burgundy, founded the monastery of Citeaux (*Cistercium*) in 1098, for the restoration of the ancient discipline. When he had presided a year and about three or four months, he was recalled by Urban II. to Molesme, at the petition of the monks of Molesme, and Alberic, prior of Citeaux, burning with the same desire of a stricter life, was unanimously elected abbot in his place. He obtained from Paschal II. a confirmation of that monastery, and having wonderfully promoted in it a stricter observance of the Rule, died Jan. 26, 1109. To Alberic succeeded Stephen Harding, an Englishman, in whose time Citeaux, having grown into twelve houses, he, expecting from this a still further increase, began to meditate the formation of a new congregation, namely, the Cistercian Order of Monks, whose first fundamental law or constitution should be simply the Rule of St. Benedict³ literally observed.

Having therefore taken counsel with his brethren, especially the abbots and the bishops in whose diocese they were placed, they all agreed on the first, or, if we count

¹ It should be scarcely necessary to point out that *friars* were members of religious orders entirely distinct from both monks and canons. The two great Orders of Friars, the Dominicans and Franciscans, both arose about a century after the founding of Citeaux, out of which the Cistercian Order grew.

² The above notes on the Benedictine

Order are chiefly taken from Mr. Gregory Smith's excellent article, "Benedictine Rule and Order," in Dr. Smith's "Dictionary of Christian Antiquities." Those which follow, on the Cistercian Order, are abridged from a summary at the beginning of the "*Nomasticon Cisterciense*."

³ This has often been printed; see below.

the Benedictine Rule, the second law or constitution of this congregation, namely, the *Charta Charitatis*.⁴ This was confirmed by Calixtus II. in 1119, and afterwards by other popes, among whom were Eugenius III., Anastatius IV., Adrian IV., and Alexander III.

They next compiled the *Liber Usuum*,⁵ embodying the usages and ceremonies observed in Citeaux and the other monasteries of the new Order. Stephen died March 28, 1124.

In the same year his successor, St. Raynard, collected the *Instituta Capituli Generalis*⁶ that had been defined by his predecessors since the promulgation of the *Charta Charitatis*, and delivered them to the Order for general observance.⁷

The Order now increasing day by day, in great part through the influence of St. Bernard of Clairvaux, and many other definitions having been made in the general chapters, Arnald I., abbot of Citeaux, collected all under fifteen heads ("Distinctions"), and issued them under the title of *Instituta Capituli Generalis*, about 1203. Arnald II. added to these in 1240.⁸

In the 13th century there arose disputes among the abbots as to precedence, whereupon Urban IV. appointed three arbitrators, Nicholas, bishop of Troyes, Stephen, abbot of the "Greater Monastery" of Tours, and the Dominican friar, Geoffrey of Beaulieu, the confessor of St. Lewis. The matter remained undecided till the next pope, Clement IV., as soon as he had been crowned, ended it by assigning to each his own rights, and interpreting the *Charta Charitatis* in the constitution of 1265, called "Clementine."⁹

The General Chapter next revised the Statutes, preserving the old arrangement of titles and distinctions almost intact, and bringing them out under the title of *Libellus antiquarum Definitionum Capituli Generalis Ordinis Cisterciensis*, in 1289 and in 1316.¹⁰

In 1335, Benedict XII., who had been a Cistercian monk,

⁴ Printed with all Cistercian statutes; see below.

⁵ "Nomasticon," 83-244; "Guignard," 91-245. This is of great importance in connection with the various monastic buildings, etc.

⁶ That is, of the General Chapter of the whole Order, held at Citeaux every year. See the Statutes in the 5th section, below. The *Capitulum Quotidianum* was held in every monastery, and

is called *Congregatio* in Reg. S. Ben. cap. xlv.

⁷ "Nomasticon," 245-272; "Guignard," 245-237.

⁸ Those in the "Nomasticon," 273-368, are of 1256; these which we print from the British Museum manuscript are of somewhat later date.

⁹ "Nomasticon," 466-479.

¹⁰ *Ib.*, 431-582.

issued the "Benedictine" Constitution for the reform of some abuses.¹¹

In 1350, the superiors of the Order issued the *Novellæ Definitiones*, in which the old statutes were embodied, with some additions and alterations, new punishments and censures being decreed against all transgressors.¹²

In 1493 were issued the *Articuli Parisienses* for the reform of abuses.¹³ From 1500 to 1615 there was, in France at least, "scarcely any order in the Order,"¹⁴ which, while pestilence, war, and schism were desolating the Church, grew lukewarm and slothful. But Jean de la Barrière, abbot of Notre Dame des Feuillants, near Toulouse, effected a reform in 1577 which gave rise to the Feuillants in France and to the Reformed Bernardines in Italy, and, about 1615, there was, at least in some thirteen of the old monasteries, a restoration of the ancient discipline. Gregory XV. in 1622, as well as Urban VIII. in 1632, issued letters apostolic for the general reform of the Order in France, and these were confirmed by the Parliament in Paris, June 22, 1660. The most celebrated of all the reforms was that by the abbot of La Trappe in 1664.

The Order of Savigny, with upwards of thirty monasteries, and including that of La Trappe,¹⁵ founded in 1140, had joined the Cistercians in 1148, at the solicitation of St. Bernard. The monastery of La Trappe was held in *commendam* by lay-abbots in the 16th century.¹⁶ These, with their followers, were, for their disorderly lives, known as the "brigands of La Trappe." The lay-abbot Armand Jean le Bouthillier de Rancé became in June, 1664, a true monk, and in July following true abbot of La Trappe. As such he set about a thorough reform, adopting for himself and his monks the Cistercian institutes in all their strictness. Thus he became the founder of the Trappists, who are now diffused almost all over the world, and are the chief representatives of the Cistercian Order at the present day.¹⁷ The Cistercians were, of course, involved in the general overthrow

¹¹ "Nomasticon," 586-614.

¹² *Ib.*, 616-662.

¹³ *Ib.*, 674, ad fin.

¹⁴ *Ib.*, *Series Legum*, or summary at the beginning.

¹⁵ Three leagues from Mortagne, in the diocese of Seez.

¹⁶ On this abuse, which accounts for so-called "abbots" living with "wives" and children, see Newman's "Life of Stephen Harding," p. 155, which gives a reference to "Mabillon," Pref. in sæc. 5.

¹⁷ Janauschek, *Originum Cisterciensium*, tom. i.; lxxiii.-lxxvi.

of monasteries in England in the 16th century, and in France in the 18th, and were reduced to a few convents in Spain, Poland, Austria, and the Saxon part of Upper Lusatia.¹⁸

There were seven Cistercian Orders of knighthood, namely, the Templars (who had their Rule from St. Bernard), the Calatravians, the knights of Evora or Avis, of Christ, of St. Maurice in Savoy, of St. Michael, and of Montesa. All these followed the Rule of St. Benedict and the *Charta Charitatis*, while the three first at least had special statutes of their own, corresponding, apparently, to the *Instituta Capituli Generalis*, which concerned the monks alone.¹⁹

Something must now be said about that great system of filiation and visitation which went so far to make up what has been called the "Cistercian idea." Before the time of Stephen Harding, the Order existed only in germ, in a single convent, but under him, that convent grew into the head of a vast monastic confederacy, extending through every country in Europe. This is so well described by Newman,²⁰ that I cannot refrain from quoting his own words. With the disorders of other monastic systems before his eyes, "Stephen determined on instituting a system of reciprocal visitation between the abbeys of his Order. He might, as abbot of Citeaux, have constituted himself the head of this increasing congregation ; but his object was not to lord it over God's heritage, but to establish between the Cistercian abbeys a lasting bond of love. The body of statutes which he presented to his brethren in the general chapter of 1119, was called the Chart of Charity. In its provisions, the whole Order is looked upon as one family, united by ties of blood ; Citeaux is the common ancestor of the whole, and the first four abbeys founded from it, La Ferté, Pontigny, Clairvaux, and Morimond, as its four eldest daughters, respectively governed the abbeys sprung from them. The abbot of Citeaux was called *Pater universalis ordinis* ; he visited any monastery that he pleased, and wherever he went the abbot gave up his place to him. On the other hand, the abbots of the four filiations, as they were termed, visited Citeaux, besides which each abbot went every year to inspect the abbeys which had sprung from his own.

¹⁸ Encyc. Brit. art. Cistercians.

¹⁹ Henriquez, *passim*. See below.

²⁰ "Life of Stephen Harding," 157.

Every year a general chapter was held at Citeaux, which all the abbots in the Order, except some whose houses were in very distant countries, were obliged to attend under heavy penalties. The chief abbot of each filiation could, with the advice of other abbots, depose any one of his subordinate abbots who after admonition continued to violate the Rule; and even the head of the whole Order might be deposed by the four abbots, though not without a general chapter, or in case of urgent necessity, in an assembly of abbots of the filiation of Citeaux. Each abbey was to receive with joy any of the brethren of other Cistercian abbeys, and to treat him as though he were at home. Thus the most perfect union was to be preserved amongst the whole body; and if any discord arose in the general chapter, the abbot of Citeaux might, with the help of other abbots, called in by himself, settle the question in dispute. This is but a faint outline of the famous Chart of Charity, which was copied by many others, and in part even by that of Cluny. This rigid system of mutual visitation might seem to have precluded the visitation of the bishop, and so in fact the Order became in time exempt from episcopal superintendence; but Stephen by no means intended that such should be the case. Exemptions from the jurisdiction of the Vicar of Christ, as St. Bernard calls the bishop of the diocese,²¹ formed one of the special grievances against which the early Cistercian writers most loudly declaim. It was a portion of the ambition of abbots of the day, and was therefore classed by them with the assumption of the pontifical mitre and sandals, which was a scandal in Cistercian eyes. Exemptions, however, which were not gained at the suit of the abbot, but conceded by the Holy See to the piety of founders of monasteries, are exempted from the censure of St. Bernard; and, notwithstanding Stephen's submission to diocesan authority, he took care to secure his Order against the influence of secular bishops. Even from the time of Hugh, the second abbot elected by Stephen, the words, "*salvo ordine nostro*," were added to the oath of canonical obedience, taken by every abbot on receiving the benediction from the bishop. Another important step was taken by him to secure his Order, and its new constitution, from undue interference. He determined

²¹ De Off. Episc. 9.

to apply to the Apostolic See for a confirmation of the *Charta Charitatis*; without this sanction it was a mere private compact between the then ruling Cistercian abbots, but with the papal sanction it became in some way a law of the Church."²²

With regard to the daily life of the early Cistercian monks, we cannot here say all that we would, of so many details was it made up. The materials for forming a picture of it are to be found in the Dijon book, the "Nomasticon," the Statutes printed below, and other literary evidences, taken together with the buildings that remain. Mr. Micklethwaite, whose most valuable help in the preparation of these sheets I desire to acknowledge, has given an admirable account "Of the Cistercian Plan" in vol. vii. of this *Journal*, pp. 239—258. Mr. Edmund Sharpe's goodly quarto on "The Architecture of the Cistercians" is unfortunately marred by some of his theories as to certain important buildings, which he would probably have given up had he lived till now. But as to the monks themselves, we have a beautifully written and on the whole accurate account in chapter xv. of Newman's "Life of Stephen Harding," entitled "A Day at Citeaux."

We would gladly have quoted it at great length or even *in extenso*, but the space at our disposal only admits of the following bare abstract. It must be noted first that the year was divided into "summer," from Easter to Sept. 14, and "winter," including the rest of the year. The "hours" of light were 12, and those of darkness the same, the hours varying from 50 to 70 minutes, as the light was long or short, according to the Roman way of reckoning. The time for rising was about 2 a.m., so that matins, which were shorter in summer, should be over shortly before lauds, which were at day-break. When the sacristan rang the bell, the brethren at once went to their stalls in the choir. Matins lasted for about an hour to an hour and a half, the greater part of the service being chanted by heart to simple Gregorian tones. Between matins and lauds they prayed, read, or meditated in the church or cloister, the interval being short in summer, but long in winter. In summer, the brethren might then go to the dormitory to wash, etc. When day had fully dawned, prime was sung, after which they went to the chapter-house.

²² The requisite confirmation was obtained from Calixtus II., an old friend

of Stephen and of Citeaux, in 1191, as above mentioned.

The chapter opened with the martyrology for the day, after which followed the commemoration of the departed, and on some days a sermon ; a portion of St. Benedict's Rule was also read. Then followed open confession of monastic offences and mutual accusation ; any monk convicted of grievous offence then receiving the discipline on his knees. Mortal sins were afterwards confessed privately before a priest. Chapter being concluded, the monks went to various kinds of manual labour, in which the *conversi*, or lay-brethren, took a great part. Each monk took his turn to be cook week by week. Again, a monk might be cellarer, infirmarer, master of the novices, porter, etc. The cellarer managed the whole of the "housekeeping." All the monks left work when the bell rang for terce, which was at once followed by Mass, after which they again read or meditated. At about 11.30 the bell rang for sext, after which they met in the refectory for the first and chief meal of the day, save on Wednesdays and Fridays out of Paschal time, when they had only one meal, and that after nones. The Cistercian dinner, or breakfast (corresponding to the modern French *déjeuner*), consisted of an allowance (*libra una propensa*) of coarse bread (one-third of which was reserved for supper) and two dishes of vegetables boiled "without grease." Their drink was common wine and water, thin beer, or a decoction of herbs. Even fish and eggs were at first excluded, much more any flesh-meat. During meals no conversation was allowed ; one of the brethren read aloud from some religious book. The meal over, as is usual in hot climates, and to make up for the shortness of the summer night, they went into the dormitory for an hour's sleep, then rose and washed at the sound of the bell. Nones were said at 2.30, after which they could have a draught of water, or perhaps their daily *hemina* of wine, in the refectory before returning to the afternoon's manual labour, which continued almost till 5.30, when they sang vespers. On returning from their work they had a slight repast, consisting of the remainder of their bread, with fruit, salad, etc.

Before we close with compline, we must note the order of the day in winter, i.e. from Sept. 14 to Easter.

It was then that they had most time for meditation and prayer between matins and lauds, for lauds being said at dawn came much later in winter than in summer. Prime

followed at once, and then came the mass, terce, and chapter, so that they did not begin work till about 9.30 or 10 o'clock. They then worked till nones, after which they broke their fast, *i.e.* between 2.30 and 3.0 p.m. After the meal was over, they walked into the church, two and two, chanting the *Miserere*, and there said grace. Vespers soon followed, apparently before candle-light. In winter no second meal was allowed, only their wine or a draught of water. "The evening twilight between vespers and compline was the monk's sabbath," devoted to reading and meditation. During Lent they continued working till about 4.0 p.m., not breaking their fast till about 5, and often saying sext and nones in the fields. A longer time was allowed for reading in the morning, and additional mental prayer was enjoined. Throughout the year, the two last events of a Cistercian day were the "collation," or reading of the collations of Cassian or similar books, and compline. The reading took place in the cloister, and when it was finished they went into the church to sing compline, the last office of the day, at about 7.0 p.m. in winter, and 8.0 in summer. After compline the abbot sprinkled the monks with holy-water as they went out in order. They then pulled the hoods of their cowls over their heads and walked into the dormitory. Such was the Cistercian life in its first fervour, as it was under Stephen and St. Bernard.

It is now time to come to the subject of statutory enactments.

The Benedictine Rule is easily accessible in printed books, as, for example, in the Cistercian books to be mentioned immediately, and in the handy edition, with an English translation, published by R. Washbourne in 1875. See, too, the list of important works on the Benedictine Rule and Order in Smith's "Dictionary of Christian Antiquities," art. "Benedictine," etc. There were more than a hundred editions of it in 1554, and it has been translated into various languages, and has had a number of commentaries written upon it.²³ St. Benedict is sometimes represented in art holding an open book, with the first words of his Rule, *AVSCVLTA FILI VERBA MAGISTRI*.

²³ The Durham Cathedral MS. B. iv. 24, contains an Anglo-Saxon translation of a portion, including the beginning, "Gehyr du min bearn." The old French

translation printed by Guignard, begins "Esculte fils les comandemens del maistre."

Cistercian statutes have been printed, but with many errors and omissions, by Martène and Durand in their "*Thesaurus novus Anecdotorum*," vol. iv. The "*Regula, Constitutiones, et Privilegia ordinis Cisterciensis*" of Henriquez, Antwerp, 1630, contains the Rule of St. Benedict, the *Charta Charitatis*, the papal *privilegia*, and the rules and constitutions of the military orders, but not the *Instituta Capituli Generalis*. The "*Nomasticon Cisterciense*," Paris, 1664, a very scarce book, contains the historical statement called the *Exordium Cænobii et Ordinis Cisterciensis*, the Rule of St. Benedict, the *Charta Charitatis*, the *Usus Antiquiores* or *Liber Usuum*, the *Instituta Capituli Generalis* of 1134 and of 1256, papal letters from 1264 downwards, the "Clementine" Constitution of 1265, the *Libellus Antiquarum Definitionum* of 1289, revised 1316,²⁴ the "Benedictine" Constitution of 1335, the *Novellæ Definitiones* of 1350, the letters of Eugenius IV. (1444), Nicholas V. (1448), and Innocent VIII. (1487), to the General Chapter, and the *Articuli Parisienses* of 1493.²⁵ The copy of this very complete work which is now before me, has been kindly lent from the library of the modern Cistercian Abbey of Mount St. Bernard, in Leicestershire, through my old friend Father Henry Collins, now a monk in that house. There are other old collections of a similar kind,²⁶ but a great boon has been conferred on students of Cistercian history by the publication of "*Les Monuments Primitifs de la Règle Cistercienne, publiés d'après les Manuscrits de l'abbaye de Cîteaux, par Ph. Guignard, bibliothécaire de la ville de Dijon, correspondant du Ministère de l'instruction publique. Dijon, Imprimerie Darantier, rue Chabot-Charny, Hôtel du Parc, 1878.*" (Price 10 fr., by post 11 fr. 15 c.) The original MS. is now in the public library at Dijon, and was written between 1173 and 1191. It has

²⁴ A new set of statutes in fifteen "distinctions," embodying and often adopting the words of the old ones, but with both abridgements and additions. MS. Harl. 3708 contains those of 1289, differing a little from the text in the "*Nomasticon*," where we are told, p. 482, that there are many variations. The subjects of the "distinctions" are referred to in these verses:

"Ordinat, indulget, fundat, sacrat, canit,
unit,
Corrigit, ac visit, operatur, iter, recipit-
que,
Contrahit, ac victum, conversos, et
moniales."

²⁵ These throw great light on the abuses which had come in, in the way of pomp, luxury, etc.

²⁶ Janauschek, xiii.

been intended to be a complete collection of Cistercian formularies, written with the greatest care, as a standard copy. According to its title-page, of which a reduced facsimile is given, it contained the Breviary in three parts, the *Epistolare*, the Text of the Gospels, the Missal, the *Collectaneum*, the Kalendar, the *Regula*, the *Consuetudines*, the Psalter, the Canticles, the Hymnal, the Antiphoner, and the Grail. The last five parts have been missing ever since 1480. The parts printed by Guignard are, the Rule of St. Benedict, the *Carta Caritatis*, the *Consuetudines* (sc. the *Liber Usuum* with St. Raynard's *Instituta* of 1134), and the Calendar, including a Cistercian martyrology. By way of Appendix, we have an ancient French translation,²⁷ also from a Dijon MS., of the early historical statements, the *Carta Caritatis*, the *Instituta* of 1134, and the Rule of St. Benedict, together with some short Latin and French documents relating to the Order. This volume, then, together with the *Instituta* which we are now printing, will supply all the principal statutes put forth during the golden age of the Order. Those which from time to time were issued during its period of decadence, must be looked for in the "Nomasticon" or elsewhere. The fine quarto vol. i. of *Origines Cistercienses* of Janauschek (Vienna, 1877) contains a good historical introduction and bibliography, but does not deal with statutes.²⁸ Mr. Sharpe has printed the *Charta Charitatis* and Statutes of 1134 in his "Cistercian Architecture."

It was promised in the "Ripon Manual" of 1874 that the following statutes should be printed "in an early number of the *Yorkshire Archæological Journal*." Circumstances have prevented until now the carrying out of this intention. Our becoming acquainted with the "Nomasticon" and with the Dijon book, seemed to bring so great an amount of material within reach, that it was difficult to know where to begin or end in what we printed in our *Journal*. The

²⁷ Vernacular translations of statutes, rubrics, and the like, were made for the use of nuns. Thus we have in English, the "Myrrour of Our Lady," for the nuns of Syon, near London.

²⁸ The bulk of this monumental work consists of short accounts of 742 Cistercian abbeys, each having first a list of synonyms, then a succinct historical notice, then a list of daughter houses,

when there are any, and finally a special bibliography. The indices at the end of the volume are very complete, and there is a folding genealogical table over 7½ yards long, shewing the descent of all Cistercian houses from that of Cîteaux. The second volume is to contain similar accounts of the establishments of Cistercian nuns.

original idea, however, that of printing the *Carta Caritatis* and statutes of the Order about A.D. 1256, seems to be worth carrying out. The Rule of St. Benedict is within the reach of every one, and the very important *Liber Usuum*, with the Institutes of 1134, are, as we have seen, in the Dijon book, to which the statutes we are now printing may be regarded as a kind of supplement. The later enactments in the "Nomasticon," as has been pointed out above, possess considerable interest as illustrating the later Cistercian habits and arrangements, and we may some time, perhaps, give our readers a series of extracts from them.

CARTA CARITATIS.¹

(Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 11,294. Plut. CLXVIII. A.)

*Incipit prologus in Carta Caritatis.*²

ANTEQUAM Abbatiae Cistercienses florere inciperent, dominus Stephanus Abbas et fratres sui ordinaverunt, ut nullo modo abbatiae in alicujus antistitis dyocesi fundarentur, antequam ipse decretum inter Cisterciense coenobium et caetera ex eo nata exaratum et confirmatum, ratum haberet; propter scandalum inter pontificem et monachos devitandum. In hoc ergo decreto praedicti fratres mutuo pacis futurum praecaventis naufragium, elucidaverunt et statuerunt, suisque posteris reliquerunt, quo pacto quove modo, immo qua caritate, monachi eorum per abbatias in diversis mundi partibus, corporibus divisi, animis indissolubiliter conglutinentur. Hoc etiam decretum, *Cartam Caritatis* vocari censebant; quia ejus statutum, omnis exactionis gravamen propulsans, solam caritatem et animarum utilitatem in divinis et humanis exequitur.³

¹ This MS. is written on 114 leaves of vellum, size 6 in. by 4½ in. It is not in the original binding, but the edges are untouched. The writing is by various hands. It begins on fo. 2, in a somewhat cursive hand, with the capitals red or touched with red, and so continues to fo. 25. This part contains decrees of the Chapter General from 1257 downward. From 25 to 36 we have decrees from 1279 to 1288 in various hands, without red capitals, but with caricature heads drawn in some of them. From 37 to 114 we have the statutes here printed, in beautiful writing, with red headings and numbers, in the style of a service-book, with a few additions in later hands, here printed separately at the end. On the fly-leaf is written "Liber ste marie de fonteneto," showing that it once belonged to the abbey of Fontenay. There is a note, "Purchased at Evans's 23 Jan., 1838, Lot 819."

² The transcript of the B. M. manuscript, which was made for the Society

in 1874, contains so many wrong extensions of contractions and other manifest errors, that it is here corrected from the "Nomasticon" and "Guignard." Where it differs from these, whether in the words or in their order, but still gives a good sense, its readings have been retained. In matters of punctuation, use of capitals, etc., the "Nomasticon" has been generally followed. The spelling of the MS. has been followed as far as possible. The *t* before *i* usually stands, but is in some cases certainly *c*. The portions of the text printed in the Ripon Manual are full of mistakes, as there was not time to make anything like a complete correction before the meeting for which it was issued.

³ "Guignard," who minutely follows the Dijon MS. of 1191, or earlier, prints this prologue as an integral part of the *Carta Caritatis*, without any break or other indication of its being regarded as a prologue. In the "Nomasticon," p. 482, it appears as the first paragraph from the

Incipit Carta Caritatis.

Quia unius veri Regis et Domini et Magistri nos omnes servos licet inutiles esse cognoscimus, idcirco Abbatibus et confratribus nostris Monachis quos per diversa loca Dei pietas per miserrimos hominum sub regulari disciplina ordinaverit, nullam terrenæ commoditatis seu rerum temporalium exactionem imponimus. Prodesse enim illis omnibusque Sanctæ Ecclesiæ filiis cupientes; nil quod eos gravet, nil quod eorum substantiam minuat, erga eos agere disponimus, et ne dum nos habundantes de eorum paupertate esse cupimus, avariciæ malum, quod secundum Apostolum ydolorum servitus comprobatur, evitare non possemus. Curam tamen animarum illorum, gratia caritatis, retinere volumus, ut si quando a proposito et observantia sanctæ Regulæ declinare, quod absit, temptaverint, per nostram sollicitudinem redire possint ad rectitudinem vitæ.⁴ Nunc ergo volumus, illisque præcipimus, ut Regulam beati Benedicti per omnia observent sicut in Novo Monasterio⁵ observatur. Non alium inducant sensum in lectione sanctæ Regulæ; sed sicut antecessores nostri sancti Patres, monachi videlicet Novi Monasterii, intellexerunt et tenuerunt, et nos hodie intelligimus, et tenemus, ita et isti intelligant et teneant.

De forma et moribus.

Et quia omnes monachos ipsorum ad nos venientes in clauastro nostro recipimus, et ipsi similiter nostros in claustris suis; ideo oportunum nobis videtur, et hoc etiam volumus, ut mores et cautum, et omnes libros ad horas diurnas ac nocturnas et ad missas necessarios, secundum formam morum et librorum Novi Monasterii possideant, et quatinus in actibus nostris nulla sit discordia, sed una caritate, una regula, similibusque vivamus moribus.⁶ Nec aliqua ecclesia vel persona ordinis nostri adversus communia ipsius ordinis instituta, privilegium a quolibet postulare audeat, vel obtentum modo quolibet retinere.

De Abbate Novi Monasterii.

Cum vero Abbas Monasterii ad aliquod horum cœnobiorum visitandi gratia venerit; illius loci Abbas, ut Ecclesiam Novi Monasterii suo esse Ecclesiæ Matrem noverit, cedat ei in omnibus locis monasterii,⁷ et ipse Abbas adveniens locum illius loci Abbatis quamdiu ibi manserit teneat; excepto quod non in hospicio sed in refectorio cum fratribus propter disciplinam servandam comedat, nisi Abbas loci defuerit.⁸ Similiter et

Libellus Antiquarum Definitionum, and the editor appears not to have met with it earlier than 1289.

⁴ The first reason for the title *Carta Caritatis* (Nomast. 65).

⁵ Cîteaux was called *Novum Monasterium* at first, as here. Janauschek mentions Newminster in Northumberland, St. Mary of Graces, by the Tower of London, two abbeys in France, and Sweetheart in Scotland, all under this designation.

⁶ A second reason for the title (Nomast. 66).

⁷ A third reason for the title (Nomast. 66).

⁸ This passage is not very clear. If it

were necessary for the visiting abbot to dine in the frater for the sake of discipline, what was to become of the discipline when the abbot of the place was alone, and receiving visitors in the guest-house? It may have been felt that the discipline of the frater fell more within the province of the visiting abbot than did the management of the guest-house, and further, that it would be scarcely fair to the abbot of the place to supersede him in "doing the honours." If, however, the abbot of the place were away, then the visiting abbot would "do the honours," and the frater would then, as usual, be looked after by the prior or the brother next in command. Mr.

omnes supervenientes nostri Ordinis Abbates faciant. Quod si plures supervenerint, et Abbas loci defuerit, prior illorum in hospicio comedat. Et hoc excipitur, quod abbas loci illius etiam in præsentia majoris abbatis Novicios suos post regularem probationem benedicat.

Abbas quoque Novi Monasterii caveat ne quicquam præsumat tractare aut ordinare, aut contingere de rebus loci illius ad quem venerit, contra Abbatis vel Fratrum voluntatem. Si autem præcepta Regulæ, vel nostri Ordinis, intellexerit in eodem loco prævaricari, cum consilio præsentis Abbatis caritative studeat Fratres corrigere. Si vero Abbas loci non affuerit, nichilominus quod sinistrum invenerit corrigat.

De visitationibus.⁹

Semel per annum visitet Abbas Majoris Ecclesiæ¹⁰ vel per se vel per aliquem de coabbatibus suis omnia cœnobia quæ ipse fundaverit; et si fratres amplius visitaverit, inde magis gaudeant. Domum autem Cisterciensem, simul per seipsos¹¹ visitent quatuor primi Abbates, de Firmitate, de Pontiniaco, de Claravalle, de Morimundo,¹² die qua inter se constituerint, præter annum Capitulum, nisi forte aliquem eorum gravius ægritudo detineat.

De abbate veniente ad Novum Monasterium.

Cum autem aliquis nostri Ordinis Abbas ad Novum Monasterium venerit, reverencia Abbati congrua ei exhibeatur, et stallum Abbatis teneat; in hospicio comedat, si tamen Abbas defuerit. Si vero præsens fuerit, nil horum agat, sed in refectorio comedat. Prior autem loci negocia cœnobii disponat.

De Abbatibus quæ se genuerint.

Inter Abbatis illas quæ se alterutras non genuerint, ista erit lex. Omnis Abbas in omnibus locis sui Monasterii coabbati suo cedat advenienti, ut adimpleatur, "honore invicem prævenientes."¹³ Si duo aut eo amplius convenerint, qui prior de advenientibus erit locum superiorem tenebit. Omnes tamen præter Abbatem præsentis loci in refectorio comedent, ut supra diximus. Alias autem, ubicunque convenerint, secundum tempus Abbatiarum locum suum tenebunt, ut cujus Abbatis fuerit antiquior, ille sit prior. Ubicunque vero consederint, humilient sibi mutuo.

Micklethwaite thinks that the discipline of the visiting abbot himself is what is provided for. He was to eat publicly in the frater and not go into the infirmary like the one satirized by Walter Map. (See *Journal*, vii, 256.)

⁹ In the margin in later hands: Quod Cistercii debet et potest visitare per quatuor primos abbates.

¹⁰ A mother church. See below, p. 237.

¹¹ When these four abbots visited Cîteaux together, they were to do it personally, but when an abbot of a mother church visited daughter churches, he might do it by deputing one of his co-abbots.

¹² These were the four principal abbeys

of the Cistercian Order after Cîteaux, and having been founded soon after and through Cîteaux, were called "her four daughters," and shared with that chief house many special privileges (*Privilegium*, CXXI., granted by Innocent VIII., A.D. 1489, Henriquez, p. 190). All were within a moderate distance of one another, in what is now central France. The dates of their foundations are, Cîteaux (*Cistercium*), 1098; La Ferte (*Firmitas*), 1113; Pontigny (*Pontiniacum*), 1114; Clairvaux (*Clara-callis*), 1115; and Morimond (*Morimundus*), 1114. The first Cistercian abbey in England was Waverley, founded 1129, and the first in Yorkshire, Rievaulx, 1131.

¹³ Rom. xii. 10.

De abbacia quæ aliam construere voluerit.

Cum vero aliqua ecclesiarum nostrarum Dei gratia adeo creverit ut aliud cœnobium construere possit, illam diffinitionem quam nos inter fratres nostros tenemus, et ipsi teneant, excepto quod annuum capitulum inter se non habebunt. Sed omnes abbates de ordine nostro singulis annis ad Generale Capitulum Cisterciense omni occasione postposita convenient, illis solis exceptis quos corporis infirmitas retinuerit. Qui tamen ydoneum nuntium delegare debebunt, per quem necessitas remotionis eorum Capitulo valeat nuntiari. Et illis item exceptis qui in remotioribus partibus habitantes eo termino venerint qui eis a capitulo fuerit constitutus. Quod si quis alia quacunque occasione quandoque remanere a nostro Generali Capitulo præsumpserit, sequentis anni Capitulo pro culpa veniam petat,¹⁴ nec sine gravi animadversione pertranseat. In quo Capitulo de salute animarum suarum tractent. In observatione sanctæ Regulæ vel Ordinis, si quid est emendandum vel augendum, ordinent; bonum pacis et caritatis inter se reforment. Si vero abbas in Regula minus studiosus, vel sæcularibus rebus nimis fuerit intentus, vel in aliquibus viciosus erat repertus, ibi caritative clametur,¹⁵ clamatus veniam petat, pœnitentiam pro culpa sibi indictam adimpleat. Hanc vero clamationem non nisi Abbates faciant.

De controversia inter abbates.

Si vero aliqua controversia inter aliquos Abbates emerit, vel de quolibet illorum tam gravis culpa propalata fuerit, ut suspensionem aut etiam depositionem mereatur, quicquid inde a Capitulo diffinitum fuerit, sine retractatione observetur. Si vero pro diversitate sententiarum in discordiam causa devenerit, illud irrefragabiliter teneatur, quod Abbas Cistercii, et hii qui sanioris consilii et magis ydonei apparuerint, iudicabunt. Hoc observato, ut nemo eorum ad quos specialiter causa respexerit, diffinitioni debeat interesse.

De abbacia quæ paupertatem incurrerit.

Quod si qua ecclesia pauperiem incurrerit intolerabilem, Abbas illius cœnobia coram omni Capitulo hanc causam nuntiare studeat. Tunc singuli Abbates, maximo caritatis igne succensi, illius ecclesiæ penuriam rebus sibi collatis, prout habuerint, sustentare festinent.¹⁶ Si qua vero domus ordinis nostri Abbate proprio destituta fuerit, Major Abbas de cuius domo illa domus exivit, omnem curam habeat ordinationis illius, donec in ea alius abbas eligatur, et præfixa die electionis, etiam ex Abbatibus, si quos domus illa genuit, advocentur, et consilio et voluntate Patris Abbatis, Abbates et Monachi domus Abbatem eligant.

De domo Cistercii.¹⁷

Domui autem Cistercii, quia mater est omnium nostrum, dum proprio

¹⁴ He shall "fetch," or make a bow. "Veniae" are "inclinationes vel genuflexiones religiosorum, quæ Græcis μετάρσεις, quod ut plurimum in pœnitentiam injungi solent" (Ducange). The term is used of genuflecting at the sound of the sacring bell, Dist. III., cap. 25, where see note.

¹⁵ Here the same as *accusetur*, or

denunciatur (Nomast. 68).

¹⁶ A fourth reason for the title (Nomast. 68).

¹⁷ In the margin, in pale ink, "De Institutione Abbatis Cistercii per quatuor primos abbates, scilicet de Infirmitate (sic) de Claravalle, de Pontignaco, et Morimundo fienda."

Abbate caruerit, ⁱⁱⁱ^j^{or} primi Abbates, de Firmitate, de Pontiniaco, de Claravalle, de Morimundo, provideant, et super eos sit cura domus illius, donec in ea Abbas electus fuerit et constitutus. Ad electionem autem Cistercii Abbatis, præfixa et prænotata die, ad minus per quindecim dies, evocentur ex abbatibus quorum domus ex Cistercio exierunt, et ex aliis quos prædicti Abbates et Fratres Cistercii ydoneos noverint, et congregati in nomine Domini, abbates et monachi Cistercienses eligant Abbatem. Liceat autem cuicumque Matri Ecclesiæ Ordinis nostri non solum de monachis filiarum suarum Ecclesiarum, sed et de ipsis quoque Abbatibus eorum, libere sibi, si necesse fuerit, assumere Abbatem. Personam vero de Ordine alio, nulla de nostris Ecclesiis sibi eligat in Abbatem, sicut necstrarum aliquam licet Monasteriis quæ non sunt de Ordini nostro, dari.

De abbate volente dimittere domum suam.

Si aliquis Abbas pro inutilitate vel pro pusillanimitate sua a Patre suo Abbate Domus illius de qua Domus sua exivit, postulaverit ut ab onere Abbatæ suo relaxetur, caveat ille ne facile ei sine rationabili causa et multum necessaria adquiescat. Sed etsi tanta fuerit necessitas, nichil inde per se faciat, sed, convocatis aliquibus Abbatibus aliis Ordinis nostri, eorum consilio agat quod pariter noverint oportere.

De Abbate contemptore Sanctæ Regulæ.

Si quis vero Abbatum contemptor sanctæ Regulæ aut Ordinis esse prævaricator, vel commissorum sibi Fratrum viciis consensiens innotuerit, Abbas Matris ¹⁸ Ecclesiæ per seipsum vel per Priorem suum, aut quomodo oportunius potuerit, de emendatione eum admoneat usque quater. Quod si nec ita correptus fuerit, nec sponte cedere voluerit, congregato aliquanto Abbatum numero nostræ congregacionis; transgressorem sanctæ Regulæ ab officio suo amoveant, ac deinceps alter qui dignus sit, consilio et voluntate majoris Abbatis, a Monachis illius Ecclesiæ simul et ab abbatibus, si qui ad eam pertinent, sicut supradictum est, eligatur. Si autem is qui deponitur, aut Monachi ejus, quod Deus avertat, contumaces et rebelles esse voluerint, ut sententiis minime adquiescant, ab ipso Abbate Matris Ecclesiæ et a cæteris Coabbatibus ejus excommunicationi subdantur, ac deinceps coherceantur ab eo prout potuerit et cognoverit expedire. Ex hoc sane si quis illorum ad se reversus de morte animæ suæ resurgere, et ad Matrem suam redire voluerit, tanquam filius pœnitens recipiatur. Nam sine causa hac, multo studio devitanda, nullus Abbas Monachum alterius cujuscunque Abbatis Ordinis nostri sine ejus assensu retineat. Nullus in domum alterius cujuslibet, sine ejus voluntate suos ad habitandum Monachos introducat.

De Cistercio, si languescat in observatione ordinis. ¹⁹

Eodem modo si forte, quod absit, Abbates Ordinis nostri Matrem nostram Cisterciensem Ecclesiam in sancto proposito languescere, et in observacione Regulæ vel Ordinis nostri exorbitare cognoverint, Abbatem

¹⁸ So "Guignard." But the "Nomasticon" reads "Majoris," and says in a note that we are to understand the Father Abbot, or the Abbot of that house from which the other sprang.

¹⁹ In margin, in pale ink, "Quomodo

Abbas Cistercii per ipsos primos quatuor abbates potest deponi sicut alius abbas a Patre suo Abbate, suis exigentibus demeritis," and a little below, "Quod Capitulum Generale alio in loco quam in Cistercio potest teneri aut celebrari."

ejusdem loci per quatuor primos Abbates, scilicet de Firmitate, de Pontineaco, de Claravalle, et de Morimundo, sub cæterorum Abbatum nomine usque quater, ut corrigatur ipse, et alios corrigere curet, admoneant, et cætera quæ de aliis dicta sunt. Abbatibus si incorrigibiles apparuerint, circa eum studiose adimpleant, excepto quod si sponte cedere noluerit, nec deponere nec contumaci dicere anathema poterunt, donec in Capitulo Generali. Aut si forte illud jam visum fuerit expectari non posse, in Conventu alio convocatis Abbatibus qui de Cistercio exierunt, et aliquibus aliorum, virum inutilem ab officio suo deponant, et tam ipsi quam Monachi Cistercienses ydoneum Abbatem eligere studeant. Quod si Abbas ille et Monachi Cistercienses contumaciter recalcitrare voluerint, gladio excommunicationis eos ferire minime vereantur. Postea vero si quis horum prævaricatorum tandem resipiscens, et animam suam salvare cupiens, ad quamlibet nostrarum iiij^{or} ecclesiarum, seu ad Firmitatem, seu ad Pontineacum, seu ad Claravallē, seu ad Morimundum confugerit; sicut domesticus et cohæres Ecclesiæ cum regulari satisfactione recipiatur; quoadusque propriæ Ecclesiæ, sicut justum fuerit, reconciliatus quandoque reddatur. Interim autem annum Abbatum Capitulum non apud Cistercium, sed ubicunque a iiij^{or} supra nominatis Abbatibus prævisum fuerit, celebretur.

Incipiunt prænotationes subsequentium distinctionum.

Ut de facile quod quærit lector inveniatur, diligenter attendat subsequentium distinctionum institutionem, distinctiones quindecim esse, quarum singulæ proprias habent prænotationes, quibus invenitur unde tractent. Videat igitur ad quam pertinet distinctionem id quod quæritur, et, notato capitulorum numero, celeriter poterit invenire. Et, licet in capitibus singularum distinctionum suæ sint prænotationes posita, nichilominus tamen hic eas dignum duximus prænotandas, ne lectores per singulas oporteat evagari.²⁰ Prima igitur distinctio agit de abbati construenda, utensilibus, ornamentis, et aliis ædificiis. Secunda, de Dedicationibus, Ordinationibus, et Benedictionibus. Tercia, de Divino Officio. Quarta, de Immunitatibus, Privilegiis, et Indulgentiis. Quinta, de Generali Capitulo, et pertinentibus ad ipsum. Sexta, de Cotidiano Capitulo et correptione culparum. Septima, de Visitationibus, Electionibus, et Degradationibus. Octava, de operariis et officialibus. Nona, de hiis qui sunt in via. Decima, de hiis quos licet recipere vivos et mortuos. Undecima, de rebus quas licet habere, dare, commodare, aut, si liceat, fidejubere. Duodecima, de venditione et emptione. Tercia-decima, de victu et vestitu. Quartadecima, de Conversis. Quinta-decima, de Monialibus.

INCIPIUNT CAPITULA PRIMÆ DISTINCTIONIS.

1. De Cœnobiis, ubi construantur, et Ecclesiis, in cujus honore dedicantur.
2. De turribus lapideis ad campanas.
3. De fenestris Ecclesiæ.
4. De superfluitatibus et curiositatibus cavendis.
5. De Abbaciis non fundandis sine consensu Capituli Generalis.
6. De numero monachorum ad nova cœnobia mittendorum.

²⁰ This is something like the title to the "Rules called the Pie," which informs us that they were drawn up "ne quis-

quam, quod absit, dicat, Erravi sicut ovis quæ periit." (Pica Sarum, 1501.)

7. De vestibus et ornamentis Ecclesiæ, et hostiis.
8. De capis sericis.
9. De crucibus et reliquiis, et lampade Oratorii.
10. De lumine ante Altare propter festum alicujus Sancti.
11. De libris juris, et nova librorum expositione.
12. De Campania, et quomodo pulsantur.
13. De distancia Abbaciarum et Grangiarum.
14. De Cœmiteriis, ne habeantur in Grangiis.
15. De stabulis equorum, et domibus extra portam.

*Incipit correctio et ordinatio diffinitionum capituli generalis, edita anno domini M^o CC^o quinquagesimo sexto.*²¹

Incipit prima distinctio, quæ agit de Abacia construendo, et Ecclesia, et utensilibus suis, ornamentis, Grangiis et aliis Ædificiis.

I.—De Cœnobiis, ubi construantur, et Ecclesiis, in cujus honore dedicentur.

In civitatibus, castellis, villis, nulla nostra construenda sunt Cœnobia, sed in locis a conversatione hominum semotis,²² omnesque Ecclesiæ Ordinis nostri in honore Beatæ Mariæ dedicentur et fundentur.²³

II.—De turribus lapideis ad campanas.

Turres lapideæ ad campanas non fiant, nec lignæ altitudinis immoderatæ, quæ ordinis dedeçant simplicitem.²⁴

III.—De vitreis ecclesiæ.

Vitreæ albæ tantum fiant,²⁵ exceptis Abbaciis quæ alterius ordinis fuerunt, quæ aliter factas tempore suæ conversionis poterunt retinere.

²¹ This must mean that we have here the Statutes of 1256, with additions and alterations made in some later General Chapters. The most important of these will be pointed out as they occur. They are generally in the direction of greater laxity, or luxury, or splendour, or are connected with new festivals.

²² Such was Cîteaux (Newman, ch. v.). One reason why Cistercian abbeys are often so well preserved is, that they are commonly too far from towns to serve as quarries. The preference shown by different religious orders as to sites is expressed in the lines:

"Oppida Franciscus, magnas Ignatius
urbes,
Bernardus valles, montes Benedictus
amabat."

The Benedictines seem not to have affected hills particularly in England, but as a matter of fact many of the Benedictine houses were reared on earlier foundations.

²³ The Statutes of 1134 give the reason. "Quia antecessores nostri et patres de ecclesia Molismensi quæ in honore est Beatæ Mariæ ad Cisterciensem locum unde et nos exorti sumus primitus venerunt, iccirco decernimus ut omnes ecclesiæ nostræ ac successorum nostrorum in memoria ejusdem cœli et terræ reginæ Sanctæ Mariæ fundentur ac dedicentur."

Guignard, 254; Nomast., 252, 498. On Cistercian devotion to St. Mary, see Newman, pp. 55, 56.

²⁴ Such great towers as those of Fountains, Furness, and Kirkstall, were built or heightened in the 15th and early in the 16th century, when the early rigour of the Order had become relaxed. That of Furness was never finished.

²⁵ The original white glazing of the windows at Aubazine has come down to our time, and is portrayed by M. R. Bordeaux in his work on the restoration of churches (Walcott; Cleeve Abbey, p. 105, n. 2). But painted glass became quite usual in Cistercian abbeys, and the splendid 16th century windows, now in the Lady Chapel at Lichfield, came from Herckenrode. The vast perpendicular windows at Fountains and elsewhere were no doubt intended for painted glass, fragments of which have been found in diggings at Cleeve, Newminster, etc. For Merevale, see Monast., v. 484. At Altenberg, near Cologne, is a quantity of 14th century Cistercian glass *in situ*, of the kind called *grisaille*, i.e. ornamental glazing of grey or "white" glass, in which a little colour is used. For examples of patterns in "white" glass only, see Viollet-le-duc's Dictionary of Architecture, s. v. *Vitrail*.

(To be continued.)

MAIDEN'S BOWER, NEAR TOPCLIFFE.

By T. CARTER MITCHELL.

ABOUT a mile below Topcliffe Bridge the river Swale is joined on its eastern bank by the smaller river Codbeck. This stream, rising among the Hambleton Hills, not far from Mount Grace Priory, flows through the town of Thirsk, and empties itself into the Swale some six miles above the junction of that river with the Ure, at the memorable battlefield of Myton. The Swale, and the Codbeck, approaching each other at an acute angle, enclose between them a long narrow strip of land, to which, on the one side, and on the other, they form a strong natural defence. From the village of Topcliffe runs a perfectly straight lane, called Winn Lane,¹ which leads towards the junction of the two rivers. The lane, which is about 1000 yards long, terminates in a grass field, which goes by the name of Manor Wood. In this field stood Cock Lodge,² a manor-house of the earls of Northumberland. This was one of the Yorkshire seats of the Percy family, Wressel and Leaconfield being the other two. Leland describes it as "a goodly maner house yn a Parke," and also mentions an outer park attached to the manor, "6 or 7 miles in cumpace and well wooddid." There are no ruins on the site of this manor-house, nor can any buildings be found in the neighbourhood which have been built with stones taken from such a ruin. Hence it is probable that the house was not constructed wholly of stone, but to a great extent of timber,³ as was the case with many of the old mansions. Still, without doubt, it was a place of some strength. A large quadrangular

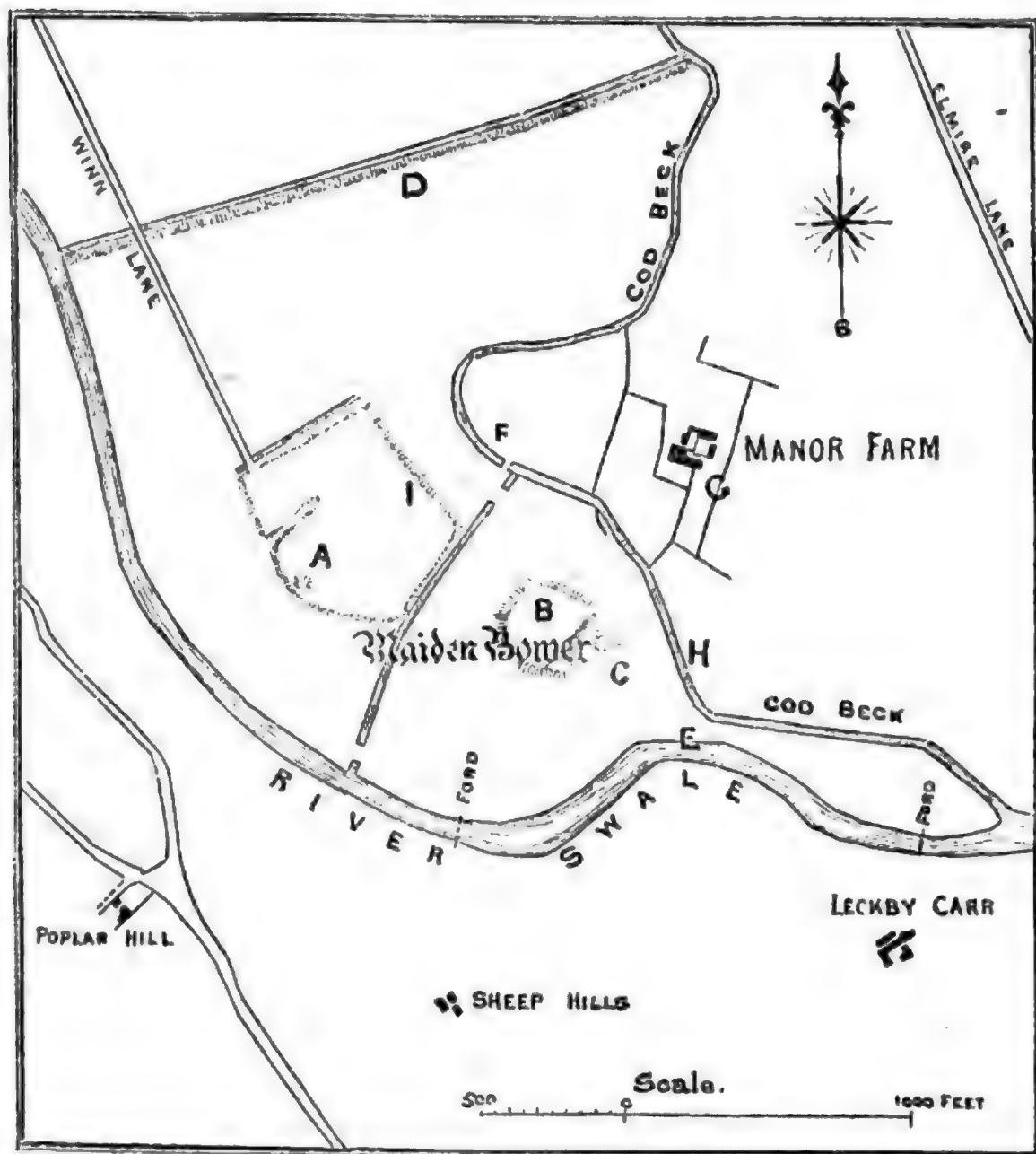
¹ Winn, probably from the British word *wen*, a hill, because it led to the hill called Maiden's Bower.

² Possibly the original name was Coed-lodge; it is called in Bolton's Extinct

Peerage, published in 1769, Coxwall.

³ According to Leland, the residences of the Percys at Wressel and Leaconfield were both built partly of timber.

enclosure occupies nearly all the field. The most exposed side, that which looks towards the village of Topcliffe, is defended by a deep moat ;⁴ a similar ditch runs parallel to



A. Site of Cook Lodge (supposed Roman Camp).
B. British Camp.

C. Maiden's Bower.
D. Outer Ditch.
E. British Remains found.

F. Bridge.
G. Farm.
H. Remains of Old Bridge.

it at the opposite end of the field, protecting that side of the square. The other two faces of the square are guarded by a wall of earth running along the top of a scarp formed from the bank of the natural hill on which the whole

⁴ In this moat, which is now dry, I have lately found some coarse pottery, a horse-shoe of antiquated form, and several portions of a buck's antler.

enclosure stands. That to the east overhangs the Codbeck, which flows within a stone's throw of it, while the one to the west has beneath it the river Swale, a strip of low ground, about 100 yards in width, intervening between the hill and the river. Within the enclosure are several mounds and ditches. Nearer to the village of Topcliffe an outer ditch may still be seen running from river to river, crossing Winn Lane at right angles, and distant about 300 yards from the main earthworks. This large square enclosure which I have described has much the appearance of an old Roman camp; indeed it is quite possible that the manor-house was built on the site of such a camp.⁵ The old ditches and walls of earth would make it an easy thing to fortify a house built in such a spot. On the opposite side of the Codbeck, over which there is here a bridge, stands the Manor Farm, a comparatively modern building. In the orchard of the farm the foundations of old walls can be traced, and the grass is raised into a kind of terrace. Some of these foundations were lately exposed on a drain being cut in the orchard. There is a tradition that the stables of the old manor-house stood here. The fourth earl of Northumberland, who at Bosworth Field, by keeping that division of King Richard's army which he commanded from going into action, had greatly helped Henry VII. to win the battle, was, in consequence of the avarice of that first of a line of tyrants, murdered here at Cock Lodge. For the purpose of carrying on the unpopular war in Brittany, Henry had imposed on the people of England an exorbitant tax. Northumberland was ordered to enforce the payment of this tax, and specially directed by the king not to remit one penny of it. This harshness brought on the earl the anger of the people. The "melancholy Northumberland," as Shakspeare calls him, seems to have delivered the king's message in an ungracious manner to the men of Yorkshire and Durham, who had gathered together in large numbers, for the purpose of protesting against the tax. They became so enraged that they took Cock Lodge by storm, cut down those servants who in vain tried to protect their master, and cruelly murdered the earl. This tragedy occurred on the feast of S. Vitalis, April 28th, 1489. Skelton, the poet-

⁵ A human jaw-bone and a black hammer-stone, the surface of which is partially calcined by fire, were lately dug

out of the embankment facing the Codbeck.

laureate, a contemporary of the earl's, thus describes his death :

"He was envyrunde aboute on every syde ;
 With his enemys that were stark mad and wode ;
 Yet whils he stode he gave them woundes wyde,
 Alas, for routhe ! what thouche his mynde were goode,
 His courage manly ; yet there he shed his bloode,
 All left alone, alas ! he fawte in vayne ;
 For cruelly amonge them ther he was slayne."

Northumberland seems to have anticipated the danger, for, as we learn from Grainge's "Forest of Knaresborough," he, on the 24th of April, wrote a pressing note to Sir Robert Plumpton, of Plumpton, entreating him to march with his nephew, Sir William Gascoigne, with such armed followers as he could trust, to the town of Thirsk, on the Monday following the date thereof. Sir Robert obeyed the summons, and led the foresters to the assistance of his superior lord, but not in time to prevent the massacre of the earl by the enraged populace, at his manor of Topcliffe, four days after the letter was written. Local tradition tells how the earl had addressed the assembled people from the market cross⁶ at Topcliffe, and had delivered the king's stern message to the rioters, when, perceiving that the angry mob was about to attack him, he mounted his horse, galloped down Winn Lane, and with great difficulty reached his home, having been nearly pulled from his saddle on the way. There is a tradition also which says that a servant of Northumberland, one Gibson, betrayed him to the mob, but it also adds that the said Gibson did not escape punishment, being run through and pinned to the wall by some of the earl's friends. Stern vengeance fell also on the murderers, for shortly afterwards they were defeated by Thomas, Earl of Surrey, and their leader, John-a-Chambre, with many of the rioters, hung at York. The burial of the murdered earl seems to have been a marvel of funereal pageantry. From his home at Topcliffe, to his grave in Beverley Minster, his body carried on a most costly hearse, was escorted by a crowd of followers. In the procession rode 12 noblemen, 20 gentlewomen, 60 squires and gentlemen, 160 mourners in black gowns, 500 priests, and 1000 other churchmen, with a multitude of torch-bearers and other followers. Hundreds of banners displayed the arms of the Percy family, and of the great families with which the Percys had intermarried.

⁶ The pedestal of this cross is still standing, but in a state of disgraceful neglect.

Some idea of the number of coats of arms which would be borne on banner-rolls at this funeral may be gained from a passage which Burke quotes on the subject: "The Percy family stands pre-eminent for the number and rank of the families which are represented by the present Duke of Northumberland, whose banner consequently exhibits an assemblage of nearly nine hundred armorial bearings." On its way to Beverley the funeral passed through Wressel and Leaconfield, at both of which places it rested. The Minster was hung with black cloth for the occasion. Alms were distributed to more than 13,000 poor people, who had come to Beverley to see the earl laid in his tomb. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth, Thomas Percy, Earl of Northumberland, and Charles Neville, Earl of Westmoreland, met at Cock Lodge, and there organised the plot by which they intended to release Mary, Queen of Scots, from prison, compel Queen Elizabeth to acknowledge her as heir to the throne, and to bring about, in England, the restoration of the old faith. From this place they corresponded with the Duke of Alba, who promised to assist them with troops and arms. Rumours of the conspiracy having reached Elizabeth, she summoned both Northumberland and Westmoreland to London; they did not obey the summons, but though the plot was still immature, took up arms. Eventually they were defeated; Westmoreland fled to Scotland,⁷ and took refuge with the Duke of Buccleugh, who enabled him to reach Flanders in safety. Northumberland was less fortunate. After having narrowly escaped capture at his house near Topcliffe, he too reached Scotland, but falling into the power of a Borderer, named Hecky Armstrong, he was delivered over to the Regent Morton, by whom he was sent back to England, and given up to Queen Elizabeth. He was condemned to death without trial, and was beheaded on a scaffold, erected for the purpose, in Pavement, at York. He died gallantly, with his last breath denying the spiritual supremacy of the queen. The Northumberland household book, which was compiled by order of the fifth earl, at the beginning of the 16th century, gives a most interesting insight into the domestic arrangements of a noble family of that period. Among other things, we learn from it that it was the custom of the earl to divide his time between his three

⁷ Westmoreland is said to have baffled his pursuers by riding a horse which had had its shoes reversed.

Yorkshire residences, "Wrysel, Leckenfield, and Topclyffe, moving from one to the other, with all his household furniture. The old house at Topcliffe must have been at those times a busy place, as the "Household Book" orders that provision should be made daily for a family of 166 masters and servants, and for 57 strangers. Thus during part of the year no less than 223 persons occupied the earl's house at Topcliffe as a regular thing. To one standing among the grassy hillocks which now alone remain to point out the site of the old Topcliffe manor-house, it is very hard to realize that this lonely quiet field was, but a few generations back, the home of the great house of Percy; a race whose power, energy, and gallantry kept them for centuries in the foremost rank of English noblemen. Instead of the crowd of servants and men-at-arms with which the place was thronged in former days, now perhaps a labourer may pass on his way from work, or a chance fisherman be seen standing by the side of the river. Instead of the shouts of fighting men, the clash of swords, and the shrieking of frightened women, nothing now breaks the silence but the browsing of the cattle in the long grass, or the cry of the peewit as it flies in circles overhead. Time has so altered the place that these scenes of violence, conspiracy, and magnificent pageantry seem, not what they were, deeds of real life, but rather the work of a band of players, who, finding in this solitude "a marvellous convenient spot for their rehearsal," made "this green plot their stage, this hawthorn-brake their tiring house." Near the earthworks which I have been describing, in fact within less than 100 yards of them at the nearest point, are others of still greater antiquity. They are situated towards the south-east, in the grass-field which is at the extreme end of the neck of land enclosed between the Swale and the Codbeck. They consist of two distinct objects of interest. That which lies nearest to Topcliffe is an embankment, nearly circular in shape, enclosing a plot of level ground about 80 yards in diameter. There is very little doubt that this has been a British camp, or fortified village. The other object is a remarkable artificial hill, called Maiden's Bower, conical in shape, and divided into seven terraces by a path which winds round it in a spiral direction,

"As vast a mound
As after furious battle turfs the slain,
On some wild down above the windy deep."

This large mound has, however, very little resemblance to an ordinary sepulchral tumulus; and it certainly has not been constructed as a defence to the camp on which it abuts, as it is not calculated to strengthen the place, but would rather be a source of weakness in the event of an attack on the position. I think that there are very strong reasons for believing that this mound was constructed by the Britons for religious purposes, and used in the worship of Vel or Bel, the god of fire, the Baal of the Bible. It is well known that the cultus of this god was introduced into the island by the Phœnicians, and that it held a conspicuous place in the religious rites of the Britons. From this fact Britain derived the Celtic name⁸ "Vel Ynys," the Island of Bel. There are places in this country called after Bel or Baal, as for instance Belsa~~...~~mildon; showing the prevalence of Baal-worship in Britain. One of the townships in the parish of Topcliffe is called Baldersby, which is a name of similar origin, but of Scandinavian form. The northern Baldr, the Phœnician Baal, and the Greek Apollôn all personify the same mythological idea, the worship of the author of light, and its associated warmth, the sources of the life and beauty of the world; a worship naturally transferred to the sun, moon, stars, and other forms of fire. One strong reason for believing that this hill was dedicated to the worship of Bel, or Baal, is the fact that temples of that god were constructed, like Maiden's Bower, in a succession of seven terraces. Herodotus⁹ says that at Babylon there was a temple of Belus, of this form. He makes the number of steps eight, but in this computation the level ground on which the mound was built is probably counted as one. There is also an artificial hill near the site of the ancient Nineveh, which consists of seven terraces. It now goes by the name of "Birs Nimroud," and is believed to have been a temple of Belus. The material of which it is composed is a rough kind of brickwork, cemented in places with bitumen. This arrangement in seven terraces, seen in these temples of the Fire-god, has reference to the number of the heavenly bodies which were especial objects of worship, that is to say, the sun, the moon, and the five planets then known. According to Josephus, the seven lights on the great candlestick of the Tabernacle also represented these

⁸ Davies' Celtic Researches.⁹ Clio, sec. 181.

seven luminaries.¹⁰ I think that I shall be able to show that the name "Maiden's Bower" indicates a connection with the worship of the planets. The meaning of the word maiden,¹¹ as met with in many place-names, has been the object of much discussion among antiquaries.¹² Some have derived it from the Celtic word "meadhon," which means middle, or central; others give the word a Saxon derivation, tracing it to "mægen," power, military strength. Again, the Cymric word "madiain," splendid, has been supposed to have been its origin. I think that in the Celtic word "merddin"¹³ we have the real derivation of the disputed word. We learn from the British triads that one of the earliest names of this island was "Clâs Merdin," the Garden of Merdin. This name Merdin or Merlin, which has been conferred on some of the old bards, was originally a mythological term, and implied the evening star or Hesperus. Tennyson alludes to this meaning, when he says of Vivian—

"She called him lord and liege,
Her seer, her bard, her silver star of eve,
Her God, her Merlin."

Clâs Merdin, the name given to this country when first inhabited, means, therefore, the Garden of Hesperus, a name which at once suggests the "Garden of the Hesperides," where, according to the Theogony of Hesiod, written 2,800 years ago, the Daughters of Night guarded the golden apples, in their far-off western islands. Were not these golden apples the setting planets, seen in their fullest splendour when hanging over the western horizon? And in the old-world story of Paris awarding the golden apple to Venus, as the most beautiful of the contending goddesses, is not a poet telling us that when

"the floor of Heaven
Is thick inlaid with patines of bright gold"

Venus, the evening star, is the largest, brightest, and most beautiful of them all. The word "bower" may be derived

¹⁰ The number Seven seems to have been, from very early times, associated in men's minds with the religious idea. The Sanscrit word for this number, *saptan*, from which the Latin *septem*, the O. E. *seofon*, the English *seven*, as well as some corresponding words in other languages originate, sprang from the

primitive root *sap*, to worship.—Haigh's "Yorkshire Dialects."

¹¹ These places are nearly all situated in the neighbourhood of British and Roman remains.

¹² Notes and Queries, vol. ii. 1880.

¹³ Celtic Researches, by Edward Davies.

from the Celtic "bwr," an enclosure, but a more likely origin still is "bar," another Celtic word, which is explained by Davies thus : ¹⁴ "Bar, whence bardd is derived, signifies a relatively high situation."

I would therefore suggest that Maiden's Bower was originally Merddin Bar, and that it means "the high-place of the evening star." The British word for a wood was "coed," and there is little doubt that the name Codbeck, that of the stream which runs at the foot of Maiden's Bower, is derived from this word, "coed." A few old hollow trees are to be seen at the base of Maiden's Bower, and on the summit grow several fir-trees, but these are not particularly old. The suggestions which I have advanced as to the name of Maiden's Bower, and as to the purpose for which it was constructed, are hypothetical, but a discovery which I made in the summer of 1878 enables me to state with certainty, that the place which I have been describing was much frequented by the Britons, if not regularly occupied by them. About 40 yards of the bank of the Swale had been carried away by the river, leaving an almost perpendicular section of the bank exposed at a part where the surface of the field is about 12 or 13 ft. above the summer level of the river. My attention was directed to this place by finding a flint chip, which had evidently been exposed to the action of fire. I searched about, and discovered that along nearly the whole face of the exposed part of the river-bank, at a depth of 10 ft. below the present level of the grass-field, the soil was reddened by fire, and contained a quantity of charcoal. Most of the fires seem to have been made on a bed of boulder clay, which underlies some 10 ft. of river-silt. I have found here, at various times during the last six years, a number of flint chips, most of which, by the "bulb of percussion" on them, have evidently been struck off in the manufacture of arrow-heads, or celts. Though the river has during the six years eaten by degrees much further into the land, the same appearance of charcoal and burnt clay is visible, and on one occasion lately I found as many as five chips, which had been recently washed out. I have met with one small piece of light-coloured unglazed pottery. The most interesting find, however, which I have made was that of two paved hearths circular in shape, and about 2 ft.

¹⁴ Celtic Researches, Appendix.

in diameter. One of these was made of rounded pebbles from the drift, and the other of angular pieces of stone. Both alike had the stones of which they were composed much discoloured by fire. I am of the opinion that they were used for the purpose of cooking, and not merely as places on which to build fires, as the clay in which the stones were laid would have answered the latter purpose quite as well. I fancy that after the stone-hearths had been made hot by a fire being lighted on them, the ashes were swept off, and the hot stones used as a kind of oven to bake the food which would be laid on them, and covered over to retain the heat. Among the numerous fragments of charcoal which I have met with, I came across a half-burned piece of lignite, such as may be found, in this neighbourhood, in the drift formed from the *débris* of the lias rock. This shows that the use of mineral coal was not unknown when these fires were made. The chips which I have, from time to time, found are derived from four different kinds of stone. The majority consist of the light-coloured cherty flint common in Yorkshire; a few of blacker flint, more like that found in the south country chalk; one or two I found which had been struck off a perfectly black lustreless stone, which looks like hornstone; the fourth kind are made from a clear brown flint, a stone which, I believe, is not found *in situ* in England, but is met with in the drift on the East coast, having been conveyed thither by glacial action from Scandinavia.

The piece of pottery which was found with them proves that the flints are not palæolithic,¹⁵ but whether they belong to the neolithic or bronze periods, there is nothing to indicate. It is quite impossible to say how long these remains of a former race have been buried, but the accumulation of 10 ft. of soil over them shows that a very long period of time must have elapsed since those fires were alight, and since here by the riverside.

" the ancient arrowmaker
Made his arrowheads of sandstone,
Arrowheads of chalcedony,
Arrowheads of flint and jasper,
Smoothed and sharpened at the edges,
Hard and polished, keen and costly."

¹⁵ Dawkins, *Early Man in Britain*.

COLLECTIONS ON BRIEFS IN THE PARISH OF KIRK SANDALL, NEAR DONCASTER.

1702—1744.

By F. ROYSTON FAIRBANK, M.D., Doncaster.

THIS series is given in continuation of one in Vol. VII., from the register of the parish of High Melton near Doncaster.

ENTERED IN THE FIRST REGISTER :—

1702. Towcester Brief, 6 April, by Jo. Holme, cur^t, ibid., and
Jame Walker and William Winn, churchwardens . 0 2 0

1707.

North Marston, 27 April, by Tho. Bosvil, minister; same
wardens 0 2 10
Shire Lane, at Parish Church, 18 May 0 3 0
Jo. Holme, minister; Tho. Mole and Tho. Wilson, wardens.
Joseph Wakelin, at ye church, 15 June 0 1 6½
Same wardens.
Broseley, at ye church, 29 June 0 1 2
Littleport do. 24 Aug. 0 1 4
Spilsby do. 31 Aug 0 2 1
Dursley Church, do. 0 1 5½
Orford Church, do. 26 Oct. 0 1 3½
Heavitree do. 16 Nov. 0 1 2½
Southam do. 30 Nov. 0 1 3

1707½.

Shadwell do. 14 March, 1707½ 0 1 3
Charles Street, do. 28 March, 1707 0 1 4

1708.

Ye Protestant Church of Oberbarman in ye Dutchy of Berg,
ditto, 25 April 0 0 10
Lisburne's brief, do. 6 June 0 1 10
James Walker, Josiah Box, ch.-wardens.
Alconbury do. 20 June 0 1 1
Bewdley do. 1 Aug. 0 1 6
Great Yarmouth, do. 26 Sep. 0 1 5
Wincanton do. 29 Aug. 0 1 3
Woodhurst do. 3 Oct. 0 2 2

At the top of the next page, partly cut away :—
Collect upon ye brief of ye head of ye Cannongate, Cambridge (?).

Ye brief of the Strand 0 1 2

Briefs received July 2, 1716.

Thames Street	}	0	3	2
Jo. Aron		0	2	6
Spalding		0	5	6
Upton and Tensford		0	1	0
Burton in Lancaster		0	0	0

Briefs received, Nov. 4, 1716.

Ottery in devonsh.	}	0	1	8½
Hounds Ditch		0	1	10
Chelmarsh and Ryton		0	0	9½
Ridgmont in Bedford		0	0	0
Reformed Churches in Poland and Polish Russia		0	12	2

Given in at ye visitat. May 27, 1717.

Briefs delivered in at donc. visit., May ye 27, 1717.

Recd. ye Visit., May 27, 1717.

Great Bedwin (?)	0	1	6
Frampton	0	1	3
Benenden	0	1	6
Helthwaite Hill	0	1	2
Harstofts	0	1	3
Oldbury	0	1	0½

Recd. Jan. 19, 1717½.

Ellingham	0	1	2
Arnold	0	1	3
Butley (?)	0	1	2
Wensley (?)	0	0	10

Recd. at ye Visit., May 12, 1718.

Ashborne and Mappleton	0	1	8
Newland and Chepping Wiccombe	0	0	11
Penreth	0	0	9
St. Mary Newington	0	0	8
Chenington	0	1	3
Grindon	0	0	10
Sherriff hales	0	1	8
Wilcot	0	1	0
Little St. Andrews	0	1	4
Arely Church	0	1	0
Dolgelly Church	0	1	0

1733, June 18.

Scremby Church, coll. June 24	0	0	10
Whitfield, fire July 15	0	0	8
Mitchel Dean Church Aug. 5	0	0	6

Jan. 13.

Maddington, fire Jan. 13	0	0	6
Conington Church do.	0	0	6
North Stoneham, fire Jan. 27	0	0	6
Monmouth Church do.	0	0	6

April 7.

Erch font, fire	Apr. 7	.	.	.	.	.	.	0	0	6
Red Marby. &c. (1), Churches, do.		.	.	.	.	.	.	0	0	7
Christleton Church	do. 21.	.	.	.	.	.	.	0	0	6
Guilden Morden	do.	.	.	.	.	.	.	0	0	6
Rufford Chapel	May 5	.	.	.	.	.	.	0	0	7
Aylesbury, fire	do.	.	.	.	.	.	.	0	0	7

1739, June 10.

Fenn Stanton, fire	June 10	.	.	.	.	.	.	0	1	2
Bobt and Villar, inundation, June 20, house to house		.	.	.	.	.	.	0	3	1
Marchington Church	June 24	.	.	.	.	.	.	0	0	10
Stondon, hailstorm	July 5, house to house	.	.	.	.	.	.	0	2	8
Dorchester Church	July 22	.	.	.	.	.	.	0	0	11

*1740.**Briefs received Jan. 25.*

Foulness, inundation.	Prest Would Church.
Cromer, fire.	Congleton Church.
Bascot, fire.	Heapey Church.

Returned at Visit., June 8, 1741.

1741, Jan. 8.

St. Andrew's Church	Sept. 6	.	.	.	.	.	.	0	0	11
Marrick, fire	Sept. 13	.	.	.	.	.	.	0	0	9
Thimbleby Church	Sept. 27	.	.	.	.	.	.	0	1	6
S. John, Wapping, fire	Oct. 11	.	.	.	.	.	.	0	1	0
Waters Upton Church	Oct. 25	.	.	.	.	.	.	0	0	11

Returned at ye Visitation.

1742, April 1.

Oyster dredgers, frost	Apr. 28	.	.	.	.	.	.	0	2	10
Polesworth Church	Apr. 4	.	.	.	.	.	.	0	1	1
Trinity Church, Church	May 25	.	.	.	.	.	.	0	0	10
Wenlock Church	Apr. 11	.	.	.	.	.	.	0	1	2
Sleap, fire	Apr. 25	.	.	.	.	.	.	0	0	9
Marsh Gibbon, fire	May 9	.	.	.	.	.	.	0	3	0

For the propagation of the Gospel in foreign parts. Returned, July 3, 1742.

Rec. Feb. 13, 1742.

Lanhasa Church	Febr. 13	.	.	.	.	.	.	0	1	1
Altcarr Church	Febr. 27	.	.	.	.	.	.	0	1	2
Lower Wallop, fire	Mar. 3	.	.	.	.	.	.
Stogumber, fire	Mar. 13	.	.	.	.	.	.
Chilton, fire	Mar. 27	.	.	.	.	.	.
Formby Chapel	Apr. 3	.	.	.	.	.	.

FROM THE SECOND REGISTER. SMALL FOLIO.

Briefs recd. 1774.

Sheepwash, fire.	Barrow Church.
Rosthern Church.	Buckeroll, loss by fire.
Bryers—Salford—Stretton, fire.	Eynsford, loss by fire.
Bewdley Chappel.	Harthall, Wood Hall, loss by hail-
Tretherwerne, &c., flood.	storm.
Aswardby Church.	Hallingsbrough Church.

1745. Copied, Oct., 1883.

Notes.

[The Council have decided to reserve a small space in each Number of the Journal for notices of Finds and other discoveries; it is hoped that Members will assist in making this a record of all the matters of archaeological interest which may from time to time be brought to light in this large county.]

XXII.

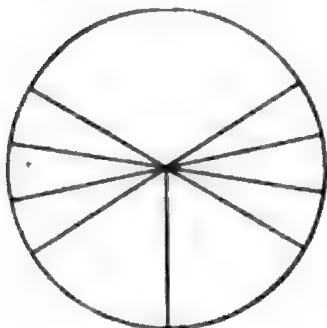
I HAVE recently found a very remarkable celt, at least I have never before seen or read of one so large. It was found among some bricks and stones, which formed part of an old 16th-century house, once the residence of the Darrells of Sessay. It is a neolithic celt, of oval form, well and carefully shaped, perfect, except in having a chip broken out of the cutting-edge, and is $14\frac{1}{2}$ in. long, 12 in. wide, and $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. in thickness, and weighs 32 lbs. It is shaped from a very heavy piece of argillaceous limestone, of a blueish slate colour, probably ironstone from the Middle Lias. At first I could not conceive how so large and heavy a celt could have been used. I have, however, come to the conclusion that it must have been fastened to the end of a pole, in the same manner as a spade is set on its handle, and probably used to fell trees by chopping the roots.

T. CARTER MITCHELL.

XXIII.

EARLY DIAL.

A DIAL has been discovered at the church of Monk Fryston, South Milford, on a stone worked in as a corner-stone of the south aisle, about $5\frac{1}{2}$ ft. from the ground. The circle is unusually small, being only about $4\frac{1}{4}$ in. in diameter. For many other dials of the same type, see *Yorkshire Archæological Journal*, vol. v. 134—222. For a description and excellent paper casts of the above, we are indebted to the Rev. R. E. H. Duke, curate of Monk Fryston.



J. T. F.

XXIV.

DISCOVERY OF STONE AND FLINT WEAPONS AND OTHER
IMPLEMENTS NEAR HUDDERSFIELD.

IMPORTANT evidence of the occupation by the ancient Britons of the bleak moorland near the watershed between Yorkshire and Lancashire has recently come to light by the discovery of a large quantity of chipped flints and flint weapons, which were 'found buried under a bed of peat varying from three to nine feet thick, near Cupwith Hill, in the township of Marsden, in the parish of Huddersfield.

The articles found number more than thirty, and, like many met with in the Barrows on the Yorkshire Wolds, it is difficult to say of some of them whether they should be classed in the category of weapons or implements. The find includes one beautiful double-barbed arrow-point, resembling Fig. 29 in "British Barrows," p. 38; a large oval scraper, or skin flint, similar to Fig. 17; several "long" scrapers, like Fig. 18; two knives, fashioned like Fig. 21, one white flint, the other black; half a dozen arrow-points, of different formation; also several spear or javelin heads (imperfect), together with many flakes of flint, which may have been scrapers or used for skinning animals. But the most important find in this collection is a rudely-designed flint celt or battle-axe, weighing over five ounces. It is four-and-a-half inches long, and has clearly-marked evidences of having been worked, the head being rounded by chipping as if to fit in a socket, and although the cutting edge is blunt, it must have been a terrible weapon in a hand-to-hand encounter. The whole of the above are in my own possession, with the exception of the double-barbed arrow-head, and all have been gathered since the month of May last.

I have also found similar flints on March Hill (which is about two miles beyond Cupwith Hill, and nearer to Buckstones; all these places are marked on Sheet 88 of the One-Inch Ordnance Survey). They are mostly single-winged arrow-points, and I hear that some Rochdale antiquaries have gathered quite a harvest at the same place.

Of a different class is a weapon discovered about a month

ago, at a place not more than fifty yards from the entrance gates of Woodsome Hall, one of the seats of the Earl of Dartmouth. It is evidently a British celt or battle-axe, and is the only one of its class which has been found in the neighbourhood of Huddersfield. It is formed of a beautiful green stone, described by some as Cambrian, and weighs over nine ounces. It measures nearly five inches in length, and its cutting edge is a little over two inches.

I have also to record the discovery of a flint worked delicately at the edges, and exactly resembling Fig. 22, in "British Barrows," p. 39, which is described as a flint saw. This was found at Dalton, in the parish of Kirkheaton.

W. R. CROFT.

THE COUNTS OF EU, SOMETIME LORDS OF THE HONOUR OF TICKHILL.

By EDMOND CHESTER WATERS, B.A.

COUNTS OF EU OF THE FIRST HOUSE.

- I. 996—circa 1010 GEOFFREY OF BRIONNE, an illegitimate son of Richard I. Count of Normandy, was created Count of Eu in 996 by Count Richard II., and died circa 1010.
- II. temp. Count Rich. II. GILBERT OF BRIONNE, son and heir, was deposed circa 1016. He was ancestor of the House of Clare.

COUNTS OF EU OF THE SECOND HOUSE.

- III. Circ. 1018—circ. 1038. WILLIAM I. another illegitimate son of Richard I. Count of Normandy, died 4 Jan. circa 1038.
- IV. Circa 1038—1090 ... ROBERT, son and heir, died 1090.
- V. 1090—circ. 1098 ... WILLIAM II., son and heir, died circa 1098.
- VI. Circ. 1098—1139 ... HENRY I. son and heir, died 1139.
- VII. 1139—1170..... JOHN I. son and heir. Baron of Tickhill 1139—1141, died 1170.
- VIII. 1170—1183..... HENRY II. son and heir, died 1183.
- IX. 1183—1187..... RALPH I. son and heir, died 1187.
- X. 1187—1247..... ALICE, sister and heir, married 1187 Ralph de Lusignan, Sieur de Issoudon in Poitou, who became in her right Ralph II. Count of Eu, and died in May 1219. The Countess Alice held the Honour of Tickhill from 1214 till 1247. She died 11 Sept. 1247.

COUNTS OF EU OF THE HOUSE OF LUSIGNAN.

- X. 1187—1219..... RALPH II. husband of Countess Alice, Baron of Tickhill 1214—1219, died May 1219.
- XI. 1247—1248..... RALPH III. son and heir, a Frenchman, died in 1248.
- XII. 1248—circ. 1252. MARY, daughter and heir, married in 1248 Alfonso de Brienne, son of John King of Jerusalem, who became in her right Count of Eu. She died circa 1252.

COUNTS OF EU OF THE HOUSE OF BRIENNE.

- XII. 1248—1270. ALFONSO, husband of Countess Mary. Chamberlain of France. He claimed in 1259 the Honours of Tickhill and Hastings, and died 25 Aug. 1270.
- XIII. 1252—1294. JOHN II. son and heir. He claimed without success in 1290 the Honours of Hastings and Tickhill, and died in 1294.
- XIV. 1294—1302. JOHN III. son and heir; Count of Guines in 1295 *jure uxoris*. Killed at the battle of Courtrai 11 July 1302.
- XV. 1302—1345. RALPH IV. son and heir, Count of Guines as heir of his mother in 1331; Constable of France 1332; had estates in England in right of his wife Jane, who was the co-heir of Geoffrey de Lusignan. He was accidentally killed at a tournament in Paris at the wedding of the Duke of Orleans 18 Jan. 1345.
- XVI. 1345—1350. RALPH V. son and heir; Constable of France. He was beheaded without trial 19 Nov. 1350, when the County of Eu was confiscated. His estates in England had been seized into the King's hands, when war was declared between England and France in 1344.

EARLS OF EU OF THE HOUSE OF BOURCHIER.

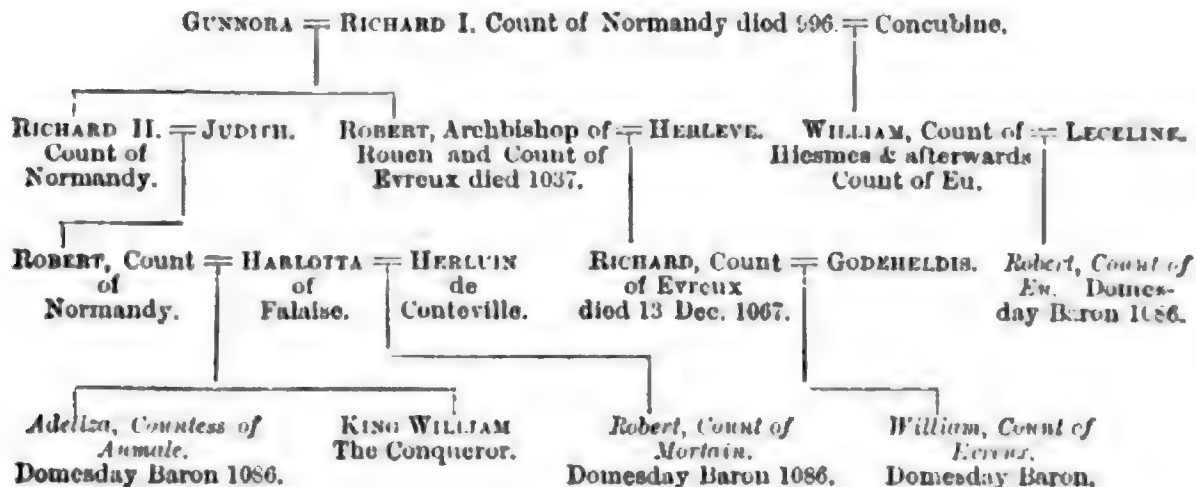
- I. 1419—1420. SIR WILLIAM BOURCHIER was created on 10 June 1419 Earl of Eu with remainder to the heirs male of his body by his wife Anne Countess of Stafford, and died 28 May 1420.
- II. 1420—1483. HENRY BOURCHIER, 2nd Earl of Eu, son and heir, was created Viscount Bouchier of Tickhill 14 Dec. 1446, and Earl of Essex 30 June 1461. He lost actual possession of the County of Eu until 1450, when the English were driven out of Normandy, and died 4 April 1483.

- III. 1483—1540. HENRY BOURCHIER II., grandson and heir; succeeded his grandfather as 3rd Earl of Eu and 2nd Earl of Essex. He died without male issue 13th March, 1540, when the Earldom of Essex became extinct, and the Earldom of Eu ought to have passed under the limitations of the original patent to his cousin John Bouchier 2nd Earl of Bath, the son and heir of John Bouchier 1st Earl of Bath, the son and heir of Fulke Bouchier Lord Fitz Warine, the son and heir of William Bouchier Lord Fitz Warine, who was the next brother of Henry 2nd Earl of Eu. But it seems that neither he nor his descendants ever styled themselves Earls of Eu.
- IV. 1540—1561. JOHN BOURCHIER, 2nd Earl of Bath, cousin and heir, succeeded *de jure* as 4th Earl of Eu in 1540, and died 20 March 1560—1.
- V. 1561—1623. WILLIAM BOURCHIER, grandson and heir, succeeded his grandfather as 5th Earl of Eu and 3rd Earl of Bath, died 12th July 1623.
- VI. 1623—1637. EDWARD BOURCHIER, 6th Earl of Eu and 4th Earl of Bath, son and heir. He died without male issue 2nd March 1636—7, when his cousin Henry Bouchier, the son and heir of Sir George Bouchier Kt. the 2nd son of John Bouchier 4th Earl of Eu and 2nd Earl of Bath, succeeded *de jure* to both Earldoms.
- VII. 1637—1654. HENRY BOURCHIER, 7th Earl of Eu and 5th Earl of Bath, cousin and heir, died without issue 15th Aug. 1654, when the male line of the descendants of William 1st Earl of Eu is believed to have become extinct.

ENGLISH Earls and foreign Counts are alike described as *Comites* in Latin Charters and Chronicles; so that *Comes* means an Earl on one side of the Channel and a Count on the other. But although *Comes* is the Latin for Earl, words are seldom translated without some loss of meaning, and *Comes* was a word of larger signification than its English equivalent. In its original meaning it was the title used to designate the officer who was deputed by the Emperor to administer justice within a certain district, and to levy the penal fines and amercoments. Such employments were as time went on gradually converted into hereditary dignities, and the Count of the 11th century was a great vassal under

the French King or the Roman Emperor, such as William of Normandy or Baldwin of Flanders, who held his territory by fealty, and saving the feudal obligations of homage, was an independent sovereign. In such States as Normandy, where the ruler was a Count, for William's proper style before he was crowned King of England was *Comes Normanniæ*, there were no Counts outside the pale of the reigning family, and nobles exercising heritable jurisdiction like English Earls were called Viscounts (*Vice Comites*). At the time of the conquest of England there were only four subjects in Normandy, who held the rank of Count, viz., the Counts of Eu and of Evreux, who were the descendants and representatives of younger sons of Count Richard I.; the Countess of Aumale, who was William the Conqueror's sister, and the Count of Mortain, who was his uterine brother. It is shown in the pedigree below, how they were all connected with the reigning sovereign and with each other.

PEDIGREE OF THE NORMAN COUNTS WHO WERE DOMESDAY BARONS.



The other counts mentioned in Domesday were either English Earls, such as Hugh Earl of Chester, or French counts like the Count of Meulan, or feudal sovereigns like Eustace Count of Boulogne, or cadets of a reigning house like Alan of Brittany. The political status of a Count varied in different countries, but their social rank was the same everywhere, for their dignity like that of knighthood was personal and not local, and counts, like knights, formed a distinct order in the hierarchy of European society, in which they ranked next after royalty.

There were counts, who were not English Earls, from a very early period in Yorkshire, for Count Alan of Brittany was one of the chief landowners in this county in Domesday, and Holderness was granted to the Countess of Aumale's husband Count Odo before the accession of William Rufus. The connexion of the Counts of Eu with Yorkshire was of somewhat later date, for although their right of inheritance to the Honour of Tickhill accrued in the reign of Henry I. and was recognized by King Stephen, they never obtained full possession of the Honour until 1214.

The Counts of Eu took their title from a castle and walled town on the banks of the river Bresle, two miles from its outfall into the English Channel. The castle of Aumale stands six leagues higher up on the same river, which has formed from time immemorial the northern boundary line of Normandy, dividing the province of Rouen from the diocese of Amiens.

Eu stands on the confines of Normandy and Picardy, facing the coast of Sussex, and was the usual place of embarkation for England from the time of the Romans. The Castle was a frontier fortress of great strength and importance, for whilst Normandy belonged to the English, it was one of the first places to be attacked by the French in times of war.

The County of Eu comprised the town and castle and five adjacent parishes, and was created in 996 by Richard II. Count of Normandy as an appanage for his brother Geoffrey.¹

The pedigree of the Counts of Eu has engaged the attention both of French and English genealogists, but neither Dugdale nor Père Anselme can be relied on, and the Authors of *L'Art de Vérifier les Dates*¹ were too imperfectly acquainted with English records to know the history of the Honour of Eu on this side of the Channel. Hunter the *Historian of South Yorkshire*² was fully conscious of the errors and deficiencies in the received accounts,³ but⁴ he has done little to correct them ; for his great book was published in the generation before Stapleton, when the critical study of Anglo-Norman genealogy was still an undiscovered science. I have in fact derived so little assistance from the printed histories of this distinguished family, that I may fairly claim a share of that indulgence, which is accorded to

those who have to grope for the right road in an unexplored field.

I.

GEOFFREY THE FIRST COUNT OF EU was one of those sons of Count Richard I. of Normandy, who had no pretensions to legitimacy, for he was not a son of Gunnora, and his mother was a nameless concubine. The county of Eu was granted to him in 996 by his half-brother soon after his accession, for it was the settled policy of Count Richard II. to surround himself with a brilliant court, and he began his reign by creating dignities and titles of honour for the cadets of his family.⁵ Geoffrey was also intrusted with the custody of the fortress of Brionne, which commands the valley of the Risle, and is often called Count of Brionne in consequence of his residing there, but Brionne was never the *caput* of a county.

Count Geoffrey died within a few years, and was succeeded by his son Gilbert, although at this period the heir had no absolute right of succession to the appanage enjoyed by his father.

II.

GILBERT COUNT OF EU succeeded his father at Brionne as well as at Eu, but he soon quarrelled with his uncle Count Richard II., and was deprived of his patrimony. He afterwards however regained his position, and in the reign of Count Robert was in high favour at Court, when the Castle of Brionne was restored to him; but the County of Eu had been in the meanwhile given away by Count Richard II. to another member of the family, and neither Gilbert nor his descendants ever recovered possession of Eu.⁵ Gilbert was selected in 1035, when Count Robert was starting for the Holy Land, to be one of the guardians of the young Count William, and for the next five years he was one of the most powerful nobles in Normandy. His duty to his ward was not unfaithfully discharged, but he abused his position to plunder the orphan heirs of his

neighbour the *Sieur de Montreuil*,⁶ and in revenge they cruelly murdered him in 1040, as he was riding peaceably on his mule near *Echaufré* "expecting no evil."⁶ His cruel death caused his faults to be forgotten, and King William retained to the last a kindly recollection of his guardian, for when the king on his death-bed was recounting the horrors of his early life, he mentions Count Gilbert "the father of his country" amongst the pillars of the State who were perfidiously murdered by his enemies.⁷

Count Gilbert probably married a relation of the Count of Flanders, for his infant sons Richard and Baldwin were taken after his death to that country, and were brought up under the protection of Count Baldwin. They returned to their native country when William of Normandy married Matilda of Flanders, and by Count Baldwin's intercession were re-instated in as much of their father's fief as had not been otherwise disposed of.⁸ Richard now obtained the fiefs of *Bienfaite* and *Orbec*, and after the conquest of England received *Tunbridge Castle* in Kent as compensation for his hereditary claims to the *Castle of Brionne*. At the same time *Meules* and *Sap* were given to Baldwin for his share, and he was allowed to marry the cousin of his Sovereign. His wife *Albreda* was a grand-daughter of Count Richard II., and was (I expect) a sister of *Guy of Burgundy* the rebel Constable of *Brionne Castle*, who was exiled from Normandy in 1050. Richard and Baldwin were afterwards conspicuous in the conquest of England, and were not forgotten in the division of the spoil. They both founded powerful families, for Richard was the ancestor of the great house of *Clare*, while it was reckoned amongst the honours of the *Courtenays* in later times, that they descended through females from Baldwin fitz Count Gilbert the Domesday Sheriff of Devon.

III.

COUNT WILLIAM OF EU was, like his brother *Geoffrey*, one of those bastard sons of Count Richard I. of Normandy whose mother's name has not been recorded. He was created by his father Count of the *Oxmin*, but he had only

a brief tenure of this dignity. For when their father died in 996, he refused to do homage to his half-brother Count Richard II., and fortified his castle of Exmes in rebellion, whereupon he was attacked by Ralph of Ivri the leader of the Norman host, and was deprived of his liberty and his county. He was committed to the custody of Turchetil d'Harcourt and was kept a prisoner in the Tower of Rouen for nearly five years, when he made his escape by the assistance of his gaoler's daughter Lesceline,⁹ whom he afterwards married. His escape however and previous offences were readily pardoned on his submission, and eventually he was restored to his rank. For when the County of Eu was forfeited by Count Gilbert, William was made Count of Eu in his stead.

Count William founded and endowed the collegiate church of Notre Dame at Eu,¹⁰ which was erected into an Abbey in 1119, in the time of his great grandson Count Henry I. He had three sons by his wife Lesceline d'Harcourt and died before 1039. The precise year of his death is unknown, but his anniversary was kept on 4th January.

The Countess Lesceline survived her husband about 20 years, and devoted herself in her widowhood to works of piety and charity. The Count was at the time of his death building for himself a mansion on his estate at St. Peter's-sur-Dive in the diocese of Secz,⁹ which after his death came to his widow in dower. The Countess completed the fabric, and converted it into a nunnery. But the nuns were molested by hostile neighbours, and for their better protection the Countess removed them a few years afterwards to the city of Lisieux, where her son Hugh was a member of the Cathedral Chapter. The house vacated by the nuns was now converted into an Abbey for monks, and by the counsel of her friend Isembert the Abbot of the Holy Trinity of the Mount at Rouen, Brother Ainard was appointed in 1046 the first Abbot of St. Peter's-sur-Dive.¹¹ The Countess was residing at this period in Rouen in a house of her own near the Oratory of St. Nicholas, and with the consent of her sons Hugh, William and Robert gave to the monks of the Holy Trinity a piece of ground on the bank of the Seine to make them a wine cellar.¹² She had been expelled with her sons from the Castle of Eu by a Norman garrison during the revolt of Guy of Burgundy. But the

elevation of her son to a Bishopric within three years after the battle of Val-es-dunes suggests that this expulsion was rather a military precaution to secure a strong frontier fortress in a period of anarchy than a punishment for disloyal conduct. Her son Hugh, who became Bishop of Lisieux in 1050, was joint founder with his mother of the nunnery dedicated to St. Desiré, in the suburbs of Lisieux. The foundation was confirmed about 1052 by the Count of Normandy, and by the terms of the charter the patronage was secured for ever to the See of Lisieux.¹³ The same scrupulous care for the independence of her religious foundations induced her to purchase from her sons their¹⁴ reversionary interest in the site of St. Peter's-sur-Dive, which enabled her to make over the advowson of the Abbey to the Ruler of Normandy, free from all claims on the part of her heirs. St. Peter's accordingly was declared by King Henry I. in 1108 *liberrima ab omni subjectione sicut proprium dominium meum*, in the charter, by which it was erected into a Royal Abbey.¹⁵

As soon as her religious foundations were completed the Countess bade farewell to the world, and was veiled a nun by her son the Bishop. The few remaining years of her life were spent amongst the sisters of St. Desiré in the nunnery, which she had built at Lisieux. She died there on 1 Feb. 1057, and was buried in the choir of the nuns before the Altar in the burial place reserved to the founder.

Count William of Eu had issue by his wife Lesceline d'Harcourt three sons, viz.—

I. ROBERT, his successor.

II. WILLIAM called BUSAC, the second son of the Countess Lesceline, never forgave William of Normandy for expelling them from the Castle of Eu during Guy of Burgundy's rebellion, although his subsequent conduct fully justified such precautions. Notwithstanding his father's illegitimacy, he was one of those members of the reigning family who scorned to recognise William the Bastard as their rightful sovereign, and rose successively in open rebellion against him at the instigation of the French King. The story of his disloyalty is obscure and is told in different ways,¹⁶ but it seems that after the rebels and their French allies were defeated at the battle of Mortimer in 1054, where Count Robert of Eu was one of the Norman Generals, William

Busac was induced by the King of France to try and gain the Duchy for himself.¹⁷ He took possession accordingly of his brother's Castle of Eu and garrisoned it in rebellion, but it was soon besieged and taken, and William was driven in exile from Normandy. He was however amply compensated for his losses by the King of France, for he married in 1058 the King's ward Adelaide Countess of Soissons, who was one of the richest heiresses in France. William became in right of his wife Count of Soissons, and a peer of France,¹⁸ but his career and posterity were foreign both to Normandy and England. That William Busac was identical with William of Eu, who was mutilated in 1096 for treason against William Rufus, is one of the slips, which Sir Francis Palgrave did not live to correct in his *History of Normandy*.

III. HUGH the youngest son of Count William of Eu, was dedicated in boyhood by his parents to the service of God. He became a Canon of Lisieux in 1037, for we learn from his dying speech, that his connexion with that Cathedral church began 40 years¹⁹ before 1077. He became Bishop in 1050,²⁰ for he ordained Theodoric Abbot of Ouche on 5 Oct. in that year. He was associated with his mother in the foundation of the nunnery of St. Desiré at Lisieux, and was a munificent benefactor to Lisieux Cathedral, for he not only completed the fabric, which his predecessor had left unfinished, but he provided the church with an ample store of communion plate and vestments for divine service.

Bishop Hugh was present with his brother at the Council of Lillebonne in 1066, when the invasion of England was decided on.²¹ A prelate of his rank and connexions was naturally a courtier, and his constant attendance at the Court of William the Conqueror was a matter for which his conscience reproached him in his dying moments.¹⁹ He assisted at the coronation of Queen Matilda on Whitsunday 1068, and witnessed the foundation charter of St. Martin's-le-Grand in London in this same year.²²

His death was somewhat sudden, for he was attacked by illness on his road home from visiting the King at Rouen in July 1077. He was taken ill at Pont L'Eveque a village four leagues distant from Lisieux, and when he felt that his end was approaching expressed great contrition for his frequent absences from his See. It was his earnest prayer that he might live to reach Lisieux, and they carried him forward

on a hand litter, but he died on the journey in a meadow by the roadside, which was known in after time as the Bishop's Cross. He died on 17 July 1077, and his body was carried to Lisieux; but his burial was delayed for eight days in consequence of the fierce dispute about the place of his burial, which arose between the Canons of his Cathedral and the nuns of St. Desiré. The question was referred to the King who was still at Rouen, and he decided in favour of the nuns, so that Bishop Hugh was buried beside his mother in the choir of St. Desiré on 24 July. His funeral was celebrated by the Bishop of Evreux, for the Archbishop of Rouen positively refused to officiate, although he had received express orders from the King to hasten with all speed to Lisieux for that purpose. But the Archbishop was the Bishop's cousin through their common descent from Sprota Countess of Normandy, and there was a family feud between them of old standing, for their fathers were enemies eighty years before. The Archbishop therefore resented the King's command to do honour to his adversary's remains. But whilst he was indulging his vindictive temper, he was overtaken by a speedy retribution, for as he was riding home from the King's presence on his mule, his agitation brought on a fit of paralysis, and he fell helpless to the ground in front of his own door. He survived this attack above two years, but he never recovered the use of his speech.¹⁹

Bishop Hugh is extolled with unqualified praise by William of Poitiers, the historian of *the Conquest of England*: but it must be borne in mind that William was his Archdeacon at Lisieux, and that he wrote his history in the lifetime of his diocesan. The popular estimate of his character is probably expressed in the Vision of Purgatory, vouchsafed to the Priest of Bonneval in 1091, where the Bishop's soul was suffering torment in the company of some notorious sinners fourteen years after his death.²³

His epitaph in letters of gold on a plate of copper is in the metre, which Orderic Vitalis calls the Adonic.

Hic Jacet Hugo Lexoviensis, clarus honore
Pontificatus, nobilis eque sanguine patrum,
Præditus idem stemmate morum, non sine bino
Munere sensus, religione glorificandus.
Transitus ejus rege Philippo, tum Guillelmus
Rex erat Anglus, luce sequenti Phœbus inivit
Signa Leonis, det Deus isti gaudia cœli. Amen.

IV.

ROBERT COUNT OF EU,²⁴ the son and heir of Count William I. by Lesceline d'Harcourt, was expelled with his mother and brothers from the Castle of Eu during Guy of Burgundy's rebellion,¹² but the promotion of his brother Hugh in 1050 to the bishopric of Lisieux proves that William of Normandy cherished no feelings of resentment against the family. Count Robert and his wife Beatrice gave a wood in his domains to the Monks of the Holy Trinity of the Mount at Rouen, and the grant was allowed by William of Normandy at the time when his quarrel began with the King of France, *tempore quo discordia cepit inter ipsum et Henricum regem Francorum*.²⁵ The war arose out of the assistance, which the French King gave to the Count of Arques, and afterwards to William Busac in their attempts to dethrone the young Count William, but Robert of Eu was steadfast in his loyalty to his sovereign, and was so completely free from suspicion of sharing his brother's treason, that he was one of the generals in command of the Norman army, which defeated the rebels and their French allies at the Battle of Mortemer in 1054.²⁶

Count Robert with the consent of his wife Beatrice and of their sons Ralph, William and Robert founded and endowed in 1059 St. Michael's Abbey at Treport (*Uterior portus*), which is half a league distant from the Castle of Eu at the mouth of the river Bresle.²⁷ The Count of Eu witnessed the charter, by which his neighbour Roger de Busli or Builli, the Seigneur of Builli in the Bailiwick of Drincourt, sold to the Abbot of the Holy Trinity at Rouen in 1065 the tithes of his fief for 60lbs of silver pennies and a war-horse.²⁸ This sale probably took place in 1065, and was made for the purpose of raising funds to equip him for the expedition to England. The Count of Eu witnessed this charter, little suspecting that in generations yet unborn his own descendants the Counts of Eu would inherit Roger de Busli's patrimony in Normandy and acquisitions in England.

The Count contributed 60 ships to the fleet for the invasion of England in 1066, and is named by Wace amongst those who fought gallantly at the battle of Senlac.²⁹

He was one of the Conqueror's most trusted generals, and

on the King's return from his first Northern Campaign in 1069 the Counts of Eu and Mortain were left in Lindsey with an army to watch the Danes, who had sailed up the Humber, but had dispersed on the King's approach, and had taken shelter in the Lincolnshire fens. The invaders were welcomed by the inhabitants as kinsmen, for the Danish element was strong in the fenlands, but the King's lieutenants surprised them whilst they were carousing at a festival, and chased them to their ships with great slaughter.³⁰

The high rank and important services of the Count of Eu insured him a large share in the distribution of estates forfeited by Englishmen, and provision was made for the Count out of lands which had belonged to King Harold's father and brother. The South Coast, which commanded the approach to Normandy, was a charge reserved for a few great Barons, whom the King could thoroughly trust. The King's half-brother the Bishop of Bayeux had the custody of Dover Castle and of the whole County of Kent, except Hugh de Montfort's Castelry at Romney. The six Rapes of Sussex had only five owners, for Chichester and Arundel were assigned to Roger de Montgomery, Bramber to William de Braose, Pevensey to the Count of Mortain, and Hastings to the Count of Eu. Every Rape had its own castle, river, port and forest, and Hastings is still one of the Cinque Ports, although the ancient harbour has long been silted up. Hastings Castle was the first, which the Normans built on English soil, for according to the Bayeux tapestry it was commenced before the battle of Senlac. The duty of constructing and defending this fortress was entrusted in the first place to Humphrey de Tilleul the brother-in-law of Hugh de Grandmesnil the Viceroy of Hampshire, but Humphrey was one of those home-sick Normans, who was induced by his wife to desert his post in 1068,³¹ and when he left England the Castle, and perhaps also the Rape of Hastings, was granted to the Count of Eu. The Count however was by no means constantly resident in England, for when King William remained five years in Normandy, from June 1075 to July 1080, the Count's appearance at court from time to time suggests that he also was absent from England during the whole period. He witnessed in April 1077 the royal charter in favour of St. Stephen's Caen,³² and was chief

mourner at Lisieux on 25 July in this year at the funeral of his brother Bishop Hugh.¹⁹ The Count also is mentioned amongst the grandees, who were present at Rouen at Easter 1080, when the monks of the Holy Trinity of the Mount obtained from the King a solemn confirmation of their right to an island in the Seine, which was given to them by their founder 50 years before.³³

The Domesday Barony of the Count of Eu was valued at £294 9s.³⁴ His chief possession was the Rape and Castle of Hastings, which once belonged to Earl Godwin. It comprised 157,000 acres, and was valued at £251 9s. per annum. The Count had also the manor of Buckworth in Huntingdonshire worth £13 p. a., and formerly belonged to Earl Tostig; and also the manor of Thurrock in Essex, which formed part of King Harold's domains, and had seven houses in London attached to it. The Count converted these houses into a residence for himself in London, which improved their value from £12 to £30 per annum.³⁴ He was also mesne-lord under the See of Canterbury of the manors of Ulcombe and Stowting in Kent, which had increased in value under his stewardship from £8 p. a. each to £10 and £11 respectively.³⁴

The Count of Eu was one of those Norman nobles, who on the death of William the Conqueror applied to the King of England for protection against the anarchy which prevailed in Normandy, and were supplied with money and troops,³⁵ which enabled them to fortify their castles in defiance of their lawful sovereign. The Count was an useful ally to William Rufus on both sides of the Channel, for his castle at Hastings commanded one of the chief ports of communication with France. It was so important to the King that this fortress should be in friendly hands, that the Bishop of Durham reckoned it amongst his greatest services to his master that had kept the owner from joining the rebels.³⁶ The Count died during this unsettled period, for although the day of his decease is not known all the authorities are agreed that he died in 1090.¹

Count Robert had issue by his wife Beatrix, who is often confounded with her son William's wife Beatrix de Busli, three sons:—

- I. RALPH witnessed with his brothers his father and mother's foundation of Treport Abbey³² in 1059,

and (as I presume) died unmarried before his father.

II. WILLIAM son and heir.

III. ROBERT witness in 1059 with his brothers.³²

V.

WILLIAM II. COUNT OF EU, the son and heir of Count Robert by Beatrice, succeeded on his father's death in 1090 to his English Barony and Norman County of Eu. The occupation of Eu by an English garrison was an act of treason to the Duke of Normandy, but Count William became within a few months the subject *de jure* as well as *de facto* of the King of England, for on Candlemas day 1091 William Rufus crossed over with a large fleet, and before the end of February a treaty was concluded, by which the County of Eu was ceded to the English King.³⁷ Three years afterwards the war between Duke Robert and his brother was renewed, and at Mid Lent 1094 King William crossed over again from Hastings, and fixed his head-quarters at Eu.³⁷ But Robert engaged the assistance of the French King, and William Rufus would have been besieged at Eu by their united forces whilst he was waiting for reinforcements, unless he had tricked King Philip into deserting his brother's cause³⁷

According to all the received pedigrees the Count of Eu was in 1095 one of the leaders in the conspiracy to put Stephen Count of Aumale on the throne of England, for French and English genealogists are agreed in identifying him with William of Eu, who was cruelly mutilated at Salisbury in January 1096 for his treason.³³ This agreement is the more remarkable, because William of Eu's cruel punishment is mentioned in every chronicle of the period, and they all without exception avoid describing the sufferer as the *Count* of Eu: whilst all that is known about him suggests that he and the Count of Eu were two different and distinct persons.

The Count of Eu, and William of Eu are separately registered in Domesday, which gives no hint of any connexion or relationship between them. Domesday suggests

that William succeeded his own mother and Ralph de Limesi in the ownership of some 77 manors in the Western and South-Western Counties, which for the most part belonged in the time of Edward the Confessor to Alestan of Boscombe in Wiltshire.³⁹ They were scattered over nine counties and were valued at £401 per annum. They formed therefore a Barony of great importance, for there were scarcely 20 lay fiefs in the kingdom which were of greater value. They were afterwards known collectively as the Honour of Strigul, for the Castle of Strigul or (as it was afterwards called) Chepstow was the head of this Barony, which passed in its entirety after William's forfeiture, by the grant of William Rufus, to Walter a younger son of Richard de Clare, who was the son of Count Gilbert of Eu of the elder line. It must be suspected that this grant to Walter was earned by Gilbert's timely denunciation of his accomplices, amongst whom William of Eu was conspicuous.⁴⁰ And if Walter was (as is likely) William's cousin through their common descent from the disinherited Count Gilbert of Eu, it was in strict accordance with the settled policy of this period, that the estates forfeited by William of Eu should be transferred to a more loyal kinsman. Walter transmitted these estates to his heirs, and it is certain that no claim was ever made to them by Count William's son Count Henry of Eu, although he was in high favour with King Henry I. and inherited without question the Domesday Barony of the Count of Eu, which must have been forfeited with the rest, if the traitor of 1096 was the Count.

Again, I cannot believe that William of Eu's steward William de Alderie, who suffered with him at Salisbury and was the son of his maternal aunt,³⁸ was the nephew of Beatrix Countess of Eu. Moreover, it is quite certain that William of Eu's wife, who was the Earl of Chester's sister, and whose jealousy was fatal to her husband, was not the wife of William Count of Eu; for it was judicially proved in 1220 that the mother of Count William's son and successor (Count Henry) was the daughter of Roger de Busli the Domesday Baron of Tickhill in Yorkshire.

It is marvellous that in the face of such evidence the sufferer of 1096 was ever mistaken for the Count of Eu, and that this mistaken identity has been unsuspectingly

repeated by every genealogist English and French from Dugdale and Père Anselm to Planché and Freeman.⁴¹ It was never in fact called in question until 1878, when the late Mr. Eyton inferred from the antecedents of William of Eu's estate in Dorset, that he had been "erroneously identified with the Count of Eu."⁴²

This mistake has been a fruitful parent of error and confusion in the pedigree, for as William of Eu's wife was beyond all doubt sister of the Earl of Chester, the heiress of Tickhill had to be pushed back to the preceding generation, although it was distinctly proved in the law suit of 1220, that she was the mother of Count Henry of Eu. This error led to another, because it was chronologically impossible that Beatrix Countess of Eu, who was married long before the Conquest could be the daughter of Roger de Busli of Domesday. It was therefore assumed that Beatrix was Roger's sister, although in that case her descendant's title to the Barony would have been inferior to that of her opponent, who was the heir beyond all question of Roger de Busli's brother.

All that the French genealogists can tell us about Count William II. beyond the names of his parents and his children is an anecdote recorded by Guibert de Nogent,¹ who tells us that the Count was at Rouen in 1096, after the first Crusade was proclaimed, when he rescued from the fury of the mob a Jew boy, who was educated as a Christian at the expense of his rescuer and died a monk at the Abbey of St. Germes. The Crusade decreed at the Council of Clermont in November 1095 was proclaimed at Rouen in February 1096,² so that this story, which Guibert heard from the lips of the Countess herself, is irreconcilable with the statement, that the Count was mutilated in prison in England in January 1096.

Count William II. died before 1100, and had issue by his wife Beatrix the daughter of Roger de Busli of Domesday and sister and heir of Roger de Busli II. four sons, viz. :—

I. HENRY his successor.

II. WILLIAM, called DE GRANDCOURT, fought gallantly in the army of Henry I. at the battle of Bourgteroude in Lent 1124, when he took Almaric de Montfort prisoner. But William was as generous as he was brave, and he knew the relentless and unforgiving character of the English King.

He refused therefore to be the means of consigning Almaric to hopeless captivity for the rest of his life, and preferred to sacrifice his own prospects and career. Accordingly he released his prisoner, and accompanied him into exile, where he entered into the service of the French King and was lost henceforth to Normandy.⁴³

III. ROBERT witnessed with his brother William Count Henry's charter to the Abbey of St. Lucian of Beauvais¹ in 1109.

IV. ENGUERRAND or INGELRAM witnessed a writ of Henry I. in favour of Ramsey Abbey between 1109 and 1111.⁴⁴ He is placed in the next generation by the French genealogists,¹ who call him the fourth son of Count Henry; but this is disproved by chronological considerations, and by the express statement of the contemporary chronicler that Count Henry of Eu had only three sons.⁴⁵

VI.

HENRY COUNT OF EU, the son and heir of Count William II. by Beatrix de Buslé, succeeded before 1101 to the Honour of Eu both in England and Normandy. Like most of these nobles, who had domains on both sides of the Channel, he considered himself aggrieved by the separation of the two countries, and was one of those Normans, who invited⁴⁶ the King of England to invade Normandy in 1104. He is not however named amongst the Counts, who fought in the English ranks at the battle of Tenchebrai⁴⁷ in 1106, when Duke Robert lost his throne and his liberty. He had not deserted Robert Curthose, until his misgovernment had grown intolerable, and when Robert's son William Clito asserted in 1118 his claims to the Duchy of Normandy, the Count of Eu was one of the first to join the league in his favour. But whilst he was waiting for the arrival of the Count of Flanders to take up arms, his preparations for rebellion were anticipated by King Henry, whose vigilance never slept. The Count was arrested at Rouen with Hugh de Gournai,⁴⁸ and was kept in prison until he had surrendered his fortresses, and had given hostages for his fidelity. The result was that when the French invaded Normandy in August 1119 to support the claims of William Clito, the

Count fought on the side of the English King at the battle of Bremule.⁴⁹

He released himself from this conflict of interest and inclination by joining the Crusade, and one of his last acts before starting was to give his sanction to the charter, by which the Archbishop of Rouen in 1119 erected the collegiate church of Notre Dame at Eu into an Abbey.⁵⁰ He returned from the Holy Land in 1121, but from this time forward took no prominent part in public affairs. His sympathies were with William Clito,⁵¹ but he had a wholesome dread of King Henry's power, and was unwilling to incur his enmity by joining the rebels. He employed himself therefore in works of charity and piety, and was a founder of religious houses both in England and in Normandy. St. Mary's chapel in Hastings Castle, in which Robert Bloet was consecrated Bishop of Lincoln in 1094,⁵² was enlarged at the Count's expense into a collegiate church served by a dean and secular canons, who were amply endowed by his munificence.⁵³ Amongst the eminent men, who were benefited in early life by this endowment were St. Thomas Becket, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, and William of Wykeham the founder of St. Mary's Winton and of New College Oxon. But the chief occupation of the Count's later life was the foundation and endowment of the Cistercian Abbey of Foucarmont, half way between Eu and Aumale, which was consecrated on 25 July 1130.

He married Margaret daughter of William de Sulli the elder brother of Stephen King of England, by whom he had four children.⁴⁵ The Countess was the great granddaughter of William the Conqueror, and after her death the Count was shorn a monk of Foucarmont, where he died 12 July 1139. He was buried at the foot of the High Altar in the place of honour reserved to the founder.⁵⁴ Count Henry had issue by his wife Margaret de Sulli three sons and a daughter.

I. JOHN his successor.

II. HUGH an ecclesiastic, was Archdeacon of Cornwall in 1135, and of Totnes in 1143.⁵⁵

III. WILLIAM was also an ecclesiastic, and was one of the Archdeacons of the Diocese of Exeter, who are mentioned in a Deed bearing date 2 July 1143.⁵⁶ He occurs as Precentor of York in 1144,⁵⁷ and probably owed his appointment

to his uncle Henry de Sulli the Abbot of Caen, who was elected Archbishop of York in 1140, when the Pope refused to confirm his election. William was no longer Precentor in 1155, but he was Archdeacon of Barnstaple in the Diocese of Exeter at some time between 1151 and 1161.⁵⁶

I. BEATRIX and II. MATILDA are both mentioned by French genealogists,¹ but according to William of Jumieges Count Henry and his wife had only one daughter.¹⁵

VII.

JOHN COUNT OF EU, the son and heir of Count Henry I. by Margaret de Sulli, succeeded to the Honour of Eu when his father retired from the world and became a monk at Foucarmont Abbey. He was in high favour with his grand uncle King Stephen, and a frequent visitor at the English Court. He was one of the four Earls, who witnessed at Ipswich in 1140 King Stephen's charter confirming the foundation of Monks-Horton Priory⁵⁸ in Kent, which was built in the immediate vicinity of the Countess of Eu's estate in Romney Marsh. The Honour of Tickhill had fallen into the King's hands with the rest of Robert de Belleme's fiefs, although Robert only held it as guardian of young Roger of Busli; but King Henry could never be induced to relinquish the control of this extensive Honour, and it was only after the accession of Stephen that the Count of Eu's right of inheritance was recognised. The Count proved his gratitude by loyally supporting his benefactor, and at the beginning of the Civil war Tickhill Castle was garrisoned for the King.⁵⁹ But the Count was taken prisoner with his uncle at the battle of Lincoln, and Tickhill fell into the hands of the Empress Maud. He soon recovered his liberty, but the Honour was never restored to him, for it suited both Stephen and his rival to make use of it as a bribe to secure the wavering allegiance of Ranulf Earl of Chester. Count John however maintained affectionate relations with his uncle and was at Court in London in 1147, when he witnessed a Royal charter in favour of the Abbey of St. Benets Hulme in Norfolk.⁶⁰

Count John was a great benefactor to the monks of Treport, and confirmed to them in 1149 the grants of his ancestors. He was a man of great piety, and in his zeal to improve the condition of the Abbey of Eu, of which he was hereditary patron, he compelled the monks who had hitherto followed the rule of the Arroaisian congregation to adopt instead the discipline of the Canons of St. Victor of Paris.⁶¹ The monks were unwilling to be reformed, and the Archbishop of Rouen was jealous of lay interference with his clergy. He took part with them so warmly, that when the Count insisted on the change being carried out, he interdicted the proceedings by a sentence of excommunication, which was to be published every Sunday. But in spite of all opposition, the Count maintained his point, and the monks of Eu followed from this time forward the rule of St. Victor. The Count's long struggle with the Archbishop would naturally enlist his sympathy on the side of Henry II. in his contest with Archbishop Becket, and the Count of Eu was amongst the King's friends at the Council at Clarendon on 25 January 1164.⁶² His English Barony was certified in 1166 to consist of 56 knights' fees in the Rape of Hastings besides $6\frac{1}{2}$ knights' fees elsewhere, all of which were of old feoffment. But he complained that his father's Barony in the reign of Henry I. contained 60 knights' fees instead of 56, and that the missing 4 were usurped by the see of Chichester.⁶³ He had also 11 knights' fees in Kent and Sussex⁶⁴ by the grant of his wife's father, for he married Alice de Albini daughter of William Earl of Arundel by the Dowager Queen Adeliza widow of King Henry I. His wife's estate was in Romney Marsh, and comprised amongst others the Manors of Snargate, Bilsington and Elham. She survived him several years, but with her consent he obtained permission to enter religion, and following his father's example he was shorn a monk in Foucarmont Abbey.⁵⁴ He died there in 1170, and was buried in his father's grave at the foot of the High Altar with the following epitaph :

*Est pater Henricus, primus gregio hujus amicus ;
Ejus erat natus Johannes jure vocatus,
Filius iste fuit Henrici, postea frater.
Hos monachos genuit Domino domus hæc, pia mater,
Qui legio, absque mora pro tantio fratribus ora.*

ALICE COUNTESS OF EU is said to have taken for her second husband Alured de St. Martin⁶⁵ the founder of Robertsbridge Abbey, in Sussex, who witnessed her munificent grant to that religious house. Her gift comprised the Manor of Snargate in Romney Marsh, and is expressed to be made for the souls of "my father William Earl of Arundel, my mother Queen Adeliza, my husband John Count of Eu, my brother Godfrey, and my daughters Matilda and Margaret" who were all deceased.⁶⁶ The date of this Charter will be about 1178, and amongst the witnesses are Henry Count of Eu and his brother Robert. Snargate was parcel of the Honour of Arundel and formed part of the lands which were given to the Countess by her father in frank marriage, but the monks of Robertsbridge took the precaution of obtaining from William third Earl of Sussex a charter confirming to them the gift of his aunt.⁶⁷ The Countess Alice survived her son Count Henry, but died before 1204.⁶⁸

Count John had issue by his wife Alice de Albini three sons and three daughters.

I. HENRY, his successor.

II. ROBERT witnessed his mother's grant to Robertsbridge Abbey in 1178, and died before his brother Henry.

III. JOHN witnessed his brother Henry's grant to Robertsbridge Abbey,⁶⁹ and became on the death of his nephew in 1186 the last male descendant of the Counts of Eu of this line. He inherited his mother's fief in Romney Marsh, and confirmed to the monks of Robertsbridge about 1203 the grants of his deceased mother and brother.⁶⁸ He was in high favour with King John, for he took the King's side in the quarrel with the Lusignans, of whom he was somewhat jealous. The consequence was, that when it was rumoured in England that the Countess of Eu was dead, the citizens of Eu were commanded by the Royal Letters Patent⁷⁰ dated 1 April 1202 to acknowledge her uncle John as the rightful heir of the County. The rumour turned out to be false, but there is evidence that⁷¹ John remained in the King of England's service, and kept his estates at a time when the King was at open war with the Count and Countess of Eu. He did not always however escape giving offence to his jealous and capricious Sovereign, for the last notice of John of Eu in the Close Rolls is in a writ dated 15 April 1207, whereby the Sheriff of Kent is directed to restore to him the lands of

which he had been disseised during the King's displeasure.⁷¹ He died unmarried, and his fief in Kent came eventually to his niece the Countess of Eu, for after her death it was included in the Honour of Tickhill when it was granted to Prince Edward.⁷²

IV. MATILDA and V. MARGARET died before their mother's grant to Robertsbridge.

VI. IDA married William de Hastings, and had a son Robert, who claimed in 1207 against Simon de Echingham the office of Seneschal of the Honour of the Count of Eu, which (as he alleged) had been granted to his father in frank marriage with Ida daughter of Count John.⁷³

VIII.

HENRY II. COUNT OF EU, the son and heir of Count John by Alice de Albini succeeded his father in 1170 when he was still under age, for it appears from the Pipe Roll that his uncle the Earl of Arundel paid £66 10s. in the next year for his ward's quota to the Scutage of Ireland.⁷⁴ The Count of Eu is enumerated amongst the partisans of the younger Henry in his rebellion against his father in 1173 ;⁷⁵ but he afterwards made his peace with Henry II. and was in attendance at Bec on 19 March 1178, when he witnessed the King's grant to that abbey of a rent charge of £100 per annum.⁷⁶

Count Henry like his ancestors was munificent in his gifts to the Church. He witnessed and approved his mother's grant to Robertsbridge Abbey in 1178,⁶⁶ and some three years afterwards gave to this same Abbey the manor of Worth in the parish of Brightling⁶⁷ for the soul of his brother Robert, who had died in the interval. Moreover, he confirmed to the Canons of St. Mary in the Castle at Hastings the prebends of his grandfather's foundation, and liberally increased their endowments ;⁴ whilst he gave to the monks of Bermondsey a manor in the parish of Lydd as well as an estate in Bilsington, which was afterwards commuted for a rent-charge.⁷⁷ This gift is strangely misdated in the Bermondsey annals, for it is attributed to 1194, which

was eleven years after the death of the donor. Count Henry married about 1179 Matilda widow of Osbert de Preaux, and daughter of Hamelin Plantagenet, the natural brother of King Henry II. who was in right of his wife Earl of Warrenne and Surrey.⁷⁸ His death is misdated in all the received pedigrees, but Stapleton has proved that he died in 1183 and was buried in Foucarmont Abbey.⁷⁸

Count Henry II. had issue by Matilda de Warrenne two sons and a daughter, who were all of tender years at the time of his death.

I. RALPH, his successor.

II. GUY died in childhood in 1185 before his brother Ralph.

III. ALICE sister and heir of her brother Count Ralph.

The widowed Countess Matilda, who is called by French genealogists Matilda de Longueville, survived her second husband 24 years. She was the mother by her first marriage of Peter de Preaux and his brothers, and died in 1207.

IX.

RALPH COUNT OF EU,¹ the son and heir of Count Henry II. died a minor and unmarried in 1186, when the Honour of Eu in England and Normandy passed to his sister Alice.

X.

ALICE COUNTESS OF EU was a mere child in 1186, when she succeeded her brother Ralph, but so considerable an heiress was not allowed to remain long unmarried, and the husband chosen for her by King Henry II. was Ralph Seigneur de Issoudon and Mello in Poitou, the second son of Hugh IX. de Lusignan by Matilda Countess of La Marche and Angoulême.⁷⁹ It was not a match of disparagement even for so nobly descended an heiress, for Ralph was a Cadet of one of those semi-royal families, who were connected by marriage with the Kings of England and France. Ralph was from the time of his marriage Count of Eu, and his loyalty

to the English King was soon put to the test, for his territory was devastated and one of his towns was burnt, when the Bishop of Beauvais invaded Normandy in 1188.⁸⁰ Ralph joined the crusade in the next year, and the Count of Eu was conspicuous among the chiefs encamped on the heights of Acre in 1190.⁸¹ He had been a favourite with King Richard from boyhood, and on his return from the Crusade was entrusted with the custody of Drincourt Castle,⁸² and the defence of the frontier. He was equally loyal to King John, who reckoned the Lusignans amongst his staunchest supporters, until these friendly relations were interrupted in 1200 by the King's perfidy in carrying off Isabella of Angoulême, who was the promised wife of Hugh de Lusignan the Count of Eu's eldest brother.

It was an aggravation of the wrong, that Hugh had just before done the King a good turn by expelling his nephew Arthur from Poitou ; and for a suzerain to interfere with the domestic relations of a vassal, whilst he was absent in his service, was a grave offence against the unwritten laws of feudal honour. France at that time was distributed like modern Germany in petty states governed by Sovereign Counts, with whom Royalty intermarried without disparagement. They were generally vassals both of England and France, and therefore in times of war between the two countries had to choose between conflicting obligations of allegiance. The Lusignans were leading members of this powerful aristocracy, who were almost unanimous in resenting the wrong done to one of their number. King John was fully conscious of the danger of his position, for although the Count of Eu and his brother abstained from open rebellion, he felt sure in his guilty conscience that they were only biding their time for revenge. The strong castles of Eu and Drincourt were the keys of Normandy, and he dared not leave them in the custody of the Count of Eu, after injuring his brother beyond forgiveness.

The Count was still in his service in England, and the King took the opportunity of his absence from Normandy to wrest from him his strongholds by surprise.⁸³ Accordingly by writs dated at Clipstone March 9, 1201,⁸⁴ King John gave notice, that his lieutenants had permission to do what harm they could to Ralph Count of Eu in the war which was to commence at the close of Easter ; and on the

same day letters were addressed to the burgesses of Eu, and to the inhabitants of the County of Eu, and to the men of Drincourt and to all who dwelt within the Castelry of Drincourt,⁸⁴ commanding them to put faith in what the King's envoy should say to them on his arrival. On 19 March 1201 the King wrote to the Seneschals of Normandy and Poitou⁸⁴ to seize the lands of all who refused immediate submission. Drincourt Castle was besieged and taken, and the men of Eu were warned that "Count Ralph defied us on Sunday last not for our fault but through his own pride. Wherefore we bid you to do all the evil ye can to him and his, and to receive in your town those whom we shall send." The Knight chosen for this service was John of Eu uncle of the Countess Alice, and the last surviving male descendant of the Counts of Eu; who had no sympathy with the Lusignans, and remained faithful to King John. A rumour had reached England that the Countess Alice was dead, and the King lost no time in apprising the men of Eu of her death, and in commanding them to receive John as the rightful hereditary Count.⁸⁵ The news was false, and the King's letter containing it bears the appropriate date of 1 April 1202.

In the meanwhile Count Ralph appealed to the King of France as Suzerain, and demanded satisfaction for the wrongs, which he had sustained; when it was adjudged that John had forfeited by his perfidy all rights over the Castles of Normandy. Philip Augustus gladly undertook to execute the sentence, and before the end of 1202 made himself master of the County of Eu and the Castle of Drincourt. King John was more successful in Poitou, where his nephew Arthur had been induced by Hugh de Lusignan to reassert his pretensions to the throne, for the siege of Mirabeau Castle ended on 31 July 1202 in the capture of Prince Arthur and his chief supporters.⁸⁶ But Arthur's mysterious disappearance in the next year was fatal to John's cause in France, and in July 1204 the whole province of Normandy was lost for ever to the Crown of England.⁸⁷ In the meanwhile King John had taken possession of the Count of Eu's Honour in England, and the public records show that the Crown presented several clerks to vacant prebends in the Collegiate Church at Hastings⁸⁸ between 1202 and 1214, whilst the Honour of Eu was an escheat in the King's hands. But King John's enmity was as short-lived and un-

certain as his friendship, for either was readily sacrificed, if it suited his interest or caprice. Both motives combined in 1214 to make him willing to patch up his quarrel with the House of Lusignan, and Queen Isabella exerted all her influence to reconcile her husband and her former lover. The King and Queen crossed over to Poitou in February 1214 with a large army, and were received with acclamation, for the highspirited nobles of the province chafed at the yoke of a foreigner like the King of France, and Isabella was welcomed as the daughter of their native Sovereign. The Count of La Marche was their leader and spokesman, and a league was made with the King of England, of which it was one of the foremost conditions that the Count should marry the King's eldest daughter. The treaty was concluded at Parthenai on Trinity Sunday, when the Counts of La Marche and Eu did homage to King John, and promised to be his faithful vassals and allies.⁸⁹ By this treaty King John guaranteed to the Count of Eu the whole inheritance which his wife ever possessed or was entitled to in England, which was in effect giving him twice as much as he had lost in 1202, for he now obtained possession of the Honour of Tickhill as well as of the Rape of Hastings, although no Count of Eu had ever been lord of Tickhill except Count John, who held it (as I have related at p. 276) for a short time in the reign of King Stephen.⁸⁹

As for the County of Eu and other lands in Normandy, which the King of France had taken from the Count, King John engaged to deposit out of his own revenues in the hands of the Knights Templar, in trust for the Count, as much as the land was yearly worth by the estimation of the Count himself, the Earls of Chester and Ferrars, the Vicomte de Thouars and Hugh de Gournai, until such time as the King should recover the land in question with the help of the Counts of La Marche and Eu, when the land was to be restored to the Count.⁷⁸

King John lost no time in fulfilling his engagements to the Count of Eu, and a writ issued from Parthenai on 26 May 1214 commanding the Bishop of Winchester, who was Regent of England during the King's absence, to give the Count full seisin of the Rape and Castle of Hastings.⁸⁵ On the same day the Archdeacon of Northumberland was dispatched with a Writ Royal addressed to the Constable of Tickhill

Castle commanding him to surrender his charge to the bearer, who had authority from the Count to take seisin of the Castle and Honour.⁸⁵ At the same time the Knights and free tenants of the Honour of Tickhill and the Rape of Hastings, as well as the Barons of the Cinque Ports, were informed by the King's Letters Patent of the Count's reinstatement.⁸⁵

The Count of Eu was from this time forward the loyal subject of King John, and fought gallantly in the English ranks at the battle of Bouvines on 27 July 1214.⁹⁰ This was an act of treason to the King of France, who was after the cession of Normandy in 1205 his lawful suzerain, and the Count was adjudged to have forfeited his lands in France. But he was amply recompensed by King John, who undertook to pay for the Count's use to the Knights of the Temple 6000 livres of Touraine currency for every year whilst the County of Eu was detained from him. His fidelity to King John was never shaken during the war with the Barons, and was acknowledged from time to time by grants of the estates of his less loyal subjects.⁹¹ I cannot find however that he was ever in England again, and after the loss of Eu he fixed his residence at his Castle of Mello in Poitou. His absence from England did not arise from any mistrust of King John, for he sent his son Warine under the King's protection to pursue his studies at the University of Oxford which was then rising to fame. The King spent his Easter at Oxford in 1215, and by a writ dated 10 April the Mayor and Bailiffs of Oxford were commanded to refund to young Warine of Eu on account of the royal exchequer fifty shillings which he had expended for his maintenance up to Palm Sunday, whilst they were further ordered to make him an allowance of a shilling a day, as long as he remained at Oxford.⁹² The Count was one of the Commissioners appointed on 28 April 1216 to arrange the terms of the truce with the King of France,⁸⁵ and there is abundant evidence that he was one of King John's most trusted counsellors in foreign affairs. He was equally loyal to the young King Henry, and in the first year of the new reign the Sheriffs of Notts and Sussex were commanded to take care that the Count of Eu had full and peaceable possession of all his estates, as he had them before the war began between King John and the Barons.⁹² He died at

his Castle of Mello early in May 1219, for a writ addressed to the Sheriff of Lincolnshire on 28 April concerning the Manor of Greetwell shows that he was still living on that day.⁹²

He was buried in the burial place of the Counts of Eu in Foucarmont Abbey, and was commemorated with special devotion by the monks of that religious House. For the Countess gave proof of her affection for the husband of her youth by the pious munificence, with which she hastened to provide that frequent Masses should be said for the redemption of his soul. By charter dated at Mello in Poitou on the morrow of the Ascension of Our Lord (17th May) 1219, Alice Countess of Eu with the consent of her son Ralph and her daughter Matilda granted to the monks of Foucarmont the Manor of Tuxford in Notts and all the tithes of her lands in England as well as all which had been given to them in former times by her ancestors ; and in consideration of such gift the Abbot covenanted that for all time to come ten priests should be set apart in the Abbey to offer daily the Holy Sacrifice for the Soul of Ralph Count of Eu lately deceased, and for the salvation of the Countess her heirs and kindred.⁷⁸

After making this provision for her husband's soul, the Countess lost no time in securing for herself and her children her lands of inheritance on both sides of the Channel. Her husband had forfeited his interest in the County of Eu in 1214 by his treason to his Suzerain the King of France, but the forfeiture ended with his life, and on his death his wife's hereditary claim revived.

The widowed Countess gave proof of her energy and ability by negotiating in person the terms of her reinstatement. She met King Philip Augustus at Meulan early in the month of August, when the King on certain conditions restored to her the County of Eu, reserving only those rights of justice and service, which the Count of Eu owed to the Lord of Normandy, as her father and ancestors had rendered the same to Henry and Richard late Kings of England and their predecessors. The Countess on her part renounced all claim to Drincourt Mortemer and Arques, as well as to the fief of Builli. The Countess moreover engaged not to marry except through the King, who promised not to force her into marrying, and she pledged herself to erect no fortresses beyond those already existing except through the

King. The fine for reinstatement was fixed at 15,000 marks of silver, troy weight, to be paid by four equal instalments ; on 15 Aug. 1219, 1 Nov. 1219, Easter 1220, and 12 May 1220 : and in the meanwhile the rents and profits of the County of Eu were to be collected and received by two Knights, acting respectively for the King and the Countess.⁷⁸

After concluding her arrangements with the King of France the Countess crossed over to England and was well received at Court, for Hubert de Burgh the Justiciary who was one of the Regents during the King's minority, had married her cousin Beatrix de Warenne the heiress of Wormgay in Norfolk, and the Earl of Warenne had written to him to announce his niece's arrival in England.⁹³ She found the Regent at Grantham, and a writ was addressed from that place on 24 August to the Sheriff of Lincolnshire, to put the Countess in possession of the Manor of Greetwell, which had formed part of the Domesday Barony of Roger de Busli. In the next month she went on to Tickhill, carrying with her Letters Patent under the Great Seal from the Regents commanding the Knights and free tenants of the Honour of Tickhill to render their accustomed suit and service, and to receive her as their lawful lady and mistress.⁹⁴ Her uncle the Earl of Warenne accompanied her into Yorkshire, and witnessed the charter, by which, in this same month of September during her stay at Tickhill she granted Aggecroft Grange to the monks of Roche Abbey to engage their prayers for the soul of her deceased husband and the salvation of her son Ralph.⁹⁵

The Countess had up to this time met with no opposition, but she was not allowed to gain possession of the Honour of Tickhill without a struggle ; for her chief tenant Robert de Vipont maintained that his wife Idonea had a better right to inherit the Castle and Honour. As long as the Honour remained in the hands of the Crown Robert and his wife were contented with the position of chief tenants ; but when it was claimed by the Countess as her inheritance, they contended, that if the Crown waived its rights to the Honour as an escheat, Idona de Vipont was the rightful heir. Robert therefore refused to give up possession of the Castle, and forthwith commenced proceedings in the Court of Exchequer to establish his wife's title. The pleadings in

this suit will be scarcely understood without some brief account of the Honour and its owner.

The Honour, of which Tickhill Castle was the caput, comprised a broad belt of country extending across the northern division of Nottinghamshire into Yorkshire on one side and Derbyshire on the other. This was divided into five bailiwicks; viz.—The Soke and Liberty of Tickhill in Yorkshire, containing 62 Manors; the bailiwicks of Basset and Ultra Trent in Notts containing 115 Manors, and the bailiwick of Scarsdale in Derbyshire containing 8 Manors;⁹⁶ all of which were valued in 1086 at £267 9s. per annum. The Honour also included detached dependencies in 4 other counties; viz. 5 Manors in Leicestershire, 2 in Lincolnshire, one in Gloucestershire, and one in Devon, which brought up the whole value to £304 per annum.⁹⁷ The Domesday owner of this enormous fief was Roger de Busli or Builli, who derived his name from his Norman Seigneurie of Builli in the bailiwick of Drincourt, which still belonged to his descendant the Countess of Eu in 1214. Roger sold the tithes of Builli about 1065 to the Abbot of the Holy Trinity of the Mount at Rouen,³³ for 72 pounds of silver pennies and a war horse. And this was possibly the source, from which he raised the funds to enable him to take part in the expedition to England. He was not married until after the Conquest, and his wife Muriel was a favourite with Queen Matilda, for the Manors of Sandford in Devon, and Clifford in Gloucestershire were the queen's wedding gift.⁹⁸ Besides what he held as tenant in chief, Roger had great estates in mesne tenancy, for he held Sheffield and Hallamshire under the Countess Judith, and was joint owner with Albert de Greslei of Blackburnshire by the grant of Count Roger of Poitou.⁹⁹

Roger's predecessor Edwin Earl of Mercia had his "Hall" (*Aula*) or chief residence at Laughton-en-le-Morthen, but Roger found a more convenient site for his Castle at Dadesley, where he erected a keep on earthworks already existing. The plan of this Castle, which was afterwards known as Tickhill was identical with that of the Castle which was built by King William's orders at Lincoln, where we are told that 163 houses were cleared away to form a site.¹⁰⁰

Roger de Busli and his wife Muriel founded and endowed

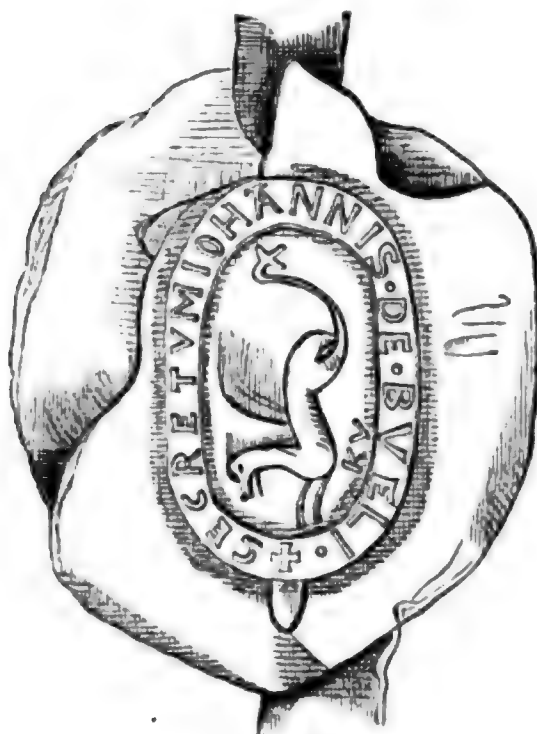
for the stability of William king of the English and his successors, and for the soul of Queen Matilda a Benedictine Priory at Blythe in Nottinghamshire. This Priory was evidently founded before the death of William the Conqueror, but the formal Charter of foundation is dated in 1088.¹⁰¹ It was attested by the founder's brother Ernald and his chief feudatories, and an annual rent charge of 40s. was reserved to the Abbey of the Holy Trinity of the Mount of Rouen. Blyth Priory was in reality a Cell of this Norman Abbey, and is so described in the Writ of Edward III., by which the Alien Priories were reinstated in the lands, which had been taken from them by Edward II. during his war with France.¹⁰² But the Prior only owed a qualified obedience to the mother house, for he proved to the Privy Council in 1403 that the House was Conventual, which means that he held his office for life and could not be removed by the Abbot of the Holy Trinity.¹⁰³

All the authorities from Dugdale to Hunter are agreed in saying that Roger de Busli died in 1098, but this has arisen out of a misinterpretation of a passage in Orderic Vitalis,¹⁰⁴ for it is certain that he was living in 1099, when he and his wife Muriel gave the Manor of Clifford in Gloucestershire to the monks of Gloucester Abbey.¹⁰⁵ He died however before the accession of Henry I., for it was from William Rufus that Robert de Belesme purchased the wardship of his heir and the custody of Tickhill until the young Roger came of age.¹⁰⁶ When Robert de Belesme rebelled in 1102, he fortified Tickhill Castle against Henry I., but the garrison readily submitted on the King's summons,¹⁰⁷ and the tenants of the Honour were confirmed in their holdings. In the meanwhile the young Roger de Busli had died, and his rightful heir was his sister Beatrice the widow of William II. Count of Eu. But the king paid no more respect to her rights than Robert de Belesme had done, and Tickhill was seized as an escheat with the rest of the rebel Earl's possessions. The Honour remained from this time in the hands of the Crown, except for a short time in the reign of Stephen, when Count John of Eu was recognised as the lawful heir. But the Count was dispossessed in 1141 by the chances of war, and was never reinstated, for both Stephen and his rival found that so rich a fief could be turned to better account to serve their own ends, and each

[To face p. 280.]



SEALS OF JOHN DE BULLI, TEMP. K. JOHN.



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of them in turn made use of it as a bribe to secure the support of the Earl of Chester. The right therefore of the Count of Eu remained in obedience, until the restoration of the Honour of Tickhill was made one of the conditions in 1214 of King John's treaty with the Lusignans.

Idonea de Vipont, the rival claimant of the Honour of Tickhill, was the heir of a younger line of the family of de Busli, which sprung from Ernald the younger brother of Roger de Busli of Domesday. Ernald was part owner of the Norman fief of Builli, and joined in the sale of the tithes in 1065.³³ He was amply provided for out of his brother's English Barony, and fixed his residence at Kimberworth, where he had a park¹⁰⁸ as well as a castle. He had also many other manors, which were afterwards reckoned as 6 knight's fees, and were held by his descendants under the successive lords of the Honour of Tickhill. Ernald witnessed in 1088 his brother's foundation of Blyth Priory, but it appears from the pleadings in the suit instituted by his descendant, that he died before his nephew, the younger Roger de Busli.¹⁰⁹ Ernald's son Jordan died a monk of Blyth, and was buried in that Priory.¹¹⁰ But Jordan's son Richard was attracted like many of his contemporaries by the greater austerities and severer discipline of the Cistercian order, which was then gaining ground in Yorkshire. He was with his neighbour Richard fitz Turgis joint founder in 1147 of Roche Abbey, which was built amongst the woods and crags in a secluded valley on the verge of his lordship of Maltby.¹¹¹ Richard's son John de Busli was the father of Idonea de Vipont, who disputed in 1219 the Countess of Eu's title to the Honour of Tickhill.

It appears from an office copy of the pleadings, which was made in 1648 and is preserved amongst Dodsworth's MSS. in the Bodleian Library, that Robert de Vipont for himself and his wife Idonea claimed against Alice Countess of Eu possession of the castle and town of Tickhill with the appurtenances, except six knights' fees which were already in their own hands. The claimants said that Idonea's predecessor (*antecessor*) Roger was seised in the premises in demesne as of his fee and right in the time of King Henry the elder (meaning Henry I.), and that he held them on the year and day of his death; and they said that from Roger the right descended to his cousin (*cognatus*) Jordan, who

was the son of Roger's uncle (*avunculus* :), and that from Jordan the right came to his son Richard, and from Richard to his son John, of whom Idonea was the sole daughter and heir, and for the proof that these averments are true, the claimants put in pledge the body of their freeman Robert son of Direman.

The Countess in defence of her right pleaded by way of demurrer, that she ought not to be compelled to reply to this claim, whilst Robert de Vipont refused to deliver up possession of Tickhill Castle, which he had agreed with the King to do, when he received in exchange the Castle and Shrievalty of Carlisle.

This demurrer was overruled, when the Countess pleaded that she ought not to reply, because the Plaintiff's pedigree was incomplete on the face of it, for the claimants aver that the right descended from Roger to Jordan the son of his uncle, and yet they do not state the name of this uncle ; although the claimants were bound to certify the Court how Jordan was the son of Roger's uncle, and whether he was uncle on the father's side or on the mother's.

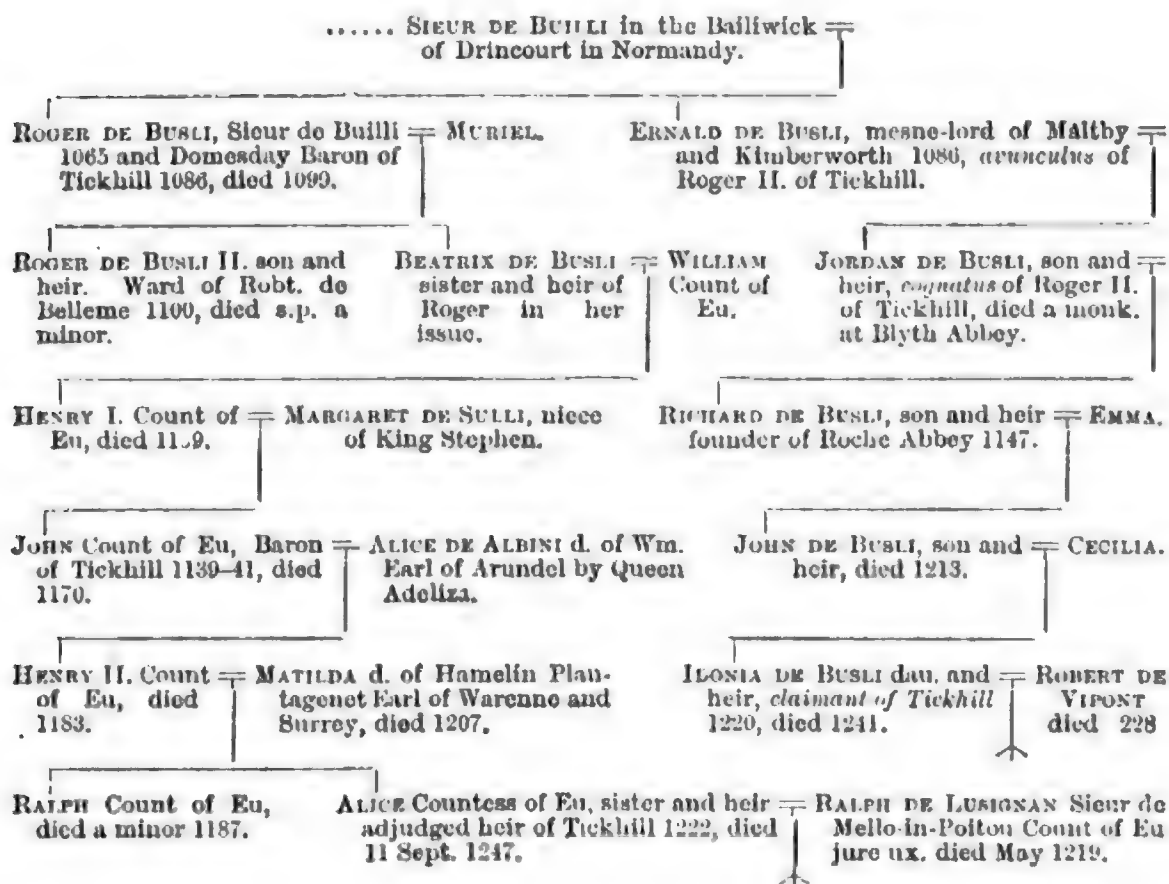
To this plea the claimants made rejoinder, that Jordan was the son of a certain Ernald, who was brother of Roger de Busli the father of the said Roger, so that if the said Roger the Younger died without heirs of his body, the said Ernald would be his heir. But because Ernald died in the lifetime of the younger Roger, the right descended to Jordan son of Ernald, when Roger died without issue.

To this the Countess replied, that Jordan son of Ernald was not the heir of the said Roger, because Roger (meaning Roger the cousin of the said Jordan) had a sister named Beatrix, who was the mother of Henry Count of Eu, who was father of Count John, who was father of Count Henry, of whom she the said Countess was the daughter and heir. And the Countess asked to have a day given to try the issue raised, and she named as her attorneys in the suit Geoffrey de Balliol or Geoffrey de St. Leger.¹⁰⁹

In the meanwhile Robert de Vipont was within his rights in keeping possession of Tickhill Castle, for when the Castle and Shrievalty of Carlisle were given him in recompense for surrendering the Castle and in repayment for his outlay in repairing it, it was agreed that he was not to be called upon to settle accounts with the Exchequer, until the King's

Court had adjudicated on his claims to the Castle and Honour of Tickhill.¹¹²

PEDIGREE II. ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE PLEADINGS IN THE LAW SUIT
CONCERNING THE HONOUR OF TICKHILL, 1220-2.



The suit dragged on for two years, but the Countess would have been a formidable antagonist on account of her relationship to the King's mother, and her connexion with the Justiciary Hubert de Burgh, even if her case had been weaker than it was. But her pedigree could not be disputed, and the Viponts practically withdrew their claim in 1222 by consenting to a final concord, by which they acknowledged the right of the Countess to the Castle and Honour of Tickhill, saving and excepting the right to six and a half Knights' fees in Maltby Sandbeck and Kimberworth in Yorkshire and in divers manors in Notts.

The pleadings in this suit enable us to correct three glaring errors, which disfigure all the received pedigrees. For they prove that Beatrice de Busli Countess of Eu was the daughter and not the sister of Roger de Busli of Domesday; and that she was the wife not of Robert, but of

William Count of Eu, for Count Henry was beyond all question the son of Count William. It follows therefore that Count William the husband of Beatrice de Busli must be a different person from William of Eu the sufferer of 1096, whose wife was the Earl of Chester's sister.

The Countess Alice remained three years longer in England after the termination of the law-suit, although her home was in France. But there is proof that the management of her English estates was left to her uncle the Earl of Warrenne, for on 8 Feb. 1223 the Sheriffs of Yorkshire and Notts were ordered to respite legal proceedings against the Countess, until the Earl returned from the pilgrimage on which he had gone to the Shrine of St. James of Compostella.⁹² The same Sheriffs were directed on 24 Aug. 1225 to give the Earl possession, in trust for his niece, of all the lands, of which William de Tilli had lately died seised within the Honour of Tickhill.⁹²

The Countess, however, as soon as she felt secure that she could return to France without any risk of losing her estates on this side of the Channel, obtained leave of the English King to reside at Eu, and in the summer of 1225 she left England never to return. She is said by French genealogists to have died there in 1227, but Stapleton has proved that she lived some 20 years longer in the full enjoyment of her English possessions.⁷⁸ Her old antagonist Idonea de Vipont died in the beginning of 1242, and it was certified by the King's Writ dated 13 March in that year, that the Countess had fined 100 marks for the custody of Idonea's lands within her fiefs, during the minority of her heirs.¹¹³ Later in this same year 1242, when the war was renewed between England and France, King Henry III. by letters patent took under his protection, the men, goods, rents and lands of the Countess Alice, who was then residing at Eu, and had quitted England in 1225 with the Royal license. The custody of her lands was committed to Bernard of Savoy, but she continued to receive the rents; and when the aid was levied in 1245 for the marriage of the King's eldest daughter, she was charged £62 10 for 62½ Knights' fees in Sussex, and £60 15 for 60¾ Knights' fees in Yorkshire. This last sum was still owing in its entirety in 1247, according to the return made by the Sheriff of Yorkshire in 41 Hen. III. The Countess was then still living, but there is

little doubt that 1247 was the year of her death, for her son (who survived her) died in 1248, and her grand-daughter's husband styled himself Count of Eu early in 1249.⁷⁸ Her anniversary was kept on 11 September, which was probably the day of her death.

Alice Countess of Eu had issue by her husband Ralph de Lusignan Sieur de Issoudun, two sons and a daughter.

I. RALPH, her son and heir.

II. WARINE, was a student at the University of Oxford at 1215, when the Mayor and Bailiffs of Oxford were commanded by a Writ of King John (dated 10 April 1215) to pay on account of the Royal Exchequer to the Count of Eu's son Warine a shilling a day for his expenses as long as he remained at Oxford. Such allowance to be reckoned from Wednesday next before Palm Sunday, up to which time he has received an allowance of fifty shillings.⁹² This entry in the Close Rolls is the earliest reference within my knowledge to the amount of a student's expenses at Oxford. It is interesting to compare it with the allowance, which was considered sufficient in 1180 for an heiress in Normandy, who was a ward of the Crown. She was allowed for food and raiment for herself her nurse and manservant 18 pence a day.¹¹⁴ Warine is unknown to genealogists, and I have found no other notice of him.

III. MATILDA, is mentioned in her mother's grant to Foucarmont Abbey of 17 May 1219.⁷⁸ She married Humphrey de Bohun V. Earl of Hereford and Essex, and through this marriage the Howards and many other noble families trace their descent from the Counts of Eu.

XI.

RALPH III. COUNT OF EU, the son and heir of the Countess Alice by Ralph de Issoudun Count of Eu, is mentioned in his mother's grants to Foucarmont Abbey and Roche Abbey in 1219. His life and career were altogether foreign to England, and he is never mentioned in contemporary English records.

He survived his mother, but it was only for a few months

at a time when the war between England and France would prevent his claiming any lands of inheritance in England.

He married three wives. His first wife Joan was the daughter of Eudes III. Duke of Burgundy, and died without issue in 1224.

He married secondly Yolendis daughter of Robert II. Count of Dreux,¹¹⁵ by whom he had an only daughter Mary. Yolendis died before 1240, for the Count of Eu in that year gave his sanction by letter to the pious gift of his wife Yolendis of happy memory, who had given in her lifetime in alms to the Abbey of St. Ived of Braine ten livres of Provence currency.⁷⁸

Count Ralph married thirdly Philippa daughter of Simon de Dammartin Count of Ponthieu, by whom he had no issue. Philippa was sister to Jane the wife of St. Ferdinand King of Castile, and the mother of Eleanor the first wife of Edward I.¹¹⁶

Ralph Count of Eu died before August 1248, for his widow Philippa remarried Ralph Sieur de Couci, who went to the Crusade with St. Louis in the autumn of 1248, and was slain at Massoura on 9 Feb. 1250.¹¹⁷ Philippa married thirdly Otto IV. Count of Gueldres and died 14 April 1268.¹¹⁸

XII.

MARY COUNTESS OF EU, the only daughter and heir of Count Ralph III. by his second wife Yolendis, was one of the greatest heiresses in France, and was given in marriage by King Louis IX. to Alfonso de Brienne, the son of John titular King of Jerusalem. Alfonso is styled Count of Eu early in 1249, so that his marriage took place soon after Count Ralph's death. He was Chamberlain of France in 1258, and was in high favour with King Louis IX. of France. When King Henry III. visited Paris in October 1259 after the peace between the two countries, King Louis made special request to him that he would restore to the Count of Eu the Honours of Hastings and Tickhill, which were his wife's inheritance in England. The Count and his brother

John were present when this request were made, and the English King made answer in their hearing—

“When the King of France restores to Englishmen their lands in Normandy, I will give back to Frenchmen the lands and tenements which were theirs in England.”

The Count of Eu accompanied King Louis in the glorious but fatal expedition against Tunis, and died before Carthage on the same day, that is, on 25 August 1270. His body was brought home for burial, and he was buried in the Church of St. Denys, in the chapel of St. Martin on 29 May 1271.

Mary Countess of Eu died long before her husband, for she did not survive her marriage more than four years.

She had issue two sons and a daughter.

I. JOHN, her son and heir.

II. ALFONSO died unmarried before his father, and was buried in the Church of St. Catherine's Priory at Paris.

III. BLANCHE was a nun, and died Abbess of Maubuisson.

XIII.

JOHN II. COUNT OF EU, the son and heir of the Countess Mary of Eu by Alfonso de Brienne, was a mere child when he went with his father to the 7th Crusade, but he showed so much gallantry that King Louis made him a Knight in spite of his tender years. His father enjoyed the County of Eu until his death, so that John did not gain possession of his inheritance until 1270. Twenty years later he was encouraged by his cordial relations with the English Court to assert his hereditary claims to the Honours of Hastings and Tickhill, which had belonged to his great grandmother the Countess Alice. He presented his petition to the King in Council at the sittings after Easter 1290, but it was adjudged that he was an alien, and he was told as his father was in 1259, “that when Englishmen had their estates in Normandy restored to them, Frenchmen should have their inheritance in England given back to them.” The Count however was graciously assured in addition, that whenever such restitution was made of the lands in Normandy, the King of England

would be more readily disposed to show favour towards the Count of Eu than to any other claimant.

From this time forward the Counts of Eu abandoned all claim to the Honours of Hastings and Tickhill, which had belonged to their ancestors, and the estates, which they held in subsequent generations on this side of the Channel, were derived from an entirely different source. Count John II. survived the rejection of his ancestral claims four years only, for he died at Clermont in the Beauvoisin in 1294, leaving a son and three daughters.

XIV.

JOHN III. COUNT OF EU, son and heir of Count John II. by Beatrix de St. Pol, was declared in 1295 Count of Guines in right of his wife Jane the daughter and heir of Count Baldwin IV. of Guines.¹¹⁹ He was killed at the battle of Courtrai on 11 July 1302.

XV.

RALPH IV. COUNT OF EU, the son and heir of Count John III. succeeded his father as Count of Eu in 1302 and his mother as Count of Guines in 1331. He married in 12 Edward II. Jane the elder daughter and co-heir of Drogo Sieur de Mello in Poitou,¹²⁰ who had inherited considerable estates in England and Ireland in 1307 from Geoffrey de Lusignan.¹²¹ Geoffrey Vicomte de Chatellerand was in high favour with King Edward I. both before and after his accession to the throne, and was rewarded for his services in 1258 by a grant of the manor of Laughton-en-le-Morthen in Yorkshire parcel of the Honour of Tickhill, which was then in the possession of the Prince of Wales.¹²² Geoffrey died seised of the manors of Wighton in Norfolk, and Great Ponton in Lincolnshire, as well as of the Hundred of North Greenhoe in Norfolk and valuable town lands in Ireland ;¹²³ of all which his widow Petronilla had one third part assigned to her in 1306 for her dower. Petronilla remarried in 1308 John II. Count of Dreux,¹¹⁵ and died in 1324, when the custody

of the lands, which she held in dower, was granted by the King to Bartholomew de Wighton at a rent of £55 per annum.¹²⁴ In the meanwhile Drogo de Mello had died in 1318,¹²⁵ leaving two daughters Jane and Margaret. The Count of Eu, who was the husband of Jane, obtained a grant of the whole inheritance subject to Petronilla's dower, until Margaret was of full age.¹²⁰ For this grant the Count agreed to pay an annual rent of £57 16. 6. in respect of the English estates, and £46 16. 8. in respect of the Irish. The Countess Jane is called Jane de Mello by the French genealogists,¹¹⁹ and her true parentage is now for the first time ascertained.

The Count of Eu, like other French noblemen who had lands on this side of the Channel, lost his rents from time to time when a war broke out between England and France; but his rights of proprietorship were only suspended, and he recovered them when peace was declared. In the meanwhile the custody of estates belonging to aliens, which had been seised into the King's hands, was usually granted to Court favourites on a beneficial lease. Thus the dower-lands of Geoffrey de Lusignan's widow were leased in 1324 to Bartholomew de Wighton,¹²⁰ and were transferred in 1327 to the King's cousin Elizabeth de Burgh.¹²⁶

But there is evidence that the Count of Eu was in possession of the manor of Laughton in 1332, when his servant Hugh de Lindsay prosecuted the vicar there for an assault.¹²² He was then Constable of France, and in this same year accompanied John King of Bohemia in his trip to Italy. He went to Paris in 1345 to attend the wedding of the Duke of Orleans, but was killed on 18 January at the tournament by a blow from a lance in the chance medley.¹¹⁹ He had issue by his wife Jane a son and two daughters.

I. RALPH V. his successor.

II. JANE was one of the many noble ladies, who were proposed in turn as a suitable wife for John of Eltham Earl of Cornwall, the brother of King Edward III., for by letters patent dated 24 Feb. 1333 the Bishop of Worcester, Bartholomew de Burghersh, Sir William Trussell Kt. and William de Cusancia, canon of St. Wilfreds Ripon, were appointed by the King of England his envoys extraordinary and ministers plenipotentiary, to treat with Ralph Count of Eu concerning a marriage between his daughter Jane and the Earl of Corn-

wall.⁹⁴ This treaty evidently fell through, for on 9 April 1334 the Archbishop of Canterbury and William de Cusancia received a fresh commission to treat for the Earl of Cornwall's marriage with some French nobleman's daughter of approved birth character and beauty.⁹⁴ The plenipotentiaries failed altogether to find in France an eligible wife for the Earl of Cornwall, and on 16 July 1334 another set of envoys was sent to Spain to arrange a marriage with Mary de Lara,⁹⁴ the grand-niece of King Sancho IV. and according to Sandford's *Genealogical History of the Kings of England* a marriage contract was actually concluded on 28 Sept. 1334. But it is evident that no such marriage took place, for on 31 Dec. 1335 Sir William Daubeney and others were empowered to treat with the Duke of Brittany for the Earl's marriage to the Duke's niece.⁹¹ It seems almost ludicrous to relate, that after all these negotiations the Earl of Cornwall died unmarried in the next year, on 14 Sept. 1336.

In the meanwhile Jane of Eu married her cousin Gaucher de Brienne Duke of Athens and Constable of France, who was killed at the battle of Poitiers on 19 Sept. 1356. She married secondly in January 1357 Louis II. Count of Etampes, who was taken prisoner with King John at Poitiers, and was one of those noble captives, whom the Black Prince entertained at his own table on the evening of the victory. The Countess Jane had no issue by either of her husbands, and died at Sens 6 July 1389, when she was buried at St. Denis. Her widower died of apoplexy on 6 May 1400, when he was supping with the Duke of Berri, at Paris in the Hotel de Nesle. The Count was buried with his wife at St. Denis.¹²⁷

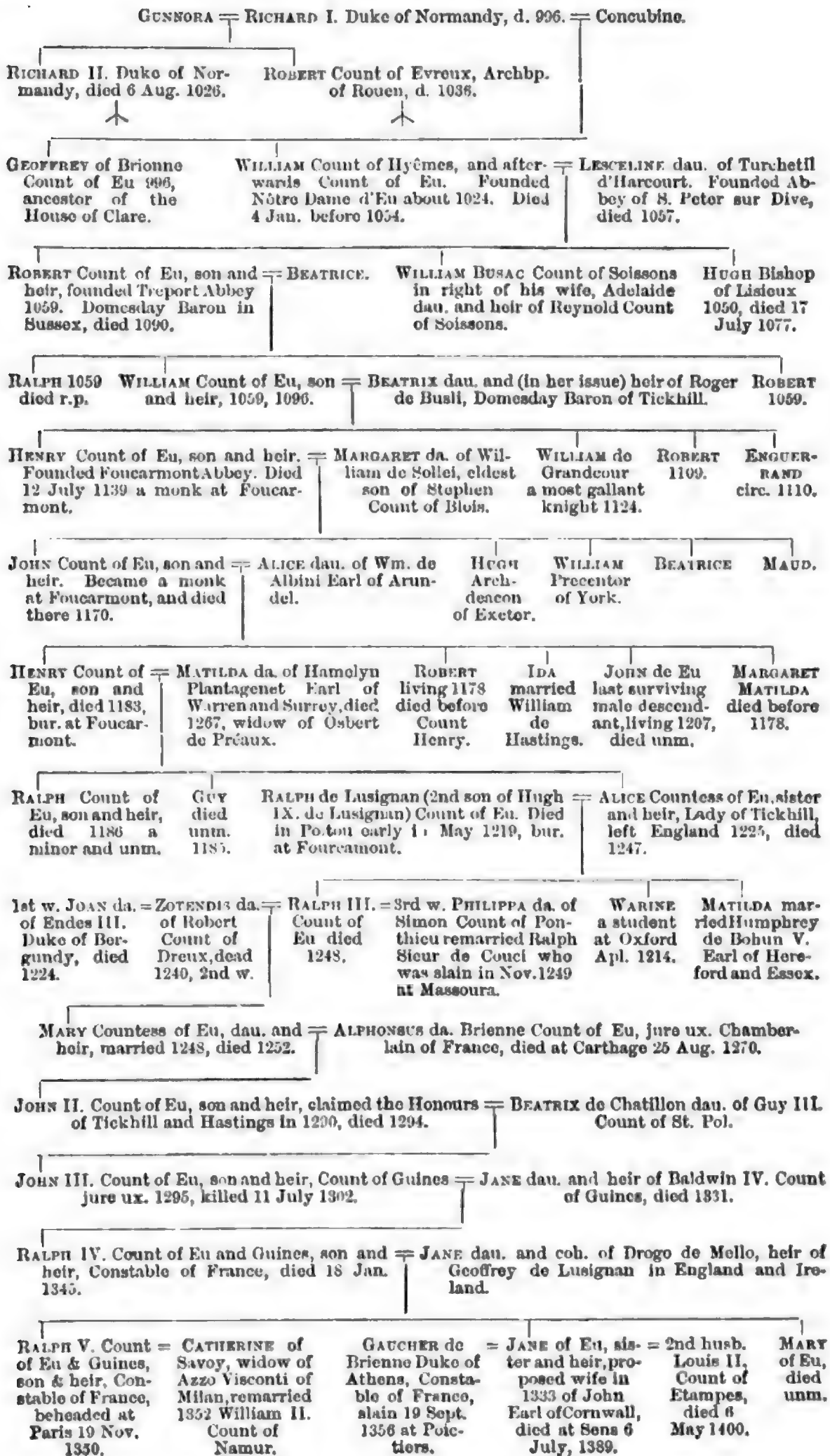
III. MARY OF EU died unmarried.

XVI.

RALPH V. COUNT OF EU succeeded his father in 1345 in the Counties of Eu and Guines, as well as in his dignity as Constable of France. He also inherited the estates in England, which King Edward I. gave to Geoffrey de Lusignan.

But when war was declared between England and France in 1344, the Count of Eu's English estates were forfeited on the ground that he was an alien, who was taking part with the King's enemies.¹²⁸ When the English invaded Normandy in 1346, the Count of Eu was sent with an army by Philip of Valois to relieve Caen, but on the approach of the enemy he was deserted by his followers and was taken prisoner by the English. He remained three years in captivity, but was treated with so much respect and affection by King Edward, that he was suspected by his own Sovereign of treason. King John's mind was poisoned against him by the insinuations of Charles de la Cerda, who was acting as Constable during the Count's absence, and was unwilling that he should resume his office. The consequence was, that when the Count obtained permission in 1350 to return to France, to collect money for his ransom, he was arrested on his arrival in Paris by the King's orders, and three days afterwards was beheaded without trial on 19 Nov. 1350. He had no issue by his wife Catherine of Savoy, the widow of Azzo Visconti of Milan, who remarried in 1352 William I. Count of Namur.¹²⁹ His dignities were confiscated, and the King of France gave the County of Eu to John of Artois, whilst Guines was reunited to the domains of the Crown.

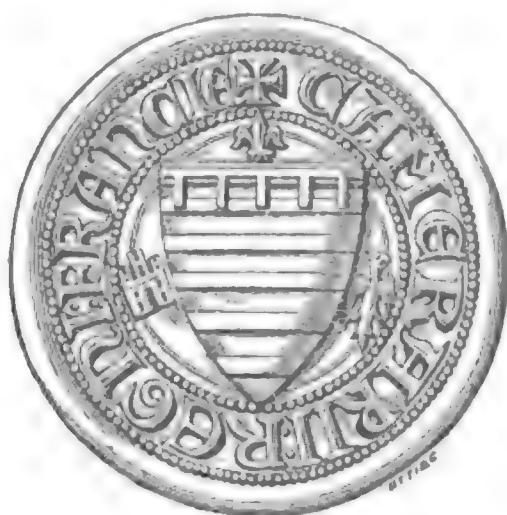
The Count of Eu's estates in England had escheated to King Edward III. at the beginning of the war with France in 1344, and twenty years after his death an inquest was held to certify, how much of them remained at the King's disposal.¹³⁰ This inquest was taken in contemplation of a grant to Sir Robert Knollys and his wife Constance, which took effect in 1370,¹³¹ but the grant was recalled two years afterwards,¹³² and the manors of Laughton and Wighton with the rest of the estates, which the Count of Eu had formerly possessed by inheritance from Geoffrey de Lusignan, were all included in the enormous grant of lands, by which King Edward recompensed his son John of Gaunt on 25 June 1372 for his surrender of the Honour of Richmond.¹³³



PROOFS AND AUTHORITIES.

- ¹ L'Art de Verifier les Dates, vol. xii., p. 450.
- ² Hunter's *History of South Yorkshire*, vol. i., pp. 221-228.
- ³ Pere Anselm's *Hist. Genealogique de France*, vol. ii., p. 493.
- ⁴ Dugdale's *Baronage*, vol. i., p. 136.
- ⁵ Palgrave's *Hist. of Normandy and England*, vol. iii., pp. 28, 45-50.
- ⁶ Orderic Vitalis, lib. iii. cap. 2. W. of Jumieges.
- ⁷ Orderic Vitalis, lib. vii. cap. 15.
- ⁸ Orderic Vitalis, lib. viii. cap. 13.
- ⁹ Gallia Christiana, vol. xi. Inst. 153.
- ¹⁰ Gallia Christiana, vol. xi. p. 293.
- ¹¹ Gallia Christiana, vol. xi. p. 856.
- ¹² Cartular. S. Trinitat. Rothom, p. 457.
- ¹³ Gallia Christiana, vol. ix. Inst. 203.
- ¹⁴ Newstria Pia, p. 498.
- ¹⁵ Gallia Christiana, vol. xi. Inst. 156.
- ¹⁶ Freeman's *Hist. of Norman Conquest*, vol. iii. pp. 116, 670.
- ¹⁷ W. of Jumieges, vii. 20.
- ¹⁸ L'Art de Verifier les Dates, vol. xii. p. 265.
- ¹⁹ Orderic Vitalis, lib. v. cap. 3.
- ²⁰ Gallia Christiana, vol. xi. p. 767.
- ²¹ Orderic Vitalis, lib. iii. cap. 11.
- ²² Monasticon, vol. viii. p. 1325.
- ²³ Orderic Vitalis, lib. viii. cap. 17.
- ²⁴ *The Conqueror and his Companions*, by J. R. Planché, vol. i. p. 237.
- ²⁵ Cart. S. Trin. Rothom, p. 426.
- ²⁶ Orderic Vitalis, lib. i. cap. 24.
- ²⁷ Gallia Christiana, vol. xi. Inst. p. 244.
- ²⁸ Cart. S. Trin. Rothom, p. 463.
- ²⁹ Wace, Roman de Rou.
- ³⁰ Orderic Vitalis, lib. iv. cap. 5.
- ³¹ Orderic Vitalis, lib. iv. cap. 4.
- ³² Gallia Christiana, vol. xi. Inst. 68.
- ³³ Cartular. S. Trin. Roth. p. 463.
- ³⁴ Domesday *Sussex*, 18; *Hunts*, 205B; *Essex*, 63.
- ³⁵ Orderic Vitalis, lib. viii. cap. 9.
- ³⁶ Simeon of Durham's *Contind. Hist. of Sec of Durham*, 1088—Stevenson's translation, p. 745.
- ³⁷ Annals of Waverley (Rolls edition).
- ³⁸ Florence of Worcester.
- ³⁹ *A Key to Domesday Dorset Survey*, by Rev. R. W. Eyton, 1878, pp. 76, 120 note.
- ⁴⁰ Orderic Vitalis, lib. viii. cap. 23.
- ⁴¹ Freeman's *History of William II.* vol. ii. p. 65.
- ⁴² Orderic Vitalis, lib. ix. cap. 3.
- ⁴³ Orderic Vitalis, lib. xii. cap. 39.
- ⁴⁴ Chartulary of Ramsey Abbey (Rolls edition), vol. i. p. 236.
- ⁴⁵ William of Jumieges, lib. vii. cap. 34.
- ⁴⁶ Orderic Vitalis, lib. xi. cap. 10.
- ⁴⁷ Orderic Vitalis, lib. xi. cap. 20.
- ⁴⁸ Orderic Vitalis, lib. xii. cap. 2.
- ⁴⁹ Orderic Vitalis, lib. xii. cap. 18.
- ⁵⁰ Gallia Christiana, vol. xi. p. 294, Inst. 21.
- ⁵¹ Orderic Vitalis, lib. xii. cap. 45.
- ⁵² Eadman, lib. i. p. 23.
- ⁵³ *Medieval Military Architecture in England*, by G. T. Clark, *Hastings Castle*, vol. ii. p. 87.
- ⁵⁴ Gallia Christiana, vol. xi. p. 304.
- ⁵⁵ Le Neve's Fasti. Ed. Hardy, *Exeter*, vol. i. pp. 397, 401.
- ⁵⁶ Le Neve's Fasti, *Exeter*, vol. i. pp. 392, 405.
- ⁵⁷ Le Neve's Fasti, *York*, vol. iii. pp. 98, 153.
- ⁵⁸ *Archæological Cantiana*, vol. x. pp. 267-281.
- ⁵⁹ Placitorum Abbreviatio, p. 24.
- ⁶⁰ Monasticon, vol. iii. p. 88, No. XIV.
- ⁶¹ Gallia Christiana, vol. xi. p. 294.
- ⁶² Matthew Paris,
- ⁶³ Liber Niger Scaccarii, p. 66.
- ⁶⁴ Idem, p. 287.
- ⁶⁵ Dugdale's *Baronage*, vol. i. p. 137.
- ⁶⁶ Monasticon, vol. v. p. 667, No. III. *Robertsbridge Abbey*.
- ⁶⁷ Idem, No. IV.
- ⁶⁸ Idem, No. VII.
- ⁶⁹ Idem, No. VI.
- ⁷⁰ Rot. Pat.
- ⁷¹ Rot. Claus. 1205, Aug. 6.
- ⁷² Hasted's *Hist. of Kent*. 8vo. vol. viii. p. 97.
- ⁷³ Fines, 9 John, 1207. Rot. de Finibus et Oblatis, p. 377.
- ⁷⁴ Rot. Pip. 18 Hen. II. Suffolk.
- ⁷⁵ Gesta Henrici II. Benedicti (Rolls edition), vol. i. p. 45.
- ⁷⁶ Rob. de Monte (Struve), p. 922.
- ⁷⁷ Annals of Bermondsey (Rolls edition).
- ⁷⁸ Stapleton's *Norman Exchequer*, vol. ii. p. 232.
- ⁷⁹ L'Art de Verifier les Dates, vol. x. p. 231.
- ⁸⁰ Gesta Benedicti, vol. ii. p. 45 Hoveden, vol. ii. p. 344.
- ⁸¹ Matthew Paris, vol. ii. p. 360.
- ⁸² Hoveden, vol. iv. p. 161.
- ⁸³ Stapleton, vol. ii. p. 221.
- ⁸⁴ Rot. Cartarum, R. Johannis.
- ⁸⁵ Rot. Pat. R. Johannes.
- ⁸⁶ Matthew Paris, vol. ii. p. 478.
- ⁸⁷ Idem, vol. ii. p. 479.
- ⁸⁸ Rot. Pat. 13 Feb. 1207, 19 Nov. 1208, 23 Dec. 1213. Rot. Cart. 24 June, 1212.

- ⁸⁹ Matthew Paris, vol. ii. p. 573.
⁹⁰ Rot. Pat. et Claus. *passim*.
⁹¹ Rot. Claus. 17 Oct. 1215, 4 Nov. 1215, 17 Jan. 1216, 5 April, 1216.
⁹² Rot. Claus.
⁹³ Sussex Archæologia, vol. vi. pp. 110, 111.
⁹⁴ Rot. Pat.
⁹⁵ Monasticon, vol. v. p. 505, No. XII. *Roche Abbey*.
⁹⁶ *Hist. of Blyth*, by Rev. J. Raine. 4to. 1860.
⁹⁷ Domesday Notts, 280, 284B; Yorkshire, 319, 379; Derbyshire, 278; Lincolnshire, 337.
⁹⁸ Domesday Devon, 113; Gloucestershire, 163B.
⁹⁹ Domesday Inter. Rip. et Mersam. 270.
¹⁰⁰ Archæologia, vol. vi. pl. 31.
¹⁰¹ Monasticon, vol. iv. p. 620. *Blythe Priory*.
¹⁰² Thorston's *Hist. of Notts*, p. 474.
¹⁰³ Privy Council Records, 1403.
¹⁰⁴ Orderic Vitalis, lib. x. cap. 7.
¹⁰⁵ Cart. S. Petri Glouc. (Rolls edition) vol. i. pp. 62, 123, 334.
¹⁰⁶ *Domesday Tenants in Yorkshire*, by A. S. Ellis, p. 29.
¹⁰⁷ Orderic Vitalis, lib. xi. cap. 3.
¹⁰⁸ Hunter's *South Yorkshire*, vol. ii. — *Kimberworth*.
¹⁰⁹ Dodworth's MSS. in Bodleian Library.
¹¹⁰ Chartulary of Blythe, quoted by Mr. Raine.
¹¹¹ Hunter's *South Yorkshire*, vol. i. p. 266. *Roche Abbey*.
¹¹² Madox' *Hist. of the Exchequer*, vol. ii. p. 68.
¹¹³ Fine Rolls, Hen. III.
¹¹⁴ Stapleton's *Norman Exchequer*, vol. i. p. 66.
¹¹⁵ *L'Art de Verifier les Dates*, vol. xi. p. 467.
¹¹⁶ *L'Art de Verifier les Dates*, vol. xii. p. 333.
¹¹⁷ *L'Art de Verifier les Dates*, vol. xii. p. 232.
¹¹⁸ *L'Art de Verifier les Dates*, vol. xiv. p. 285.
¹¹⁹ *L'Art de Verifier les Dates*, vol. xiv. p. 426.
¹²⁰ Rot. Orig. vol. i. p. 240.
¹²¹ Rot. Orig. vol. i. p. 157.
¹²² Hunter's *South Yorkshire*, vol. i. p. 284. *Laughton-en-le-Morthen*.
¹²³ Inq. p. m. Galfridi de Lesinian, 33 Ed. I. No. 249.
¹²⁴ Rot. Orig. vol. i. p. 282.
¹²⁵ Inq. p. m. Drogonis de Merlaw, 11 Ed. II. No. 45.
¹²⁶ Rot. Orig. vol. ii. p. 5.
¹²⁷ *L'Art de Verifier les Dates*, vol. xi. p. 451.
¹²⁸ Vincent's *Discovery of Errors*, pp. 141, 191.
¹²⁹ *L'Art de Verifier les Dates*, vol. xiv. p. 130.
¹³⁰ Inq. ad q. d. 44 Ed. III. No. 6.
¹³¹ Rot. Orig. vol. ii. p. 312.
¹³² Rot. Orig. vol. ii. p. 319.
¹³³ Rot. Orig. vol. ii. p. 321. *Charters of the Duchy of Lancaster*, printed in the appendix to 31st Report of Deputy-Keeper of Public Records, p. 36.



SEAL OF COUNT D'EU, NORMANDY.

(To be continued.)

ALDBOROUGH CHURCH, NEAR BOROUGHBIDGE.

By ALEX. D. H. LEADMAN.

(CONTINUED FROM P. 196.)

TESTAMENTARY BURIALS FROM TORRE'S PECULIARS, PP. 922, 923.²⁷ (JUNE 7, 1882.)

7 Dec^{br} A.D. 1544.

Thomas Smyth 1514.²⁸ Thomas Smith pr Cantarist at Aldburgh made his will (proved 8 Jan : 1544) whereby he comended his soul to God Alm. S^t Mary & all Saints in heaven. And gave his body to be buried in the Church of S^t Andrew at Aldburgh wthin the N. Church door where his predecessor lyeth.

18 Feb : 1474.

John Marston, 1474. John Marston Chapln of the Chantry of S. Mary in the Church of Aldburgh made his will (proved penult Apr. 1474) gave his soul (ut supra) and his body to be buried wthn the Church of Aldburgh.

17 Jan : A.D. 1628.

John Waddington, 1628.²⁹ John Waddington of Aldburgh Clerk made his nuncupative will & comended his soul to God Alm : his Creator and to Jesus X^t his Redeemer trusting in him for salvation. And gave his body to be buried in the Chancell of the parish Ch : of Aldburgh.

26 July A.D. 1613. 11 Jac.

Edward Aldburgh, gent.³⁰ 1613. Edward Aldbrough of Ellingthorpe, gent. made his will (proved 13 Sept : 1613) giving his soul (ut supra) and his body to sepulture in the parish church of Aldbrough.

2 Febr A.d. 1626.

Thomas Tankard, ar. 1628. Thomas Tankard of Brampton Esq made his will (proved penult Oct 1628) whereby he bequeathed his soul to God Alm : his Creator & Redeemer, and his body to be buried in his Closset in Aldburgh Church.

A.D. 1662.

Thomas Tankard, Bt.³¹ 1662. Thomas Tankard of Rypon Bar^t made his will (proved) comending his soul to God Alm : his Creator & Redeemer hoping through the merits of Jesus Christ to be saved. And

²⁷ These entries are not in chronological order, but I have given them as they occur in Torre.

²⁸ Buried 20 December, 1544.

²⁹ Buried 17 January, 1628.

³⁰ It m. Edwarde, sonne to Mr. Richard Aldbrough, Esquire, was buried the 29 July, 1613.

³¹ Buried 24 February, 1662.

gave his body to be buried in the parish Ch : of Aldburgh among his Ancestors.

1 Apr : A d 1544.

John Gayne-
forth.
1545.³³

Sir John Gayneforth, y^e priest of Aldburgh, made his will (proved 25 Sept 1545) giving his soul to God Alm : S^t Mary & all Saints and his body to be buried in the Church garth of Aldburgh.

26 July A d. 1474.

John Preston.
1474.

John Preston Vicar of Aldburgh dying Administration of his goods was granted to Tho : a^{las} Coke & to John Preston die Mercurij prop post festi S^u : Gregorij.

A.D. 1352.

William de
Dunsford.
1353.

W^m de Dunsford, Chaplin, made his will proved 2 April 1353 giving his soul (ut supra) and his body to be buried in the pish ch yard of Aldeburgh.

3 June 1573.

William Tan-
kard, of Boro-
brig, esquier.
1573.³³

I, William Tanckard of Borobrig, esquier. First I bequethe my soule to Almighty God and my body to be buried within the parish church of Aldburgh.

When the Valor Ecclesiasticus was made in 1534, Aldborough Church³⁴ and its Chantries were valued as follows :—

Aldburth Vicar' Eccl'ie	
Rectoria approp : capital Ebor.	
Will'ms Gardyng ³⁵ incumbens	
Vicaria p'dea valet in	
Mansione cum gleba et oblac'	} £ix. s xix. d v.
cū decim' minut up pz in libo	
quadragesimal'	
Q'. valet clare	
X ^{ma} pars inde	. s xix. d xl. q.

Chantries, *ibid.* Cantar'³⁶ Sancti John Baptist in Aldburg
Joh'es Gaynforthe incumbens Cantar' p'dea valet in
Redd et firmis p annū div's tenementoz s xli. d ij.
Q' v clare X^{ma} p. inde . . . s iiij. d j. ob.

Cantar'³⁷ Salvat'³⁸ Bte Marie in Aldbrought
Thomas Smyth incumbens—Cantar' p'dea valet in
Mansione cum ptinc'e p. annū — „ s x „ — } £—s cx. d—
Redd et firmis div's ten'etoz p. annu — „ s c „ — }
Q' v. clare X^{ma} p. in — „ s xj. „ —

³³ Buried 2 April, 1543.

³⁵ From Richmondshire Wills, *Surtces Soc.* vol. 26, 1855, pp. 235, 236. He was buried 16 August. Will dated 3 June, and proved 30 September, 1573.

³⁴ Vol. v. p. 258.

³⁵ Will'mus Gardyng, "incumbens" of

Marton & Grafton also.

³⁶ Value of this chantry in Dodsworth's Notes, £4 3s. 2d.

³⁷ Ditto, ditto, £5 19s. 1d.

³⁸ Chantry of the Salutation of Our Lady of the foundation of the ancestors of Richard Aldburgh and others.

Cantar' ³⁹ Bte Marie in Aldbroughe.

John Jackson incumbens Cantar' p'dēa valet in

Redd et firmis dv̄s tenementoz p annū £ iiij. s xix. d viij.

Q' v̄ clare X^{ma} ps inde . . . s ix. d xj. ob. q.

The Chantries at Boroughbridge and Roccliffe were included with Aldborough, and are thus described :—

Cantar Beāta Agathe de Boro'brig

Wm. Gray incumbens.

Cantar' p' dēa valet in

Redd et firmis d̄ annū div̄s tenementoz — s lxij. d iij

Q' valet clare

X^{ma} ps inde . . . — s lvj. d ij. ob' q'.

Cantar S. Salvatoris de Boro'brig.

Thomas Hu'tred incumbens.

Cantar p' dēa valet in

Mansione . . . — s iij. d — } — s xlix. d —
Redd' et firmis div̄s tenētoz — s xlvj. d —

Q' valet clare

X^{ma} ps inde . . . £ — s iiij. d xj.

Cantar' Bte' Marie de Rotilyffe.⁴⁰

John Horner incumbens — Cantar p. v. in

Redd' et firm div tent . . . s xl. d —

Q. v. cl. — X^{ma} p. in . . . s iiij. d —

CHANCERY CERTIFICATES TAKEN 1547.

The Chauntrye of or lady in the chapell of Rokelyffe in the said poche of Aldebroughe John Horner Incumbent having no foundacon but nōiate by c'ten feoffies of div'se copyholde lands seced to thuse of fyndyng of one p̄st to celebrate masse in the said Chapell for the ease of the Inhabitants of the same towne & to pⁿ (*sic*) for the Sowles of y^e dono^{rs}.

The same is distante from the poch church ij myles the necessitie is to have masse celebrate ther by reason of y^e farr distaunce. there is no landes alienate or sold sithens the Statute.

Goods Ornaments and plate ptenynge to the same as apperyth by the Inventory viz. goods valued at ijs. jd. plate id.

Goodes ijs. jd.

Plate nil.

First. Thomas Yonge holdyth the third pte of one messuage and ij oxgange of land in Roclyff xij. s. ix. d. ob. George Burnande one cotage with thapp'tinances ther xjs. viij. d. George Warynge one cotage ther iijs. John Erle two oxgange of lande ther xxxs. viij. d. John Nether-

³⁹ Value of this chantry in Dodsworth's Notes, £6 s10. d9.

⁴⁰ Dodsworth has the value of this as £4 s5. d11.

woode one cloise ther vjs. viij*d*. Brian Barker one oxgange of lande xijs. viij*d*., & one cotage wth one Barne in thoccupac^{on} of the said Incumbent vijs. vj*d*. in all

Sum of Rentall iiij*l*. vs. xj*d*. ob.

[whereof are payable sundries amounting to xlvij*s*. xj*d*. ob.]

and so Remanyth xxxviij*s*.

The Chauntry of Sancto John Bapte in the saide Church (of Aldborough) Richard Langfello Incumbent having no foundacon, &c. (as above).

Goods valued at xvjs. iiij*d*.

Plate *nil*.

First one cotage with thapp^rtm^rts in Aldbrough in the tenure of John Brampton xxix*s*. vij*d*. ob. q^u. Richard Scruton one cotage with thapp^rtm^rts ther xxix*s*. vd. ob. q^u. John Brown one cotage vs. vij*d*. Arthure Stagge one cotage xxi*d*. Marke Shepde vjs. for one cotage in Burrowbrigge & Thomas Dawton half one cotage wth thapp^rtm^rts in Mynskip vs. ij*d*. Sum 4*l*. 3*s*. 2*d*. deducted 40*s*. 5*d*.

The Chauntrie of o^r laydye⁴¹ within the said paroche Church (Aldborough) Crystofer Sceme (!) Incumbent having no foundacon, &c. (as above) and the said Incumbent doth teache a Gram^o Seole to the Children of the sayde poche.

Goodes xijs. vj*d*.

Plate *nil*.

First, one cotage in Aldbrough in the tenure of John Skyunner ijs. viij*d*. Will^m Bikerdyke one cotage ther ijs. Roger Tompson one cotage ther with one gardyne vjs. viij*d*. Nicholas Boke one cotage ther vs. Richard Elga one cotage ther vs. John Thomkynson one cotage ther vjs. ob. Alice P^ocions one cotage ther vs. Thom^s Flynt one mesuage with thapp^rtm^rnes viijs. iiij*d*.; the same Thom^s one cotage ther with one oxgange of lande xxxvjs. ij*d*. q^u. Rauf maner one cotage ther *nil*. Will^m Clerke one cotage ther *nil* one cotage in Mynskip with thapp^rtm^rts in the tenure of Robert Hooten vjs. the same Robert ij oxgange of lande ther xix*s*. John Webster one cotage ijs. iiij*d*. Thom^s Porter one cotage ther *nil*. Will^m Tankerd ij acres of lande xiiij*d*. X^opofer Whelehouse one cotage in Roclyff xjs. ij*d*. ob. Will^m Monketon one cotage in Grafton ijs. iiij*d*.

Sum of the Rentall vj*l*. xs. ix*d*. q^u.

whereof payable, &c. xxxvjs. xd. q^u.

and so remanyth iiij*l*. xiijs. vj*d*.

The particulars of the Chantry of "Our Lady in the Chapell of Burrobrigge in the paroche of Aldbrough" are very indistinct on the parchment—Mr William Gray Incumbent—no foundation but established for the ease of the inhabitants and "for the ease of Strangers reparynge through the same beinge one thorough fare towne of the king's strete ledynge from London to Karliell and Barwyke."

Goods viijs.

Plate xxiijs.

Rental lxxiijs. ix*d*. q^u.

whereof is payable xviijs. ix*d*.

and so remaineth lvj. q^u.

⁴¹ Some of the Chantry lands of the Church, and some belonging to one of "Blessed Virgin Mary" in Aldborough the chantries in Boroughbridge Church

The Chantrye of Saynt Saffro in the saide Chapell of Burrobrigge.^{41a}

Thomas Huntrod Incumbent of the Foundacon of John Nycholson for iiij^{xx} xvj. yeres as apperyth by a writinge sealed dated xii^{mo} die Junii anno dñi mⁱ cccc^{mo} iiij^{xx} xij^{mo} to the entente to celebrate masse & other dyvyne service in the sayde Chapell and to pray for the Sowle of the Founder and . . . Xrtren Sowles.

The same is in the saide Chapell & used accordinglye. Ther is no lands al(ienate^{41b}) or solde sithens the . . . day of Februarye (anno regis) Henr. viij. xxvij^{mo}.

Goodes Ornaments and plate ptenynge to the sam as apperyth by Inventory viz. goods valued at xiijs. viij*l*. and plate at xxjs.

Goods xiijs. viij.

Plate xxjs.

First Thomas Huntrowtes in Burrobrigge iijs. Thomas P^eceone one mesuage with thapp^rtmy in Roclyffe xxvijs. v*l*. Will^m Ray one mesuage with thapp^rtmy in Minskip xxxvjs. iv*l*. Thom^s Watkin one cotage in Aldbrough xvs. v*l*. John M^eke one cotage ther vjs. Richard Simpson one cotage ther vjs. and Will^m Tankerde one acr' of land xij*l*. in all.

S^{um} of the Rentall.

iiij*l*. xvijs. viij*l*. whereof

Paiaable to the Kinges mat^e yerly for the tenth iijs. v*l*. qu^r . . . said sov^eigne lorde the kinge for certen fre rents goinge furth of the p^emisses viz. furth of the landes in Roclyffe ijs. iiij*l*. furth of the landes in Minskip ixs. viij*l*. furth of one cotage in Aldbrough in tholdinge of Thom^s Watkin xvij*l*. furth of one cotage in tholdinge of John M^eke xij*l*. and furth of Richard Simpson cotage ther xij*l*. in all xvs. viij*l*.

S^{um} of thallowance xxs. iiij*l*. qu^r. And so Remanyth lxxvijs. iiij*l*. ob. qu^r.

The following extracts are interesting as showing the dates of the foundation of some of the chantries:—

Esceat 7th Edward III.

Ric^{us} de Aldeburgh pro quodam capellano.

Mildeby	{	4 mess' & 6 bovat'	{	Ebor.
Hundeburton &		terr' ut de honore		
Aldeburgh.		de Knaresburgh.		

Cal. Inquis. Post-mortem, Vol. II. p. 58.

Esceat' de anno Decimo Nono Ric. II. Will'm de Rouclif et alii pro quodam capellano cantorie in Eccl'ia de Aldeburgh.

Meldeby unum messuag' quatuor bovat' et 6 acre terr'	{	Reman' eidem	{	Ebor.
Aldeburgh soca				
Aldeburgh				
Villa quatuor messuag' et 10 bovat' terr'				

(Ibid. Vol. III. p. 195.)

From the Parliamentary Surveys of Church Lands—21 large folio

were sold to Thos. Hungate, Esq., of Stillington on 24 June (no year given—but probably in 1547).—From MS. in the

Rolls House.

^{41a} See preceding note.

^{41b} Rubbed out.

volumes made during the Commonwealth, and afterwards delivered at the Restoration to Archbishop Juxon, who placed them in the MS. Library at Lambeth where they still remain.

ALDBOROUGH.

Wee find to be a Parish and extends itself into these Townes (vizt.) Aldbrough, Mynskipp, Roecliffe, Burrowbridge, parte of Conistropp and Clarton, the two Dunsforths, parte of Milbye, Ellinthorpe, parte of Humberton, and Branton Green. It hath a Vicaridge presentation with Cure of Soules supplied by Mr. Michael Gylbert, the Vicar, a Preachinge Mynister, the maintenance he receiveth and is due to the Church aryseth out of pettye Tythes and Church Dutyes which are not worth above twentye six pounds pr ann. the great tythes of the tythes of the Parish being appropriate to the late Deane and Chapter of Yorke and three Farmers nowe injoye the same.

Wee find there are two Chappells for that Parish the one at Burrow Brigg and the other at Dunsforth—first Burrowbrigg is supplied by the said Mr. Gylbert himselfe whoe hath noe other mayntenance therefore than what is before mentioned.

And the Chapell of Dunsforth is supplied by Mr. Richard Wright a preachinge Mynister who hath no other mayntenance belonging to the said Chappell but certayne small Tythes nott above the value of ten pounds per ann.

Wee think itt fitt that the said Chappells be made several Parish Churches. Vol. XVIII. p. 126.

UNDER THE POSSESSIONS OF THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF YORK.

Roger } The Deane and Chapter have the Gift of Presentation of The Beckwith. } Rectorie of Aldbrough with the Tithes of High Dunsforth, lowe Dunsforth and Elinthorpe. One bric faire large Tythe barne standing in the Towne of Aldbrough, consisting of eight bayes with a Garner consisting of 3 bayes all in good repaire with a fold yard contayninge altogether by estima: twoe roodes which together with the Tythes of Corne and Hay wooll and Lambe of the Townshipp of Aldborough, with the appurtenances nowe in the possession of Mr. Matthew Beckwith and Master William Beckwith sonne of the Lessee are worth pr ann. £100

The Tythes of Corne and Hay, wooll and lambe of the Townships of Highe Dunsforth and low Dunsforth and Branton with the appurtenances nowe in the possession of the said Master Matthew Beckwith and Mr. William Beckwith are worth pr ann. £100

The Tythes of Corne and Hay Wooll and Lambe of the Townshipp of Ellingthorpe with the appurtenances nowe in the possession of the said Mr. Matthew Beckwith and Mr. William Beckwith and worth pr ann. £12

Mr. John Scot Dr of Divinitie Dean of York, &c. and the Chapter by indenture, &c., dated 3th Novembris anno Regis Caroli 4th 1628, demised to Roger Beckwith of Aldbrough in the Countie of Yorke Esq: All that the Rectorie of Parsonage of Aldbrough, &c. for 3 lives out, and themselves with note. There are only 2 lives in being vizt. Matthew Beckwith nowe aged 30 yeares or thereabouts Wm Beckwith 26 years or thereabouts. The Tennant to repaire and uphold as well the Chauncell of the Parish Church of Aldbrough as the houses and buildings belonginge to the said Rectorie with all reparacons (greate tymber only excepted, wh the Deane and chapter are to find and allow).

THE VICARIDGE OF ALDBOROUGH.

The Vicarige house consisteth of twoe small lowe roomes two small chambers a small stable and cowehouse with a Barne and small Garden worth altogether per ann. . . . s. xx.

The Vicar hath the small Tythe of Aldbrough, Burrowbrigge, Roecliffe, Minskipp, and pte of Milby of Ellinthorpe, Conestropp and Clareton which were estimate to be altogether worth comminibus annis XXIIII. Totall of the Vicarage pr ann XXV. Gilbert is present Incumbent.

Vol. XVIII. p. 100.

The Church of Aldburgh together wth the vicaridge house, 7 tenements and 4 oxg of Land, hath anciently appertained to the presⁿ of the Dean and Chapter of York who have all Ecc^l Jurisdiction throughout the whole p^{ish}.

All w^{ch} Rectory together wth the Tythes, oblations, and other commodities of the Town of Aldburgh, a Canoⁿ Residentiary used to farm of the Dean and Chapter for the Rent of £21 p ann. (*Torre's Peculiars* 919).

BURROWBRIGGE.⁴²

(wthn the parish of Aldburgh.)

Chappell. On the N. side of w^{ch} opposite to the East end stood together 3 tenements w^{ch} the Dean and Chapter of York had anciently, and w^{ch} a Canon Residentiary used to farm.

There are these Coats of Arms⁴³ in the windows thereof:—viz.

In the Quire, East end window:

⁴⁴ (a.) Frettie B &
Semi de lye O.

(b.) Qely Fr. & Eng^l, &
fyle of 3 A.

⁴² Torre's MSS. Peculiars, p. 924.

⁴³ Not the slightest trace or even recollection of arms exists. There were none remaining when the old chapel was pulled down in 1851.

⁴⁴ (a.) The blazon too imperfect to absolutely fix the arms, but they are per-

haps for Hamelyn. Gules, fretty or with fleurs de lis; or Gules, semée de lys fretty or.

(b.) Quarterly, France and England, with a label of 3 points argent. (Richard, duke of York, 1431.—Drake's Eboracum, p. 348.)

In the two windows of the N. side.

- (c.) Argent, a chevron
inter 3 escallops gules.
Tankard.
- (d.) Same as C.

In the two South windows of the Nave.

- (e.) Qely Fr & Eng^l
with a fyle of
3 poynts P palo
erm & B. each
poynt charged wth
3 bizants.
- (f.) Qely (percy & Lucy).

INSCRIPTIONS IN THE CHURCHYARD.⁴⁵

I like that ancient Saxon phrase, which calls
The burial ground God's-Acre !

Longfellow.

THIS ancient place of burial, now closed by an Order in Council (1872), has been in use for more than 500 years, and as it was the principal, and for a long period the sole, place of sepulture for a very large parish, it is calculated that over 10,000 interments have been made therein. Very few old stones and monuments remain; there is a fragment of an incised cross built into the vestry wall.

The inscriptions begin at the west end, behind the tower, thence proceed along the south, east, and north sides of the church back again to the tower. The inscriptions are taken (as near as possibly could be) row by row, from north to south, and south to north alternately. In the course of a very few years a considerable number of the inscriptions here appended will be wholly illegible, owing to the weather and the perishable nature of the stone used. In a few instances gaps have been made good by reference to the Registers of Burials, whilst others cannot be identified.

MARK SMITHSON, Esq., of Aldborough, died 21st day of November, 1769, aged 57 years. | CLARE, his widow, died the 20th day of June, 1803, aged 72 years.

RICHARD ATKINSON, late of Boroughbridge, died June 25th, 1798, aged 88 years. | MARY, his wife, died October 18th, 1764, aged 48 years. | SARAH ELLIS, their daughter, died October 23rd, 1702, aged 41 years. | MARY ROOKSBY, their daughter, died December 25th, 1819, aged 71 years. | CLARE ROOKSBY, daughter of Edward and Mary Rooksby, died February 11th, 18[37], aged 59 years | WILLIAM ATKINSON (*illegible*).

(c. & d.) Both Tancred.

(e) Quarterly, France and England, with a label of three points pale ermine and sable, each point charged with 3 bezants. (These arms were borne by the following dukes of York, Edmund, 1396; Edward, 1403; Richard, 1474; Henry, 1495.—Drake's *Eboracum*, p. 348).

(f.) Quarterly 1 and 4, or, a lion rampant azure (Percy of Brabant), 2 and 3

gules, 3 lucies (pikes), hauriant argent (Lucy):—The whole shield encircled with the Ribbon of the Garter, "Honi soit qui mali pense."

⁴⁵ The inscriptions have been condensed, all adjectives, verses, and texts suppressed, and only the necessary genealogical facts copied. To ensure accuracy every tombstone has been gone over three different times.

JOHN RUSHTON, late of Langthorpe, who died June the 20th, 1799, aged 63 years. | ANN, his wife, daughter of Richard and Mary Atkinson of Boroughbridge, died August the 18th, 1829, aged 84 years. | CLARINDA ANN, daughter of the above John and Ann Rushton, died January the 6th, 1782, aged 8 years. | GEORGE, their son, died July the 23rd, 1822, aged 39 years. | Also of WILLIAM, their son, who died April the 6th, 1830, aged 38 years. | BENJEMAN and RICHARD, sons of John and Ann Rushton, died in their infancy.

ROBERT HOPPER, of Roecliff, died May the 16th, 1838, aged 61 years. | HANNAH, his wife, died November 1st, 1838, aged 75 years.

MARY WHITAKER, wife of William Whitaker of Knaresborough, died June 24th, 1858, aged 51 years. | MARY WHITAKER, daughter of the above, died February 26th, 1861, aged 18 years.

JOHN FARNELL, of Knaresborough, died June 10th, 1851, aged 66 years. | SARAH FARNELL, his wife, died August 28th, 1850, aged 55 years. | ROBERT OLIVER, father of the above Sarah Farnell, died May 18th, 1839, aged 68 years.—ELIZABETH OLIVER, wife of the above, died February 26th, 1828, aged 65 years.

WILLIAM SIMPSON, of Aldborough, died May 2nd, 1857, aged 58 years. | MARY SIMPSON, wife of the above, who died October 14th, 1881, aged 81 years.

On a flat stone, ELIZABETH GILBERTSON, of Burghbridge, died February the 18th, 17 . . . aged 81 (many lines obliterated). | ELIZABETH, departed this life April the

RICHARD GILBERTSON, of Westwick, died aged 80 years. | ISABEL, his wife, died the 12th Nov., 1781, aged 54 years.

RICHARD GILBERTSON, late of Westwick, died the 22nd of November, 1799, aged 50 years. | ANN GIBSON, daughter of the above, died January 18th, 1867, aged 84 years.

HENRY EARL, late of Roacliffe, died February 22nd, 1817, aged 81 years.

RICHARD DIXON, of this parish, died April 19th, 1859, aged 39 years. He was for upwards of 20 years in the service of Mr. Lawson's family, and this stone is erected by his master, as a testimony to the worth, excellence, and Christian character who did his duty 'not with eye-service as men-pleasers, but in singleness of heart, fearing God.' Colossians, iii. 22. | Also to the memory of JANE, relict of the above-named Richard Dixon, for many years a valued servant in the same household with her husband, who died Novbr. 17th, 1861, aged 44 years. John 14. 6. Ephesians 2. 14.

GEORGE TEBB, of Coneythorpe, died June 3rd, 1862, aged 67 years.

Mr. ROBERT GIBSON, late of Killinghall, died November the 4th, 1771, aged 82 years.

LOUISA MARY, daughter of William and Martha Freeman, of Boroughbridge, died August 29th, 1856, aged 9 years.

ANN, the wife of Richard Winn, of Roecliffe, died June the 24th, 1789, aged 35 years. | MARY, the daughter of the above Richard and Ann Winn, died August the 23rd, 1789, aged 18 months.

MARY, the wife of William Webster, of Boroughbridge, died November the 27th, 1808, aged 50 years. | WILLIAM WEBSTER, husband to the above, died October the 9th, 1829, aged 67 years.

GEORGE FEARSON, of Boroughbridge, died December 8th, 1859, aged 60 years. | MARY, wife of the above, died April 28, 1841, aged 34 years.

FRANCIS, son of Francis and Dorothy Gilbertson, of Roacliff, died April 16th, 1791, in the 35th year of his age.

THOMAS ARCHER, died July 4th, 1850, aged 14 weeks. | GEORGE, died January 17th, 1851, aged 3 years. | ANN ARCHER, died March 29th, 1860, aged 3 years. Children of John and Ann Umpleby, of Boroughbridge.

JANE DOROTHY ARCHER, daughter of Thomas and Ann Archer, of Aldboro', died March the 1st, 1846, aged 10 years. | The above-named ANN ARCHER died July 1st, 1856, aged 63 years. | JOHN, their son, died July 29th, 1863, aged 40 years. | The above THOMAS ARCHER died October 1st, 1864, aged 68 years.

GEORGE ATHERA, of Crakehill (formerly of Aldbro'), died May 18th, 1844, aged 60 years. | Also ELIZABETH, wife of the above, died June the 3rd, 1862, aged 81 years.

GEORGE BURRELL, of Aldborough, died August 11th, 1869, aged 76 years. | MARY, wife of the above, died December 15th, 1869, aged 76 years. | WARE BURRELL, died June 13th, 1870, aged 2 years. | ANA BURRELL, died April 6th, 1871, aged 4 years. | MARTHA BURRELL, died April 11th, 1871, aged 6 months. | LUESEA BURRELL, died March 17th, 1872, aged 9 weeks.

ELIZABETH, wife of Benjamin Smith, of Aldborough, died January 1st, 1824, aged 68 years. | The above BENJAMIN SMITH, died December the 7th, 1840, aged 84 years.

WILLIAM GEORGE MALIM, died the 9th of Decr., 1834, aged 20 months.

[WILLIAM MALIM, of B[oroughbridge], died . . . , aged 75 years. | MARY, his wife, died September 2nd, 1798. | MARY, their daughter, January 5th, 1812, aged 56 years.

Near this is a flat stone, but the inscription is entirely worn away with age.

CHRISTOPHER WELLBANK, of Boroughbridge, died February 20th, 1798, aged 68 years. | MARY, wife of the above Christopher Wellbank, died Novr. 20th, 1801, aged 73 years. | MARY, the daughter of the above Christr. and Mary Wellbank, died October 5th, 1799, aged 29 years.

JANE, wife of James Hutchinson, of Leeds, eldest daughter of James and Elizabeth Duffield, of Aldborough, died April 27th, 1869, aged 26 years.

MARY JANE, wife of John Duffield, of Aldborough, and daughter of Charles and Francis Briggs, of Wombwell, died September 4th, 1866, aged 21 years; was interred at Aldborough, September 7th.

ALICE THORNTON, wife of Thomas Thornton, and second daughter of Richard and Alice Umpleby, of Aldborough, died July 28th, 1856, in the 27 year of her age. On a foot-stone, A. T.

RICHARD UMPLEBY, of Aldborough, died the 31st day of March, 1871, aged 63 years.

In memory of five deceased children (three sons, and two daughters) of RICHARD and ALICE UMPLEBY, of Aldborough, who all died in their infancy. | Also of JANE WADDINGTON, third daughter of the above, who died April 7th, 1868, aged 36 years.

RICHARD CASS, of Minskip, died August the 12th, 1818, aged 78 years. | Also of MARY, his wife, died August the 27th, 1820, aged 65 years.

A low head-stone, inscription obliterated.

GEORGE CUTHBERTSON, died February 27th, 1848, aged 68 years. Also of HANNAH, his wife died February 19th, 1871, aged 93 years. | This stone is erected by Mary Cuthbertson, daughter of the above. On a foot stone, G. C.

On a head-stone, H. C., 1871. On a foot-stone, H. C. 1871.

WILLIAM BROWN, of Burton Leonard Mill, died the 16th day of February, 1842, in the 28th year of his age.

WILLIAM BROWN, of Burton Leonard Mill, died April 14th, 1835, aged 56 years. | Also ROBERT his son, died January 22nd, 1826, aged 9 years.

ROBERT BROWN, of Boro'bridge, died Sept. 18th, 1827, aged 53 years. | ELIZABETH, his wife, died April 12th, 1818, aged 38 years. | GEORGE, their son, died in his infancy. | ROBERT BROWN, son of the above Robert and Elizabeth Brown, died February 27th, 1835, aged 38 years.

EASTER KAY, the wife of Thomas Kay, of Boroughbridge, died March 22, 1794, aged 77 years.

JOHN PAWSON, of Boroughbridge, died July 17th, 1834, aged 79 years. | BARBARA, his wife, died Oct. 24th, 1847, aged 78 years.

THOMAS THOMSON, of Minskip, died September the 23rd, 1859, aged 72 years. | ELIZABETH, his wife, died December the 6th, 1866, aged 63 years. | LYDIA, their daughter, died March 16th, 1864, aged 24 years.

SARAH, the wife of George Thompson, of Minskip, died July 22nd, 1805, aged 26 years.

Next this is the stone with figure of female bust already described in the text. There is no inscription.

ANDREW WOOD, died Decr. 27th, 1833, aged 74 years. | JANE WOOD, wife of the above-named, died July 37, aged 77 years.

SAMUEL GLEDHILL, of Sheffield, died June 23, 1831, aged 65 years.

THOMAS THOMPSON, of Alnham House, in the parish of Aldborough, died April 30th, 1820, aged 46 years.

RICHARD HEBDEN, late of Alnhams House, died Oct. 26, 1834, aged 40 years. | ELLEN, his wife, died July 7th, 1836, aged 42 years. | HARRIET, their daughter, died Sept. 2nd, 1833, aged 4 years. | RICHARD, their son, died July 2nd, 1815, aged 17 years.

A head-stone, no inscription.

THOMAS MILL^r, of Rainton, died the 2th day of October, 182⁷, aged 69 years.

JOHN NAYLOR, of Boroughbridge, died May 2nd, Anno Domini 1824, aged 64 years. | FRANCIS NAYLOR, his son, died March 13th, 1831, aged 44 years. | MARY, his wife, died August 1st, 1841, aged 81 years.

JANE, wife of William Warwick, of Boroughbridge, died Jan. 9th, 1830, aged 46 years. | WILLIAM, son of William and Jane Warrick, died Nov. 4th, 1831, aged 8 years. | GUY, their son died Feby. 24th, 1838, aged 14 months. | MARY ANN, their daughter, died Feby. 4th 1842, aged 21 years | Also the above WILLIAM WARWICK died Jan. 20, 1848, aged 54 years.

ROBERT CURTIS, late of Aldborough, died the 16th day of May, 1802, aged . . . years.

JOHN WARE, died October the 2nd, 1782, aged 63.

CHARLES HEBDON SCRUTON, died Jan. the 6th, 1856, aged 9 months.

ELIZABETH AKERS, of Minskip, died July the 12th, 1863, aged 73 years.

CAROLINE, wife of Robert Morley, of this place, and daughter of the Rev R. Lumley, rector of Dalby, and vicar of Sheriff-Hutton, died March 10th, 1854, aged 29 years.

CHRISTOPHER DODSWORTH, of Minskip, died April 18th, 1851, aged 70 years | MARY, his wife, died July 30th, 1837, aged 52 years. | HANNAH SMITH, their daughter, died November 11th, 1849, aged 41 years.

DOROTHY, wife of John NAYLOR WARWICK, of Boroughbridge, died October 26th, 1847, aged 30. | J. B. WARWICK, son of the above, who died in his infancy.

MICHAEL SIMPSON, of Aldborough, died the 8th of [February, 1754] 67 | WILLIAM SIMPSON, of Aldborough, died . . . 17. . . . year of his age.

HANNAH, wife of John Carter, of Boroughbridge, died January 7th, 1851, aged 27 years.

HANNAH FLETCHER, wife of Humphrey Fletcher, of Milby, died July 1st, 1799, aged 49 years. | DOROTHY, daughter of the above, died May 18th, 1828, aged 35 years.

MARY WELLS, of Minskip, died the 4th day of January, 1818, aged 22 years.

ANN^E, daughter of John and Isabel Gibbera (!), of Aldborough, died the 6th of May, 1741, in the 16th year of her age.

THOMAS WATERHOUSE (late of Hopperton), died Aug. 16th, 1840, aged 44 years. | MARGARET, his daughter, died at Boro'bridge, June 5th, 1855, aged 21 years.

WILLIAM CLAYTON, of Boroughbridge, died March 25th, 1878, aged 74 years. | CHRISTIANA, wife of the above, died August 8th, 1847, aged 42 years. | MARY, their daughter, died in infancy.

A large stone on 6 carved pedestals, inscription illegible.

Near the chancel door, a low square head-stone, inscription illegible.

ANN, wife of Mark Mountain, of Boroughbridge, and daughter of the late John Daggett, of the same place, died 6th day of March, 1817, aged 28 years. | SAMUEL MARK, son of the said Mark and Ann Mountain, who died MDCCCLXIV, aged XIX years.

. wife of George Morley, late of Boroughbridge, died y^r 18th, | GEORGE MORLEY, died Feb. y^r . . . th, MDCCXC, aged xxx. years. [Buried 12 February].

MARY KILVINGTON, last remaining branch of Edward Kilvington, Esq., of Leckby Palace, died August 18th, 1830, in the 88th year of her age. | Also THOMAS LUNION, formerly of Newton-upon-Ouse, but late of Boroughbridge, relative to the above, died

June 8th, 1831, in the 75th year of his age | ELIZABETH, relict of the above Thomas Burton, died Sept. 28th, 1843, aged 88 years.

GEORGE HARLSTY, of Ellenthorpe, died Oct. 23rd, 1793, aged 62 years. | JOHN HARDISTY, of Ellenthorpe, brother to the above, died Nov. 7th, 1797, aged 63 years.

THOMAS WOODWARD, of Upper Dunsford, died March 28th, 1836, aged 66 years.

RUTH, wife of Thos. Blackburn, of Aldborough, died Febr. 4th, 1796, aged 72.

MARGARET, wife of William Woodward, of High Dunsforth, died April 19th, 1809, aged 75 years. | WILLIAM WOODWARD, husband to the above, died January 21st, 1817, aged 82 years.

DOROTHY BROWN, y^e daughter of Thos. and Elizth Crown, of Aldborough, died Dec. 25th, . . . , aged 10 y^r [year not given].

JOHN SPINK BROWN, of Burton Grange, and formerly of Aldboro', died December 14th, 1843, aged 37 years.

SAMUEL MORRELL, of Boroughbridge, died March 21st, 1832, in the 32nd year of his age. | MARY MORRELL, relict of above, died May 10th, 1861, aged 64 years.

ISAAC WALKER, of Boroughbridge, died June y^e 23rd, 1756, aged 53 years. | ISAAC, his son, died Dec. y^e 25, 1763, aged 27 years. | SAMUEL, his younger son, died March y^e 25th, 1764.

THOMAS SIMPSON, late of Minskip, died Dec. 1st, 1859, aged 78 years. | ELIZABETH, wife of the above Thomas Simpson, Feby. 5th, 1830, aged 43 years.

JOHN LUMLEY of Burton Leonard, formerly of this parish, died March 24th, 1839, aged 77 years. | ANN, wife of the above, died October 25th, 1835, aged 74 years.

WILLIAM LUMLEY, died Jan. 30th, 1846, aged 58 years. | MARY ANN, wife of the above William Lumley, died Oct. 6th, 1833, aged 44 years.

WILLIAM, son of Thomas and Ann Lumley, of Low House, died July 15th, 1857, aged 4 years. | THOMAS LUMLEY, died March 22nd, 1868, aged 44 years.

JEREMIAH FLINTOFF, of Boroughbridge, died January 1832, aged 65 years. [Buried 17 January].—ELIZABETH, daughter [of the above Jeremi]ah and Alice Fli[ntoff], [who died in] her infancy, relict

On a small wooden cross:—M. D. | W. D.

HENRY WILSON, of Roecliffe, died the . . . y of May, in the year . . . | RACHAEL, wife to the above, died June 18th, . . . aged 81 years. | . . . died the 8th day of June, 18 . . . aged 49 years.

THOMAS SLATER, of Boroughbridge, died July y^e 1st, 1799, aged 62 years. | Also ANN SLATER, the wife of Thomas Slater, died February the 19th, 1808, aged 68 years. | Two of the [ir gra]ndchild[ren] [who] died in [their] infancy.

GEORGE TOPHAM, died April 2nd, 1776, aged 53 years. | Also ELIZABETH TOPHAM his grand-daughter, died April 2nd, 1847, aged 74 years.

ELIZABETH ANN, wife of Alfred Dawson, of Minskip Grange, died August 13th, 1870, aged 27 years.

MARY WILLS PULSFORD, died the 20th day of Feby., 1842, aged 23 years.

ANNA MARIA, widow of the Rev. R. P. Blake, A.M., died October 19th, 1865, aged 60 years.

ARTHUR HENRY, grandson of Anna Maria Blake, died 27th Feby., 1869, aged 4 months.

MARY, wife of Robert Dick, of Hull, cooper, died the 7th day of June, 1850, aged 60 years. | MARY EGLIN DICK, wife of the above Robert Dick, died Nov. 3rd, 1868, aged 79 years. | The above ROBERT DICK died May 21, 1872, aged 80 years.

WILLM. SILVERSIDES, died Nov. the 4th, 1771, aged 54 year. | MARY, the wife of Willm. Silversides, died Feb. 10th, 1793, aged 69 years.

Near this is a large flat stone, supported by six "pillars"—inscription gone.

JANE, the wife of Ralph Heslop, of Clot House, died the 11th of Dec., 1780, aged 67 years. | Also RALPH HESLOP, died the 17th April, 1784, aged 79 years.

EDWARD SWINBANK, of Boroughbridge, died Sept. 8th, 1833, aged 65 years. |

MARY, his wife, died Novr. 9th, 1843, aged 70 years. | JAMES, second son of the above, died April, 15th, 1845, aged 36 years.

ANN SIMPSON, wife of Peter Simpson, of Aldborough, died Decr. the 20th, 1779, in the 63 year of her age. | PETER SIMPSON, died April the 10th, 1780, in the 70th year of his age. | RICHARD CASS, of Aldborough, who died April the 30th, 1797, aged 72 years.

ELIZA, the wife of John Morrell, of Boroughbridge, and daughter of Richard and Mary Cass, of Aldborough, died March the 14th, 1828, aged 23 years.

. Egl died December 20th 3 aged

MARY, wife of William Leatham of Low Dunsforth, died December 14th, 1846, aged 48 years.

A head-stone below the east window—inscription gone, but it was to the memory of the Rev. JOHN CARTER, many years curate of Aldborough, and vicar of Myton.

[HENRY] CARTER, son of John [Carter], curate of this parish, [died] Novr. 8, 1792 year of his [age]

JOHN FRETWELL, Lieut. R.N., of Borobridge, died April 5th, 1843, aged 58 years.

THOS. GRAFTON, of Pickhill, died the 24th of August, 1797, aged the son of W. and Sarah Grafton, late of Low Dunsforth, who both lay near this place.

AGNES, wife of [of Borough]bridge, (all the rest decayed away.

The grave of the late Mr. WILLIAM STEAD, of Minskip. On a foot-stone, W. S.

MATTHEW GLENTON, son of the late Matthew and Elizabeth Glenton, of Boroughbridge, died the 26th day of April, 1844, aged 22 years. | The above ELIZABETH GLENTON, died the 25th day of June, 1855, aged 76 years. | MATTHEW GLENTON, of Boroughbridge, died January the 3rd, 1810, in the 80 year of his age. | MARY WILSON, of Boroughbridge, widow, who was buried May the 30th, 1796, aged 88 years. | MARY, the wife of the above-named [Matthew] Glenton, who died October 30th] | MATTHEW GLENTON, late of Boroughbridge, died December 23rd, 1832, aged 56 years. | Also MARY, daughter of Matthew and Elizabeth Glenton, died July 8th, 1833, aged 13 years.

On a head-stone ber, 1803, aged

THOMAS DARNBOROUGH, of Borobridge, died Jany. the 9th, 1824, aged 58 years. | THOMAS, son of the above-named Thomas and Mary Darnborough, who died July the 6th, 1822, aged 6 years | ANN, daughter of the above Thomas and Mary Darnborough, died July the 21st, 1823, aged 18 years.

THOMAS BARLOW, died Jany. 29th, 1868, aged 80 years. | ELLEN, wife of the above, died Feby. 13th, 1875, aged 79 years.

MARY, the wife of Thomas Burniston, of Boroughbridge, died December the 19th, 1823, aged 66 years. | THOMAS BURNISTON, husband to the above, died March the 25th 1831, aged 75 years.

JOHN CROSSLAND, died May 3rd, 1836, aged 77 years. | ALICE, his wife, died January the 3rd, 1843, aged 90 years.

RICHARD CLARKSON, of Boroughbridge, died February the 8th, 1860, aged 32, years. | RICHARD WILLIAM, infant son of the above, who died March 20th, 1860.

JOHN HARRISON, of Low Dunsforth, died Feby. 24th, 1850, aged 81 years.

THOMAS BRITTAIN, of Boroughbridge, died February 9th, 1847, aged 42 years. | ROBERT, son of the above, died September 27th, 1863, aged 21 years. | ANN, daughter of the above, died October 15th, 1863, aged 18 years.

JANE, daughter of Thomas and Mary Darnborough, late of Boroughbridge, died September 26th, 1854, aged 40 years.

THOMAS DARNBOROUGH, died January the 8th, 1800, aged 75 years. | MARY, wife of the above, died March the 10th, 1803, aged 66 years. | JOHN DARNBOROUGH, son of the above Thomas and Mary Darnborough, died March the 24th, 1803, aged 31 years. | MARY ANN DARNBOROUGH, second daughter of the above Thomas and Mary Darnborough, died May the 14th, 1805, aged 5 years.

CATHARINE, wife of John Stead, (of Boroughbridge), died the 16th day of November, 1793, aged 35 years. | JOHN STEAD, died the 7th of February, 1805, aged 50 years.

JOHN JALLAND STEAD, son of William and Mary Stead, of Boroughbridge, died the 13th day of March, 1837, aged 21 years.

MARY ANN, wife of Mr. William Stead, of Minskip, died April 28th, 1850, aged 58 years. | Mr. WILLIAM STEAD, of Minskip, died October 11th, 1854, aged 69 years.

ALFRED STEAD, died November 28th, 1829, aged 19 weeks. | Also of FRANCES STEAD, died [November] 29th, 1829, aged 1 year and 10 months. [children] of William and Mary Ann Stead, of Boroughbridge, daughter of John and Mary Jalland. | [MARY] wife of John Jalland, of nan, [died] 4th March, 1829, aged 60 years. | JOHN JALLAND who died at Ro [cliffe] the 4th of September, 1830, aged Whose remains lay interred at (Inscription scaling away on this stone very fast).

A large "box" tombstone—which has been lettered on both sides. | [JANE] MIDDLETON, wife of Jonathan Middleton, of Boroughbridge, [who died] September 23, Anno Domini, 1812, ætat. 37. On the same day their infant son BOSWELL MIDDLETON, ætat. 3 months. The inscription on the other side is worn away.

ANN, daughter of John and Eliz. Singleton, of B. Bridge, died the 9th of March, 1798, aged 10 years. | MARY SINGLETON, died the 29th of Nov. 1800, aged 78 years. | JOHN SINGLETON, died the 6th of Feb. 1801, aged 45 years.

FRANCES, the wife of Thomas Anderson, of Coneythorpe, died July 5th, 1860, aged 62. | THOMAS, Husband of the above, died February 3rd, 1869, aged 71 years.

JOHN JACKSON, died December [the] 13th, 1791, aged . . . years.

MARY, wife of William Abbay, of Branton Green, died April 23rd, 1816, aged 30 years. | WILLIAM ABBAY, of Branton Green, husband of the above, died May 22nd, 1868, aged 88 years.

JOHN INCHBALD, of Low Dunsford, died June 13th, 1829, aged 48 years.

The Rev. PETER INCHBALD, D.C.L., late of Univ. Coll. Oxford, died April 18th, 1838, aged 60.

WILLIAM INCHBALD, of Low Dunsforth, late of Aldwark-Bridge, died Sept. 30th, 1844, aged 56 years.

WILLIAM WALKER, late of Borough Bridge, grocer and draper, died the 22nd March, 1793, aged 64 years. | JOHN WALKER, brother of the above Wm. Walker, died Sept. 24, 1808, aged 77 years.

HANNAH, daughter of Thomas and Mary Mortimer, of Boroughbridge, died May 22nd, 1819, aged 12 years. | THOMAS, brother to Hannah, died January 3rd, 1829, aged 36 years. | JANE, sister to the above, died May 18th, 1829, in the 21st year of her age. | JANE, wife of John Mortimer, died November the 23rd, 1831, aged 32 years. | JOHN, son of John and Jane Mortimer, died Jany. the 4th, 1832, aged 12 months. | JOHN, son of Thomas and Mary Mortimer, died Feby. the 16th, 1834, aged 34 years.

JOSEPH LIGHTFOOT, died the 29th Novr. 1854, aged 75 years. | MARY, his wife, died the 21st of Novr. 1851, aged 73 years. | JANE, his daughter, died on the 9th of August, 1836, aged 19 years. | One daughter died in infancy.

MARIA, daughter of Robert and Maria Green, timber merchant, Borobridge, died April 19th, 1848, aged 25 years. | GEORGE, son of the above, Robert and Maria Green, died Decr. 5th, 1850, aged 19 years. | Two of their sons who died in infancy.

THOMAS WRIGGLESWORTH, eldest son of Thomas and Martha Wrigglesworth, who was drowned Octr. 15th, 1836. | MARTHA, the wife of Thomas Wrigglesworth, of Boroughbridge, died January 1st, 1831, aged 53 years. | WILLIAM, son of Thomas and Martha Wrigglesworth, died July 4th, 1828, aged 20 years. | The above THOMAS WRIGGLESWORTH, died Oct. 3rd, 1856, aged 79 years.

RICHARD EBESON. He was for many years the faithful and attached servant of the Revd. George Holdsworth, by whom this stone was erected in grateful remembrance of his faithful services, died March 15th, 1841, aged 28. | Also ANN EBESON, mother of the above, who died July 2nd, 1856, aged 72.

ANNIE, only daughter of Thomas and Elizabeth Archer, of Aldborough, died April 12th, 1866, aged 15 years.

ELIZABETH, wife of Matthew Brown, of Borobridge, died Feby. 20th, 1847, aged 58 years. | MATTHEW BROWN, died June 22nd, 1849, aged 68 years. | JOHN GREEN, son of the above Elizabeth Brown, died June 22nd, 1851, aged 44 years.

A head-stone inscription wholly worn away.

JOHN ELLIS, of Boroughbridge, died the 3rd of April, 1824, aged 75 years. | MARY, wife of the above John Ellis, she died the 22nd of November, 1821, aged 64 years.

THOMAS ATKINSON, of Low Dunsforth, died Feby. 18th, 1840, aged 69 years. | ELIZABETH, his wife, died Octr. 20th, 1831, aged 58 years. | MARY SMITHSON, granddaughter to the above, died August 9th, 1842, aged 17 years.

MARY ATKINSON, daughter of Thomas and Elizabeth Atkinson, of Low Dunsford, died Feby. the 20th, 1813, aged 14 years. | ELIZABETH JANE LONSDALE, daughter of John and Sarah Lonsdale, granddaughter of Thomas and Elizabeth Atkinson, of Low Dunsforth, died June the 4th, 1850, aged 4 years.

JANE, wife of William Gatenby, of Borobridge, died April, 12th, 1847, aged 36 years. | ELIZABETH, their daughter, died in infancy. | ANN STOREY, mother of the above Jane Gatenby, died May 7th, 1849, aged 77 years. | WILLIAM GROVES, son of the above William Gatenby, died June 20th, 1859, aged 14 years.

ANN LEAKE, daughter of John and Mary Leake, of Borobridge, died August 19th, 1845, aged 11 years. | The above-named MARY LEAKE, died April 28th, 1857, aged 46 years.

JOHN SCOTT, of Boroughbridge, heretofore waiter at the Crown Inn, died on the 8th day of January, 1848, in the 62 year of his age. | DOROTHY, his wife, died on the 17th day of Octr. 1846, aged 69 years.

CHRISTOPHER CLARKE, of Minskip, died October 16th, 1872, aged 62 years. | JOHN CLARKE, died June 16th, 1867, aged 24 years.

ELIZA, daughter of Christopher and Jane Eliza Clarke, died December 27th, 1846, aged 4 months.

WILLIAM MILLS, of Aldborough, died Sepr. 24th, 1830, aged 31 years. | JOHN, the son of William and Mary Mills, died December 21st, 1830, aged 3 years.

MARY GATENBY, the wife of John Walker Gatenby, of Borougbridge, died March 9th, 1840, aged 77 years. | daughter of the above [Thomas and Mary] Gatenby [died] June 18, 1834, aged

THOMAS STEPHENSON, who was servant [to] William Fletcher, of [Borough]bridge, died November the 12th. (?) 1787, aged

JOHN ROUNTHWAITE, of Aldborough, died January 4th, 1837, aged 94 years. | ELIZABETH, his wife, died February 8th, 1802, aged 57 years. | MARY, their daughter, died December 6th, 1855, aged 81 years. | PETER, their son, died May 15th, 1862, aged 89 years.

ROBERT GREEN, Timber Merchant, of Borobridge, died July 1st, 1867, aged 76 years. | MARIA, his wife, died February 16th, 1845, aged 46 years.

HENRY JAMES, youngest son of the late Bulkeley Price, Esquire, of Manchester, died August 28th, 1863, aged 47 years. On a foot-stone : H. P.

M[ARY] wife of William [A]nderson, and daughter of George and Margaret Atkinson, of Aldborough, died Octr. 29th, 1818, aged 32 years. | WILLIAM, their son, died at Southwick, in infancy.

SARAH, wife of William Dalby, of Hunday Field, died Sep. 21st, 1851, aged 71 years. | The above WILLIAM DALBY, died August 5th, 1862, aged 79 years.

MARY, the wife of William Jackson, late of Borrobridge, died January 1st, 1812 aged 85 years. | ANN, daughter of the above, William and Mary Jackson, died June 12th, 1826, aged 71 years.

SARAH, the wife of Jackson, of Borobridge, died June the , aged 42 years.

Hic jacet Sophia, uxor S. S. Byron, Arm. Obiit Sept. 21, Anno Dom. MDCCCXXIII. Ætatis sue XVIII. [On a brass plate let into a decayed head-stone.]

MARY, the daughter of John and Elizabeth Mills, died Feb. [buried 23rd], 1825, aged 19 years. | Also of ELIZABETH, mother of the above, died November 8th, 1825, aged 62 years. | JOHN MILLS, her son, died January the 13th, 1826, aged 29 years.

MATTHIAS GILBERTSON, died Sepr. 1st, 1817, aged 80 years. | ISABELLA GILBERTSON, his wife, died Novr. 28th, 1818, aged 82 years.

RICHARD GILBERTSON, of Minskip, died May 7th, 1804, aged 75. | SARAH, wife of the above Richard Gilbertson, died February 23rd, 1823, aged 83.

HUGH STOTT, of Boroughbridge, died on the 11th of August, 1811, aged 64 years. ELIZABETH STOTT, wife of the above Hugh Stott, died on the 12th of July, 1810, aged 64 years.

JUDITH STOTT, daughter of Hugh and Dorothy Stott, of Boroughbridge, died the 4th of Octr. 1814, aged three months. | THOMAS STOTT, son of the said Hugh and Dorothy Stott, died the 20th of Feby. 1816, aged 6 months. | The above HUGH STOTT, died the 7th of September, 1851, aged 71 years. | DOROTHY, his wife, died June the 1st, 1854, aged 70 years.

REVD. ROBERT WIRELL, 21 years the respected vicar of Aldborough, died the 2nd of January, 1822, aged 68.—MARY, his wife, died on the 14th of November, 1840, aged 90 years.

HUGH POWELL, of Boroughbridge, died July 7th, 1817, aged 57. | MARY POWELL, of Aldborough, relict of the above, died 19th November, 1871, aged 76 years.

A. K. H. obiit September, 12th, 1859. | G. K. H. obiit August 22nd, 1863. | GEORGE KELLY HOLDSWORTH, Forty-one years vicar of this parish. Born June 1793. Died August, 1863.

M. A. D. died July 8, 1852, aged 36 years.

ELIZABETH, wife of Jonathan Crawshaw, of Langthorpe, died Novr. 10th, 1857, aged 77 years.—The above Jonathan Crawshaw; born Nov. 6th, 1782, died Nov. 21th, 1864, aged 82.

WILLIAM JUDD, of Aldborough, formerly of Park Street, Grosvenor Square, London, died the 18th day of December, 1841, aged 63 years. | ANN, wife of the above, William Judd, died June the 16th, 1848, aged 76 years.

LAWRENCE WOODFORD, of Aldborough, died the 16th day of January, 1841, in the 64th year of his age. | RUTH WOODFORD, wife of the above Lawrence Woodford, died January the 13th, 1871, aged 85 years. | ELIZABETH NETTLETON, sister of the above, Ruth Woodford, was interred near this stone.

THOMAS DEW, late of Boroughbridge, who died on the 10th of December, 1832, aged 57 years.

RICHARD FRETWELL, late of Boroughbridge, died on the 9th of April, 1811, aged 36 years. [Repeated twice over on the same stone.]

CHARLOTTE DEW, wife of Thomas Dew, late of Boroughbridge, died on the 29th of December, 1832, aged 52 years.

HUMPHREY FLETCHER, ESQUIRE, of Minskip, died on the 20th day of March, 1839, aged 75 years. | ARABELLA, relict of Humphrey Fletcher, Esquire, of Minskip Lodge, died February 22nd, 1863.

In FLETCHER, of Minskip, son of WILLIAM FLETCHER, of Boroughbridge, died May 7th, 1809, aged 86. | MARY, wife of the above, William Fletcher, died Oct. aged | MARY, daughter of the above William and Mary Fletcher, of Boroughbridge, died aged

JOHN FULTON, of Boroughbridge, died June the 8th, 1836, aged 63 years. | MARY FULTON, wife of the above, died April the 8th, 1810, aged | ANN CLARE, daughter of the above, died March 12th, 1835, aged 23 years. | WILLIAM, their son, died June 25th, 1837, aged 28 years. | JANE TAYLOR, their daughter, [who died] 12th, 1859, aged 26 years. | One of their sons was interred at Christ Church, Leeds, Sept. 19th, 1838, aged 21 years.

THOMAS, [son of John Waiting,] Boroughbridge, died August 1st, 1805, aged years. Also of FANNY, the wife of John Waiting, died October 27th, 1812, [John Waiting, buried 24th July], died July 12th, 1814, aged 62 years.

[THOMAS STUBBS] in the 77th year of his age. | JANE, wife of the said Thomas Stubbs, died 1st July, 1833, in the 58th year of her age.

JANE, daughter of Thomas and Jane Stubbs, of Boroughbridge, died 5th April, 1815, aged 15 years. | RICHARD, their son, died 13th April, 1829, aged 12 years. | ELIZABETH, daughter of William and Elizabeth, died 8 of October, 1829, aged 7 months.

RICHARD STUBBS, (late of Cheshunt), died at Boroughbridge, January 1st, 1851, aged 86 years. On a foot-stone, R. S.

JOHN PLUMMER, of Aldborough, died October 25th, 1859, aged 60 years.

A covered in and raised stone—inscription all scaled away.

WILLIAM FULTON ROBINSON, of Boroughbridge, died October the 24th 1847, aged 44 years.

THOMAS CLARK, ESQUIRE, of Ellinthorpe Hall, died Feb. 2nd, 1852, aged 82 years. ANN, relict of the above, Thomas Clark, died Novr. 27th, 1836, aged 83 years. | CHRISTIANA MARIA CLARK, daughter of Thomas and Ann Clark, of Ellinthorp, died 20th of February, 1798, aged 23 years. | T. W. CLARK, son of the above, Thos. and Ann Clark, died Febry. 1st, 1810, aged 26 years.

HEATON CLARK, of Ellinthorp Hall, died on the thirteenth day of September, 1861, aged 71 years.

HEATON EDWIN CLARK, of Ellinthorpe Lodge, in this parish. Born 26th of April, 1820. Died 27th of October, 1861.

MARY, the beloved wife of Edwin Clark, of Ellinthorpe Hall, who died Feb. 12th, 1840, aged 28 years. | A son, who died in infancy, Dec. 7th, 1832. | A son, who died in his infancy, Oct. 10th, 1833. | HARRIET ANN ELIZABETH, died Jan. 9th, 1838, aged 5 months. | Children of the above Edwin and Mary Clark. | AMELIA MARIA, daughter of the above, died Dec. 26th, 1840, aged 13 months. | Also of the above, EDWIN CLARK, died July 26th, 1854, aged 58 years.

On 8 low stones, 2 T. H., and 2 A. H., 2 J. H., 2 M. H., MARMADUKE HOGG, died October 30th, 1812, aged 45 years. | His infant son, died 27th March, 1812. | MARY, his eldest daughter, died December the 31st, 1827, aged 27 years. | THOMAS, his eldest son, died July the 13th, 1838, aged 35 years. | MARY, relict of the above Marmaduke Hogg, died March the 20th, 1841, aged 68 years. | JAMES, third son of the above Marmaduke and Mary Hogg, who died March the 6th, 1845, aged 35 years. | Also ANN HOGG, relict of the above James Hogg, died July 9th, 1849, aged 31.

JOHN BAYNES, jun., of Aldborough, Justice's Clerk, died Novr. 21st, 1845, aged 28 years. Jane Baynes his widow, placed this stone.

Built into the west vestry wall is the head of an "incised sepulchral cross"—inverted.

THOMAS BURTON, late of Boroughbridge, died April 15th, 1819, aged 80 years. | SARAH, wife of the above, Thomas Burton, late of Boroughbridge, died May 9th, 1822, aged 74 years.

GEORGE WEBSTER, of Aldborough, died Decr. 20th, 1846, aged 31 years.

HANNAH, wife of John Beckett, of Scarborough, died on the 15th day of November, 1855, aged 21 years.

ANN, the wife of John Houseman, of Aldborough, died April 13th, 1870, aged 72 years.

ALICE, wife of Robert Lowley, of Aldborough, died August 15th, 1847, aged 90 years. | The above ROBERT LOWLEY, who died Augt. 12th, 1848, aged 81 years. He was Sexton 15 years, and Parish Clerk, 31 years.

ELIZABETH, the wife of William Wentworth, of Minskip, died March 11, 1854, aged 37 years. | ISABELLA, their infant daughter, died May 1, aged 7 months. | The above, WILLIAM WENTWORTH, died April 10th, 1858, aged 44 years.

CHARLES, son of John and Elizabeth Brown of Boroughbridge, died August 29th, 1837, aged 17 months.

WILLIAM GILBERTSON, of Aldborough, died May 15th, 1836, aged 80 years. | Also WILLIAM GILBERTSON BROWN, the beloved son of Thomas and Mary Ann Brown, and grandson to the above, William Gilbertson, died on the 6th of October, 1846, in the 15th year of his age. | ELLEN GILBERTSON, wife of the above, William Gilbertson, died November 6th, 1849, aged 83 years. | MARY ANN, sister to the above William Gilbertson Brown, who died May 12th, 1851, aged 10 years.

JOHN MARSHALL, of Aldborough, died May 12th, 1844, aged 81 years. | FRANCES his wife, died Novr. 25th, 1842, aged 74. | ANN MARSHALL, their daughter, died April 16th, 1847, aged 39, and who for many years was a much respected servant of the Rev. Edmund Robinson, of Thorp Green.

GEORGE THOMPSON, of Aldborough, died March 25th, 1848, aged 71 years. | ANN CASS, daughter of the above, died March 9th, 1843, [aged 27 years]. | MARGARET, wife of the above, died July 31st, 1856, aged [67] years.

MARGARET, wife of John Howe, draper, of Knaresboro, formerly of Leeds, and youngest daughter of the late George Thompson, farmer, Aldborough, died on the 22nd of August, 1854, aged 25 years. | The above-named JOHN HOWE, died July 26th, 1859, aged 41 years.

MARY MERIA KING, died Octr. 14th, 1851, aged 5 years. | ROBERT, her brother, died

Novr. 8, 1851, aged 5 months. | MARY ANN, their mother, wife of John King, died April 26th, 1863, aged 44 years.

ANN, daughter of Joseph and Ann King, of Borobridge, died June 1st, 1841, aged 19 years. | The above-named JOSEPH KING, died August 23rd, 1849, aged 54 years.

MARY, wife of Emanuel Newbould, of Boroughbridge, died October 6th, 1850, aged 55 years. | The above EMANUEL NEWBOULD, died January 16th, 1863, aged 71 years.

RICHARD HAMMOND, of this place, died January 27th, 1855, aged 49 years. On a foot-stone, R. H.

JAMES, eldest son of Joseph and Ann Pinkney of Aldborough, died June 27th, 1867, aged 24 years.

WILLIAM, son of Joseph and Ann Pinkney, of this place, died July 3rd, 1861, aged 12 years. | BETSY JANE, their daughter, died in infancy.

MARY ANN, the daughter of Peter and Mary Matterson, of Low Dunsforth, died Febr. 14th, 1851, aged 14 months. | PETER MATTERSON, grandfather to the above, died on the 28th day of May, 1855, aged 80 years. | MARY, the wife of the above Peter Matterson, died on the 18th of June, 1856, aged 71 years. | PETER MATTERSON, Low Dunsforth, died June the 20th, 1859, aged 45.

ANTHONY, son of Thomas and Mary Bailes, of BoroBridge, died April 1st, 1826, aged 15 years. | The above THOMAS BAILES, died March 11th, 1850, aged 71 years. | The above MARY BAILES, died January 8th, 1852, aged 69 years.

JAMES WHEATER, died April 23rd, 1850, aged 64 years. | MARY, wife of the above, died October 8th, 1864, aged 78 years. | Ellen and Jane, daughters of the same, are both interred here.

ANN JENNINGS, the wife of the Revd. Francis Jennings, of Boroughbridge, died Novr. 21st, 1808, in the 50th year of her age. | Her infant daughter, MARY JENNINGS, died August 9th, 1798, aged 20 weeks.

RICHARD SCRUTON, of Aldborough Hall, died 13th January, 1829, in the 85 year of his age, having been agent to the Duke of Newcastle and his Grace's predecessors for nearly half a century. | MARY SCRUTON, his widow, died Feb. 8th, 1843, aged 96 years.

NOTE.—MICHAEL GILBERT, "the Royalist Vicar of Aldborough, was admitted B.A. at Cambridge by royal mandate in the pres. King James I. on 13 December, 1624.

ERRATA.

Note 2, p. 165, in last line, *for 1835 read 1832.*

„ 11, p. 180, in line 40, *for Pipe read Poll Tax.*

„ 15, p. 184, line 2, *for 1397 read 1379.*

DESCRIPTION OF THE BUILDINGS OF TWELVE SMALL YORKSHIRE PRIORIES AT THE REFORMATION.

By WILLIAM BROWN.

(CONTINUED FROM P. 215.)

CISTERCIAN.

VIII.—ESHOLT²³.

²⁴ Ffirste there ys a gate howse over the gate, wherin there ys a prati lodgyng buyldyd w^t rooffe and panell and covered w^t slate.

Also there ys ij fare barnes w^t walles of stone of a yard dim. high, and the resydue of the walles from the stone wourke vpward, bordyd w^t narrow bordes like pales, nayled in length vpon smalle studdes²⁵ of the barne; of which barnes the one of theym ys in length v^{xx} foote and in brede xxxij fote, and ys welle tymberd w^t good doores, and stondes Est and West; and the other barne ys in length lx foote and in brethe xxxv fote, and wel(le) and substancyally tymbryd w^t good and stronge doores, and stondith North and Sowthe. Eyther roofes conteyning in depth by estymacon from the toppe to the evys xl foote, and alsoo bothe the seid barnes be welle covered w^t slate.

Also there ys ane other barne or oxehouse, stondyng Est and West, which stondyth from the place in distaunce viij^{xx} foote. The which barne or oxehouse, or a house to bryng vppe yong Catelle, haue walles all of stone; which walles conteynyth in hygth ij yerd and more, and the seid barne conteynyth in length iiij^{xx} foote and in brede xxxij foote, and the rooffe conteynyth in depnys lⁱ foote, and ys welle and substan-

²³ Esholt is situated on the river Aire, about six miles north of Bradford. The Priory, which was dedicated to the Virgin and St. Leonard, is said to have been founded in the latter part of the reign of Henry II., or the beginning of Richard I., by Galfrid Haget or Simon Ward. At the Dissolution the foundation was attributed to the ancestors of Christopher Ward. There is considerable doubt as to when and by whom the foundation was made, and whether it was not originally only a cell of Sinningthwaite. At the Reformation there was a Prioress and ten nuns, two of whom, one being Elizabeth Pudsey, a former Prioress, were lame and had decided to continue nuns, or as it is expressed "continue in her habit." The total annual income of the house amounted to £35 8s.

6d., and its net income to £31 6s. 6d. Some remains of the ancient Priory exist in the present house, which was built in 1707 by Sir Walter Calverley. Amongst the debts owing to the Priory was one of 33s. from Walter Wood of Tymlyle in the parish of Otley, for his child's board for a year and a half ended at Lent 28 Henry VIII. (1537).

²⁴ The writing from here to the beginning of the description of the houses is different from the rest.

²⁵ Stud. The upright on a lath and plaster wall. "Stud or stud-breadth" in Yorkshire, the way of building the walls of a house in small frames or panels of timber, filled up with bricks or stones or plastering. (Kennett MSS., Lansdowne, 1033, fo. 392.)

cyally tymberyd w^t goode and substancyalle doores, and welle coueryd w^t slate, and hath xij stalles (for) cattelles, and there ys a row in it stondyng to fede at xx bese.

Also there ys a howse to sett cartes or wayns yn and to lay in tymber, which conteynyth in length xxx foote and xx fote in brede, and welle couered w^t slate and wallyd abowte w^t mortar and growncellyd ²⁶ w^t stone.

Alsoo there ys a praty Close lyinge bytwyxt this barne and the place, and also there ys ane orchard lying bytwyxt the seid Close and the place. The seid place ys wald abowte w^t dry walle of stone.

Also there ys ane other orchard called the Couent orchard lyinge w^toute the seid walle of the Est syde of the howse, and ys well palyd rownde abowte.

The description of the howses.

The church or abbey conteynyth in length xxiiij yarges and in bredith vj yarges di., wherof the quere xij yarges longe w^t xviiij seates for nonnes, and the bodye of the church xij yarges long w^t xiiij seates of stooles to sitt vpon.

Item alle the roofe w^tyn is seyld w^t waynscottes and w^tout coueryd w^t slate.

Item the walles on bothe sydes xviiij ffoote depe of stone.

Item aboue the high aulter one glasse wyndow w^t iij panes of vij ffoote longe and ij ffoote wyde euery pane, w^t iij crosse barres of yron through the wyndow. And viij other partes of glasse aboue the same conteynyng in alle viij ffoote, whereof the highest parte is brokyñ. And in the same body of the church vj litle wyndows of glasse, euery wyndow conteynyng in length ij ffoote and in bredith di. foote.

Item in the quere iiij glasse wyndowes, whereof ij haue eyther of theym iij panes of iij ffoote longe and j ffoote di. brode, eyther of theym. And euery of the seid iij wyndowes vj barres of yron. And the iiijth wyndowe a pane of j ffoote longe and j ffoote brode. And all the church in goode reparacoñ.

Item a roode lofte bytwene the quere and the chauncell.

Item a stepulle of litle thak bordes ²⁷ coueryd w^t slate and muche in decay.

Item ane oxe-house and a cove-house of iiij rowmys, (s)eyled abowght, of iiij^{xx} ffoote longe and xxx ffoote brode, alle vnder one roofe, and the walles of stone of ij yarges depe, w^t vij dores, and the roof of xviiij ffoote depe couerid w^t slates, and the slatyng a litle in decay.

Item a litle bedde chamber annexed to the seid oxehouse.

Item a nother house of v^{xx} ffoote longe and xxx ffoote brode, wheryn is a lyme house of vj ffoote brode, ij stabules, wherof one of x ffoote, and th'other xij ffoote brode.

Also a chamber for seruauntes, a woode house and a cole house, and iij fayre chambres, and a garnard ouer alle the seid houses. All which is coueryd w^t slate and in goode reparacoñ, the walles x ffoote depe of stone, wherof iiij foote depe of stone, and vj foote of postes

²⁶ Flagged. Grouncylled = ground-silled, where the *sillet* is due to the same word as in *door-sill*, *window-sill*, *oversail* or *sile*.

²⁷ Thak or thatch-boards are shingles, which might be put on with interspaces like slating-laths, or the slates might be nailed on over a shingle roof, as here.

and pannelles²⁸ from the stone vpwarde, and the rooffe x ffoote depe.

Item the seid monastery is sett vpon a Ryuer callid Heyer. And she is lady of the same water vpon bothe sydes, that is to sey by the space of iij quarters of a myle vpon the north syde and half a myle vpon the southe syde. And ther is ouer that Ryuer a ffayre brigge, which the lady must maynteyn in reparacon.

Item she may fishe in the seid Ryuer at her pleasure from the lorship of West Essholt vnto Apperley brigge, which is by the space of half a myle or more.

Item there is a prety courte bytwene the mansion of the seid monastery and the barnys, stabulles, and other houses of offyce, which closith the seid Courte rounde aboute.

Item there is a ffayre halle conteynyng in length xxxv ffoote and in bredith xx ffoote, which stondith north and southe, and hathe upon the west syde a fayre baye wyndowe glasid at the northe ende, and ane vpright wyndow²⁹ ouer the seid baye wyndowe also glasid, which bothe wyndowes conteynyth in glasse xxvj ffoote; and ane other vpright wyndowe parte therof glasid at the southe ende of the seid weste syde in the vpper story, which conteynyth in glasse ij ffoote w^t ij other wyndowes in the same halle. And w^t ane vpright rooffe and hathe a ffayre chymney of woode and mortar stondyng all w^yn the same halle vpon th' este syde.

Item the same hall is closid at the southe ende w^t a parclose³⁰ of bordes and w^t ij ronnyng dores³¹ and a shittynge dore in the same.

Item at the seid southe ende of the halle ane entry of xx ffoote longe and vj ffoote brode, and at the southe syde of the same entry a buttrye conteynyng in length xij ffoote and in bredith viij ffoote, and hathe a glasse wyndow of ij ffoote, and a dore w^t a lok and key.

Item there is adioynynge to the seid buttrye a little pantrye of length and bredith lyke the buttrye; and the buttry hath ij wyndowes, and the pantry one, which be shitte w^t ronnyng wyndowes of woode; and the pantrye hathe a dore w^t lok and key.

Item there is ouer the seid pantrye and buttrye ij ffayre chambres, wherof th' one at the west syde hathe ij fayre wyndowes glasid, which conteynyth in glasse xvj ffoote.

Item there is at the southe ende of the seid pantrye and buttrye a litle parler by the ground, w^{ch} conteynyth in length x ffoote and in bredith vj ffoote, and hathe a baye wyndow glasid, conteynyng in glasse vj ffoote.

Item there is ouer the seid parler a prety chamber conteynyng in

²⁸ "Post and Pan House, a house formed of upright and cross pieces of timber, not plastered over, but generally blackened, as many old cottages are in various parts of England." (Halliwell.)

²⁹ An upright window. This term is only used when a bay window is mentioned. It means an ordinary straight or upright window, as distinguished from a bow or bay window.

³⁰ Parclose, or Perclose, an enclosure, screen, or railing, such as may be used to protect a tomb, or to separate a

chapel from the main body of the church. Also to form the front of a gallery, or for some similar purpose; it is either of open work or close. (Parker's Concise Glossary of Architecture.)

³¹ A running door is one sliding on wheels, such as is often found at railway stations and other places where there is little room to spare. A shutting door is an ordinary one on hinges. In the pantry there is a window with a running window of wood.

ength and bredith like the parler, and hathe ij wyndowes which be not glased, and shitt w^t wyndowes of bordes.

Item there is beyonde the seid litle parler vpon the south west a larder-house conteynyng in lengthe xv ffoote and in bredith xij ffoote, w^t j fayre wyndowe vpon the west, shitt w^t a rydyng wyndowe of bourdes, and a dore w^t lok and key.

Item ouer the same larder is a chamber to ley malte yn, which conteynyth lyke the seid larder-house.

Item there is a kychyn of the olde flasshyon w^t ane vpright rooffe after the flasshyon of a louver,³² and hathe a range³³ conteynyng in length xij ffoote, and in the same kychyn ij ffayre ovens, wherof they may bake in th' one a quarter and in th' other half a quarter.

Item there is a brew-house adioynyng to the kichyn, bothe vnder one rooffe.

Item there is a square cloyster conteynyng in circuyte by estimacyon xij^{xx} ffoote and in bredith vi ffoote, and is coueryd w^t slates.

Item at th' est syde of the cloyster there is a chapitre house, conteynyng in length xv ffoote square.

Item there is a litle house or chambre adioynyng to the same chapitre house, conteynyng in length xv ffoote, and in bredith vij ffoote.

Item there is a litle entrie goyng oute of the cloyster into the orchard.

Item adioynyng to the same entrie a ffayre parler vpon the southe west, and hathe in it a ffayre chimney of stone, conteynyng in length ij yardes skant, and hathe in it a fayre bay window glased, conteynyng in glasse viij ffoote, and hathe a doore w^t lok and key.

Item there is ouer the seid chapitre house, litle house, th' entrie, and the greate parler, the dorter where the ladyes dothe lye, which conteynyth in length xl ffoote and in bredith xv ffoote, and hath in it for the ladyes vij Selles.

Item at the southe ende of the dorter ij litle parlors, callid the ladyes parlors, wherof two hathe eyther of theym a stone chymney and a glasse wyndowe, eyther wyndow conteynyng in glasse iiij ffoote, and the thirde parler a glasse wyndow of ij ffoote.

Item apperteynyng to one of the seid parlors a litle kychyn.

Item there is a house callid the olde halle³⁴ southe from the dorter, conteynyng xv ffoote square w^t ane vpright rooffe, and hathe in it a litle chymney.

Item there is a litle house for swyne coueryd w^t stone, southe from the kychyn.

Item at the northe ende of the halle there is a crosse³⁵ parler, conteynyng xvj ffoote square, and hathe a chymney w^t one bay wyndowe

³² Louvre. (Fr. *L'Ouverture*.) A turret, or small lantern, placed in the roofs of ancient halls, kitchens, &c., to allow of the escape of smoke, or to promote ventilation: originally they were entirely open at the sides, or closed only with narrow boards, placed horizontally and sloping, and at a little distance apart, so as to exclude rain without impeding the passage of the smoke. There is a large one in the hall at Lambeth Palace. (Par-

ker's Glossary of Architecture.)

³³ A large open fire-place.

³⁴ In 1518 the Prioress of Esholt granted a corrody to John Hudson and Agnes his wife, part of which consisted of "one place in Esholte w^t the Callgarthe thereto belongyng, callyd the hole hall."

³⁵ Cross means lying at right angles to the Hall. At Swine the Vicar's mansion had a cross end,

and ane vpright wyndowe vpon the west syde, which bothe conteynyth in glasse viij ffoote.

Item ouer the seid parler a fayre chamber conteynyng lyke the parler, and hathe nother glasse wyndow nor chymney.

Item at the northe ende of the seid parler a nother litle house, conteynyng in length xv ffoote and in bredith ix ffoote.

Item ouer the same house ij litle chambres of length and bred of the seid house.

Item at the west ende of the seid litle house a litle parler w^t a stone chymney.

Item ouer the same a litle chambre.

IX. WYKEHAM.³⁶—SCITUS DOMORUM.

The hole church conteynyth in length xx x ffoote and in bredith xxij ffoote w^{yn}, w^t a lowe roofe coueryd w^t leade and alle one hole story, w^t xij glasse wyndowes conteynyng xx ffoote of glasse by estymacōn, w^t one h(igh) alter and ij alters in the quyer and ij in the body of the church, and (*blank*) stalles of bourdes in the quyer for the nonnes.

The cloyster lx ffoote square in length and viij ffoote brode, and ij partes coueryd w^t leade w^{oute} any glasse.

Item the chapter house at the southe parte of the church, xx ffoote longe and viij ffoote brode, coueryd w^t leade, and a glasse wyndowe viij ffoote glasse.

Item the dorter at the est parte of the cloyster, lvj ffoote long and xvij ffoote brode, coueryd w^t leade.

Item a litle chamber vnder the dorter.

Item the fraytour ouer the southe parte of the cloyster, conteynyng xxxvj ffoote longe and xij ffoote brode, coueryd w^t leade.

Item ij litle chambres ouer the same cloyster at th' ende of the fraytour, coueryd w^t leade.

Item a garnard ouer the west parte of the cloyster, conteynyng xl ffoote longe and xij ffoote brode, coueryd w^t leade.

³⁶ Wykeham Abbey, the seat of Viscount Downe, is situated about seven miles S.W. from Scarborough. It was founded by Pain Fitz Osbert in 1153 in honour of the Virgin. There are no remains of it left. At the Reformation there were thirteen nuns and a Prioress, its gross yearly income being £55 12s. 1d. There are two letters from Thomas and Richard Cromwell to the Commissioners, the former ordering them "to deliver the possession and custody of the house and demesnes unto my friend this bearer George Dakyns; and to let him have for his money paying the stock and store of the said house with other the household stuff, according to the prisal thereof." The following is a list of the inmates with their annuities: "Katerina Nendyk Priorissa, etatis 70 annorum, per annum £6 12s. 4d. Domina Agneta Thomlynson,

etatis 69 annorum, per annum 46s. 8d. Domina Emota Buttry, etatis 51 annorum, 4 marca. Domina Alicia Sorell, etatis 46 annorum, per annum 33s. 4d. Domina Isabella Nendyke, etatis 44 annorum, per annum 33s. 4d. Domina Elena Kereston, etatis 44 annorum, per annum 26s. 8d. Domina Anna Seloo, etatis 33 annorum, per annum 33s. 4d. Domina Philicia Chapman alias Barton, etatis 29 annorum, per annum 26s. 8d. Domina Ka'erina Gayle, etatis 28 annorum, per annum 26s. 8d. Domina Johanna Kirby, etatis 40 annorum, per annum 26s. 8d. Domina Elizabetha Gille, etatis 40 annorum, per annum 26s. 8d. Domina Johanna Brathwayt, etatis 30 annorum, per annum 26s. 8d. Domina Elizabetha Piercy, etatis 24 annorum, per annum 26s. 8d."

Item the Prioressse chambre hard by the church, xij foote s, and a bedder chambre ouer the same of lyke w^t a chy

Item a litle buttrye by the same of

Item a litle lowe chamber by the same, now beyng the mylke house, xij ffoote square.

Item a bedd chamber ouer the same callyd the hostrye chambre, conteyning also xij ffoote square w^t a chymney, and new coueryd w^t slates.

Item the low halle xvj ffoote square, w^t a rounde baye wyndow glased conteyning xl ffoote of glasse by estymacion, and a fayer chymney and stone walles and welle seylyd w^t waynescottes.

Item the kychyn at the nether ende of the halle, conteyning xiiij ffoote longe and viij ffoote brode, w^t a chymney.

Item a litle parler xvj ffoote longe and viij ffoote brode, w^t a chymney and stone walles.

Item the buttry xvij ffoote longe and xiiij ffoote brode and stone walles.

Item the chamber ouer the buttry, conteyning xxvj ffoote longe and xiiij ffoote brode, w^t a chymney, stone walles, and welle coueryd w^t slates, and a glasse wyndowe conteyning vj ffoote of glasse.

Item a bedd chambre ouer the mylke house, xiiij ffoote longe and xij ffoote brode, w^t a fayer chymney, ij wyndowes vnglasid, stone walles, and welle coueryd w^t slates.

Item ane olde house adioynynge to th' ende of the Celler conteyning xx ffoote longe and xij ffoote brode, stone walles and coueryd w^t thak, which is now a hen house.

Item a house w^t a chamber and a low chamber w^t a store house, togither vnder one rooffe, conteyning (*blank*) ffoote longe and (*blank*) ffoote brode, w^t a chymney, stone walles, and coueryd w^t (*blank*).

Item one other house where the preste lyeth, conteyning xx ffoote longe and xij ffoote brode, w^t a chamber and a store house, stone walles and coueryd w^t thak and slates.

Item the brewhouse and bakehouse vnder one rooffe, conteyning in length lx ffoote and xx ffoote brode, stone walles and welle coueryd w^t slates and a chymney.

Item a litle chamber by the same, conteyning xvj ffoote square, w^t a litle chymney, stone walles and coueryd w^t slates.

Item one old house for to ley turfes yn, xvj ffoote longe and x ffoote square, and ille coueryd w^t thak, decayed.

M^d that alle the houses aforesaid are aboute the inner courte.

Item a kilne house in the vtter yarde, xxx ffoote longe and xvj ffoote brode, stone walles, coueryd w^t thak.

Item a lathe or a barne conteyning c^mxij ffoote longe and xxiiij ffoote brode w^t yn, w^t stone walles and welle coueryd w^t slates.

Item one other barne conteyning in length lxiiij ffoote and xvj (ffoote) brode, stone walles and ille coueryd w^t thak, decayed.

Item a swyne cote, xx ffoote longe and x ffoote brode, coueryd w^t thak, decayed.

Item a garnar conteyning xxiiij ffoote longe and x ffoote brode, stone walles and coueryd w^t slates.

Item a cow-house, xxiiij ffoote longe and xvj ffoote brode, stone walles and coueryd w^t slates, and th' one ende somewhat brokyn, decayed.

Item a calfe-house adioyngnge, xxx ffoote longe and xx ffoote brode, stone walles and coueryd w^t slates.

Item a barne conteyning $\frac{xx}{iiij}$ ffoote longe and xx ffoote brode, stone walles, lx ffoote coueryd w^t slates, and xx ffoote w^t thak.

Item ane ox-house, and a stable, and a litle worke house, vndir one hole roofe, conteyning $\frac{xx}{iiij}$ ffoote longe and xx ffoote brode, stone walles and coueryd w^t slates.

Item a lyme house and ane other old store house vndir one roofe, xxiiij ffoote longe and xij ffoote brode, stone walles and ille coueryd w^t thak, decayed.

Item a porter's lodge and a chamber ouer the gates, of tymber walles, xvj ffoote square, and coueryd w^t slates.

Item a sheps cote conteyning $\frac{xx}{iiij}$ ffoote longe and xij ffoote brode, stone walles and welle coueryd w^t thak.

Item all the vtter yarges are enclosid w^t the seid houses and stone walles.

M^d that alle the houses are in goode reparacion except iij or iiij of the oute-houses.

X. BAYSDALE.³⁷—SCITUS DOMORUM.

The Church conteynith in length lxvj ffoote and in bredith xx ffoote w^t a low roofe coueryd w^t leade, and xiiij litle glasse wyndowes conteyning by estymacion (*blank*) ffoote of glasse, goode stalles, the high alter, ij alters in the quere, and one benethe.

Item the cloyster at the southe syde of the church conteynith in length l ffoote square and in bredith vij ffoote, wherof one quarter is coueryd w^t leade, and no glasse.

Item the dorter ouer th' este parte of the cloyster conteynith in length l ffoote and in bredith xvj ffoote, coueryd w^t thak.

Item the chapter house, a litle chamber callid the mylke house, and the larder house, vndir the seid dorter.

Item the fraytour and a chamber w^t a chymney ouer the southe parte of the cloyster, conteyning l ffoote longe and xvj ffoote brode, coueryd w^t thak.

Item a bedde chambre and ane other litle chambre vndir the seid ffraytour.

Item ouer the west parte of the cloyster the Prioress chambre, w^t a fayre rounde bay wyndow glased and a chymney, and ane other chamber w^{yn} the same, tymbre walles and coueryd w^t slates and thak.

Item iij other chambres vndir one roofe by the same, callid geste chambres, and a chymney in the bigger, tymber walles, coueryd w^t thak.

³⁷ Baysdale is in the parish of Westerdale, eleven miles south of Stokesley. In 1162 Ralph de Nevill, with the sanction of Adam de Brus, founded a Nunnery at Hoton, (which came to him through his wife), in honour of the Virgin. Afterwards the Nuns moved to Thorp, called in consequence Nunthorpe; but towards the end of the reign of Henry II. by the benefaction of Guido de Boving-

court they obtained a more permanent home at Baysdale. At the Reformation the Convent consisted of nine Nuns and a Prioress with a gross yearly income of £27 18s. At the beginning of this century the buildings of the Priory had been converted into farmholds and retained little of their monastic appearance. (Graves's History of Cleveland, 268.)

Item a litle low parler vnder the geste chamber, conteyning xvj ffoote square, a chymney, stone walles, and a baye wyndow vnglasid.

Item the low halle by the Prioress chamber conteyning xvij ffoote square, th' one syde stone walles and th' other syde tymber walles, a chymney, iij wyndowes wherof ij parte glased.

Item ij litle buttryes by the seid halle, vnder the Prioress chambre.

Item the brewhouse at the vpper ende of the halle, stone walles, coueryd w^t thak.

Item the kychn at the southeeste corner of the cloyster, conteyning xvj ffoote square, w^t a chymney of tymber, coueryd w^t thak.

Item the prestes chamber, conteyning in length xvij ffoote and xij ffoote brode w^t a litle side chambre in th' ende of the same, and a chymney of tymber, and tymber walles coueryd w^t thak.

Item the garnar, xxiiij ffoote longe and xiiij ffoote brode, coueryd w^t thak.

Item a low store house vnder the same, of stone walles.

Item the kylne house w^t a litle maltynge flore and a litle garnar in th' one ende, alle vnder one roofe, conteyning xxx ffoote longe and xvj ffoote brode, olde stone walles, coueryd w^t thak.

Item the cow-house, xxiiij ffoote longe and xiiij ffoote wyde, olde stone walles somewhat brokyn, coueryd w^t thak, decayed.

Item the bakhouse almost downe, xxv ffoote longe, xvj ffoote brode, olde stone walles and ille coueryd w^t thak, decayed.

Item the ouershot water mylne hardby the gate, xx ffoote longe and xiiij ffoote brode, stone walles and parte bourdid and coueryd w^t thak, and the whole is in decay so that the seid mylne goith not.

Item a litle chambre over the gate at the goynge in, coueryd w^t thak.

Item a litle stable and a lytle swyne-cote by the seid gate, coueryd w^t thak, decayed.

Item the oxe-house in the vtter yard, xxvij ffoote longe and xvj ffoote brode, olde stone walles and welle coueryd w^t thak.

Item the hey house, xxij ffoote longe and xiiij ffoote brode, stone walles, welle coueryd w^t thak.

Item the house wher they ley turfes, xxvij ffoote longe and xiiij ffoote brode, olde stone walles, coueryd w^t thak.

Item the barne, xxx ffoote longe and xvij ffoote brode, olde stone walles, coueryd w^t thak.

XI. SWINE.³⁵—SCITUS DOMORUM.

The hole church conteynyth in length lxxvj ffoote w^tyū and in bredith xxj ffoote, stone walles and a hye roofe coueryd with leade, and

³⁵ Swine is a station on the Hull and Hornsea Railway. It was founded in honour of the Virgin Mary by Robert de Verli before the end of the reign of King Stephen. The Church and monastic buildings were destroyed by fire before 1308. At the Reformation there were fifteen nuns and a prioress in the house with a gross revenue of £135 13s. 5d. The Editor of Murray's Handbook to Yorkshire says, "the church was originally cruciform,

with a central tower; but the ancient nave has entirely disappeared, and the present tower dates from 1787. The rest of the church shows late Norman (Transitional) work (piers, arches and clerestory), with later additions. The nuns' seats with misereres (Decorated) remain." A view of the church as it appeared in 1784 is given in Poulson's History of Holderness (1. 386).

seylid w'yñ w' boourdes paynted; wherof the quere conteynyth liiij ffoote longe, w' xxxvj goode stalles alle alonge bothe the sydes of waynescott bourdes and tymber for the nonnes; and ane alter in the quere, and ij alters benethe in the body of the church, w' xiiij wyndowes glased, in alle conteynynge by estimacon c ffoote of glasse.

Item the cloyster at the southe syde of the church conteynyth lxxvj ffoote square in length and ix ffoote brode, coueryd w' leade, hauynge wyndowes rounde aboute, and alle glased, except one, which conteyn in alle by estimacon ccc^mxx ffoote of glasse.

The chapitre house at the este parte of the cloyster conteynyth xxx ffoote longe and xxij ffoote brode, w' one glasse wyndowe conteynynge xij ffoote of glasse.

Item the dorter ouer the chapitre house conteynyth in length c^m ffoote and in bredith xxij ffoote, w' a lowe rooffe coueryd w' leade.

Item the fraytour at the southe parte of the cloyster conteynyth lxxviij ffoote longe and xxiiij ffoote brode, w' a hye rooffe coueryd w' leade, and xij litle glasse wyndowes conteynynge xxx ffoote of glasse.

Item ij lowe cellers or houses vnder the seid freytour.

Item iij lowe chambres and chambres ouer theym at the west parte of the cloyster, and at the nether ende of the halle, conteynynge in length xl ffoote and in bredith xviiij ffoote, w' a low rooffe coueryd w' leade.

Item the low halle conteynyth xviiij ffoote square, w' a chymney and ij wyndowes glased and parte brokyn, conteynynge xiiij ffoote of glasse.

Item the buttrye conteynyth xviiij ffoote square.

Item the halle ouer the lowe halle conteynyth xviiij ffoote square w' lattys wyndowes, w' a low rooffe coueryd w' leade.

Item a chamber at the vpper ende of the same halle conteynyth xviiij ffoote square, w' a chymney and ij wyndowes glased, conteynynge xviiij ffoote of glasse.

Item ane other chamber ouer the same of lyke length and bredith, coueryd w' leade, stone wallis.

Item the ost(r)ye hath ij chambres aboue and ij cha(mbres) benethe, w' wyndowes vnglased, conteynynge in length w'oute xliiij ffoote and in bredith xvj ffoote, w' a low rooffe coueryd w' leade and ij chymneys at one ende.

Item the kychn, xxx ffoote longe and xvj ffoote brode, w' a fayre chymney of brikkes sheftes³⁹ of houses w'yñ the same.

Item the fermery⁴⁰ chambre, in lengthe xxxvj ffoote and in bredith xviiij ffoote, vnder one hole rooffe coueryd w' tyle w' ij baye wyndowes vnglased.

Item iij litle chambres vnder the same for pultrye and store.

Item a litle house or a low chambre at th' ende of the seid fermery, conteynynge in length xvj ffoote and xij ffoote brode, coueryd w' tyle, w' a chymney of brikkes.

Item a litle lowe olde chambre by the same coueryd w' tyle.

³⁹ This word is perhaps shoftes. "Chimney-shaft is a common expression, but how to get shafts of houses within a chimney of brick I do not see, except by analogy with the shaft of a mine. Old-fashioned kitchen chimneys were tremendously wide open affairs. Two were in Danby some years ago;

that at the Castle was many feet wide below. Possibly the word *shaft* indicates that the chimney in question was more closed in like that of an ordinary house or chamber." (J. C. A.)

⁴⁰ The Infirmary. There is another at Kirkstall, the windows of which were also unglazed.

Item ij olde low chambres for lyme and stonys and suche other, and a chambre ouer the same for seruauntes, conteynyng in length xxiiij ffoote and in bredith xiiij ffoote, tymber walles, coueryd w^t tyle.

Item the mylke house conteynyth xx foote longe and xij foote brode, coueryd w^t thak and tymbre walles, whitlymyd.

Item in the vtter yarde the mylne house w^t a horse mylne, the bakhouse, and bultyng house vnder one roofe, conteynyng in length l ffoote and in bredith xx ffoote, olde dawbid walles, coueryd w^t tyle, decayed.

Item a maltynge house to malte vpon the floore, conteynyng in length l ffoote and in bredith xx ffoote, walles olde, dawbid and coueryd w^t thak, hauynge a kylne in the one ende, decayed.

Item the brewhouse conteynyng in length xl ffoote and in bredith xx ffoote, ille coueryd w^t tyle, decayed.

Item the malte garnard conteynyng in length xxxvj ffoote and in bredith xvj foote, w^t a low roofe coueryd w^t leade and brik walles.

Item the wheate garnard conteynyng in length xxxiiij (ffoote) and in bredith xv ffoote, coueryd w^t leade, hauynge (a) wrightes house vndir the same and brik walles in decay.

Item a corne lathe or barne conteynyng in length xx ffoote and in bredith xxxiiij foote, w^t ij foote of the walles of brikkes vpward and the rest of thik bourdes, coueryd w^t thak.

Item ane other corne barne, conteynyng in length v^{xx} ffoote and in bredith (*blank*), w^t dawbid walles, coueryd w^t thak, decayed.

Item a cowehouse, iiij^{xx} ffoote longe and xvj ffoote brode, dawbid walles, coueryd w^t thak, decayed.

Item a hey barne conteynyng xl ffoote longe and xvj foote brode, dawbid walles and coueryd with thak, decayed.

Item ane oxe house and ij stabulles for husbondry vndir one roofe, conteynyng xliij ffoote and x foote brode, w^t dawbid walles, coueryd w^t thak, decayed.

Item ane other hey barne conteynyng in length l ffoote and in bredith xij ffoote, w^t walles splyntid⁴¹ and smalle postid and not dawbid, and coueryd w^t thak, decayed.

Item ij stabulles vndir one rofe conteynyng xx foote longe and xiiij foote brode, coueryd w^t strawe.

Item the Vycar's mansion and iiij prestes chambres vndir one roofe w^t a crosse ende, conteynyng in length v^{xx} ffoote and in bredith xvj foote, w^t tymber walles and welle coueryd w^t tyle.

Item ane olde dove house welny downe.

Item ane orchard w^t frute trees behynde the garnardes w^t dyuerse pondes and stewes theryn.

Item other orchardes w^t frute trees aboute the houses conteynyng by estimacoñ ij acres of grounde.

M^d that alle the oute-houses of offices and the garnardes are moche in decaye.

⁴¹ A splint is a lath. Splints are parts of sticks or poles, either whole or split, placed upright in forming walls, and supported by rizzers for receiving the clay daubing, a term applied to any

small thin piece of wood. Rizzers, small poles for confining faggots when used for inclosing yards, and also used for securing splints in daubing. (Halliwell.) The small posts are the rizzers.

XII. KIRKLEES.⁴²—SCITUS DOMORUM.

The church conteynyth in length iiij^{xx} ffoote and in bredith xxj ffoote, w^t a high rooffe coueryd w^t slates, hauynge (*blank*) glasse wyndowes conteynyng 1 ffoote of glasse, w^t the high alter, ij alters in the quere, and ij benethe, and xxij stalles in the quere for the nones.

Item the cloyster at the southe parte of the church conteynyth in length xl ffoote square and in bredith vij ffoote, and iij partes coueryd w^t slates, and chambres ouer th' other one parte, w^toute any glasse.

Item the chapter house at th' este parte of the cloyster, xvj ffoote square, vnder the dorter, w^t iij litle glasse wyndowes conteynyng vj ffoote of glasse.

Item the dorter ouer the chapter house, xl ffoote longe and xvij ffoote brode, coueryd w^t slates.

Item a parler vnder the dorter xvij ffoote square w^t a chymney, ij baye wyndowes glased conteynyng xxx ffoote of glasse.

Item the gyle house at the southe parte of the cloyster, xx ffoote square, vnder the fraytour.

Item a larder house vnder the fraytour, xij ffoote longe and xiiij ffoote brode.

Item the fraytour, xxxiiij ffoote longe and xvij ffoote brode, stone walles, vnglasid, coueryd w^t slates.

Item a litle house at the west parte to lay brede yñ, xvj ffoote longe and x ffoote brode.

Item a bultynge house at the west parte of the cloyster, xvj ffoote square.

Item v litle chambres ouer the same at the seid west parte for the ladyes and other to worke yñ, coueryd w^t slates.

aboute the cloyster.

⁴² Kirklees, situated on the Calder about 4 miles north of Huddersfield, was founded in the reign of Henry II. by Reyner Flandrensis, or le Fleming, in honour of the Virgin and St. James. At the Reformation its gross revenues amounted to £29 15s. 6d. There were eight inmates at that period, whose names and ages were as follows:—Cecilia Topcliff, 60; Joan Leventhorpe, 60; Isabella Hopton, 50; Joan Kypax, 50; Agnes Droke, 40; Isabella Rodes, 40; Katharine Grice, 25; and Isabella Saltynstall, 24. There are no remarks made on their characters except in the case of Isabella Rodes, who is said, somewhat ungrammatically, to be *criminosus*. Isabella Saltynstall had a corrody, value not stated. They had property in Huddersfield, where John Armitage had a tencement and two cottages at 24s. a year, Wekersley, Shelf, Leversage, Hertyshede, Scooles, Denby Graunge, Hekynweke, Kexbrough, Emley with certain land lying below Emley Park called Shypley Kerr, Littiltown alias Leversage parva, Jakrode in the parish of Halifax, and the

Rectory of Myrfield. Arthur Key paid yearly out of the demesne of Slackthwayte 13s. 4d. for a light at the altar of St. Nicholas.

The following account of the present state of the ruins from Murray's Handbook may be useful to compare with above survey. It is to be hoped a careful survey and plan of the remains will be made and published in this Journal.

"Some remains exist, although the greater part of the materials were used for building the present Hall, in the reign of Jas. I. (The family of Armitage became possessed of the site 8 Eliz.). A buttress and two piers of the N. nave arcade mark the site of the priory church. W. is a perp. building, 3 stories high, probably part of the prioress's lodgings; and on the S. side of the church is the cemetery, in which were discovered in 1706 (and are still to be seen) the tomb-slabs of the first prioress, Elizabeth de Stainton, and of her two sisters, who entered the house at the time of its foundation. The inscription on the tomb of the prioress runs: 'Douce J. H. U. de

Item the halle at the west ende of the church, xxx foote longe and xxj foote brode, w'oute glasse, coueryd w' slates.

Item a parler or chamber at th' upper ende of the halle xxiiij foote longe and xvj foote brode, coueryd w' slates, no glasse.

Item a litle chamber by the same, x foote square, coueryd w' slates, tymber walles.

Item the buttrye at the upper ende of the halle vnder the chamber, xxj foote longe and x foote brode.

Item a litle inner buttrye by the same.

alle v vnder one rooffe.
for the chapleyys.

Item the new chamber at the northe parte of the inner courte, xvj foote square w' a chymney and coueryd w' slates, tymbre walles.

Item ane other chamber by the same, xvj foote longe and xij foote brode, tymber walles, coueryd w' slates.

Item ane other chamber by the same of lyke bignesse.

Item ane other chambre therby of lyke bignesse.

Item suche ane other olde chamber coueryd w' slates.

Item a low house or old parler vnder the seid chambres, xvij foote square, w' stone walles and one glasse wyndow conteyning x foote of glasse.

Item the Prioress chamber at the northe syde of the nether ende of the church, xxiiij foote longe and xvj foote brode, tymbre walles, coueryd w' slates, no glasse.

Item j litle closett and a litle cole house therby.

Item a low chamber callid the fermery at the nether ende of the fraytour, xvij foote square, old stone walles, a chymney and no glasse.

Item the kychyn, xx foote longe and xvij foote brode, no chymney, stone walles and coueryd w' slates.

Item the brewhouse and bakehouse at the southe parte of the inner courte, xxxvj foote longe and xx foote brode, stone walles and coueryd w' slates.

Item a stable and ane old cole house at the southe parte of the seid courte, vnder the chambres.

M^d that alle the seid houses are aboute the cloyster and the inner courte.

Item ane old almeshouse whereyn a poore mañ dwellith w'oute the gate.

Item ane other old almeshouse, xl foote longe and xiiij foote brode, by the bek syde.

Item a cowhouse, xxxviiij foote longe and xx foote brode, brokyn walles, coueryd w' slates, decayed.

Item ane old rounde dove cote in the vtter yarde, of stone walles, partely brokyn, decayed.

Item a corne barne of ij storyes, wherof th' one lxxij foote longe and xxx foote brode, and th' other xl foote longe and xxiiij foote brode, stone walles, a goode stronge rooffe coueryd w' slates, v quarter rye.

Nazaret Fitz Dieu Tez Mercy a Elizabeth Stainton Prioress de cest maison.' The most perfect relic of the priory, however,

is the gatehouse, with very thick walls and narrow windows." Robin Hood is said to have been buried here.

Item a carte house, xxx foote longe and xvj foote brode, no walles, coueryd w^t slates welle.

Item the oxehouse, lx foote longe and xvij foote brode, stone and tymbre walles, coueryd w^t slates.

Item the kylne house, xliij foote longe and xvij foote brode, wherof th' one half old and th' other half late burnyd and new bilded, wherof lakkith xx foote to couer, and the reste coueryd w^t slates.

Item the garnar, xx foote longe and xvj foote brode, tymbre walles, coueryd w^t slates.

Item ij litle houses vndir the same, and th' one of theym for seruauntes to lye yn.

Item a swynecote, xxiiij foote longe and xvj foote brode, coueryd w^t slates.

M^d that the most parte are olde houses.

Item ane orchard enclosid w^t ane olde stone walle w^t few frute trees, conteynyth by estymacon ij roodes of grounde.

THE NUNNERY OF ST. STEPHEN'S OF THIMBLEBY.

By WILLIAM BROWN.

THANKS to the laborious researches of Dodsworth and Burton, it might be thought that no further additions could possibly be made to the list of the Yorkshire religious houses, but it is believed that the above-named Nunnery is as yet unknown. The township of Thimbleby forms the southern portion of the parish of Osmotherley, and is about six miles east of Northallerton. A farm called the Nun House marks the site of the Nunnery. It is pleasantly situated under the Hambleton Hills, near the village of Sifton, with an extensive view over the Plain of Mowbray towards the Western Hills. The nearest religious house was the secluded Nunnery of Arden, lying about seven miles eastward across the moors.

The earliest notice to be found is in an undated Plea Roll of the time of King John, when Matill', widow of William, brought an action against Robert de Alverton and the Prioress of St. Stephen's, about her dower in a toft of land at Thirsk.¹ From this time we hear nothing of the Priory until 21 Edward I. (1292-3) when one of the Yorkshire Assize Rolls² informs us of its continued existence. From this record it appears that William, the chaplain of Yarm, was indicted before the justices itinerant at York, for the abduction of Cecilia, a nun of St. Stephen's of Foukeholm, and other robberies. And at same time John le Priur of Ossemunderlay (Osmotherley) and William, son of Aldus' were indicted for breaking into a house belonging to the prioress. These two last were acquitted, but the chaplain was claimed by the ordinary as a clerk before he was put on his trial on this charge, although he was found guilty on another indictment of stealing eighteen shillings from a

¹ Coram Rege, tempore John, No. 52, fo. 2.

² Yorkshire Assize Rolls, N. 1. 15-- 1, fo. 85.

brother clergyman, the parson of Welbury. The nun returned to St. Stephen's of her own accord. I have not found the name of Foukeholm elsewhere.

In the following deed, which is copied from the original at Arncliffe Hall, is contained the last mention of St. Stephen's as a religious house I have been able to find :—

Omnibus Sancte Matris ecclesie filiis ad quos presens scriptum peruenerit, Acilla humilis Priorissa Sancti Stephani et eiusdem loci conuentus, eternam in domino salutem. Nouerit vniuersitas vestra nos, ex communi consensu capituli nostri et spontanea voluntate nostra, com(m)isisse nosmet ipsas et omnia bona nostra temporalia, mobilia et immobilia ; siue in nemoribus uel in terris consistent, ordinacioni siue disposicioni domini Willelmi de Coleuill',³ patroni nostri, et heredum suorum : vt de Bonis temporalibus quocumque modo domum nostram contingentibus, ad sustentacionem nostram et domus nostre melioracionem ordinent et disponant. Ita scilicet, quod si humanitus contingat de me Acilla Priorissa, ex consensu et voluntate ipsius Willelmi uel heredum suorum alia eligatur Priorissa ; nec preficietur magister uel custos eiusdem domus nisi per predictum dominum Willelmum de Coleuill' et heredes suos ; nec eciam recipiemus aliquam monialem uel sororem, siue secularem aliquem uel aliquam, neque pueros in predicta domo sine iussu et voluntate ipsius Willelmi et heredum suorum. Volumus eciam et concedimus pro nobis et successoribus nostris, quod omnes contenciones que mote fuerunt inter dominum Philippum de Coleuill' patronum nostrum, patrem predicti domini Willelmi de Coleuill', patroni nostri, ex vna parte, et nos ex altera, de cetero omnino adnichillentur et sedentur. Et ut omnia ista predicta perpetuam optineant firmitatem, presens scriptum inpressione sigilli capituli nostri roborauimus. Hiis testibus, Domino J. de Rumesay, Magistro Willelmo de Manefeld', Domino J. Gilett, Magistro Roberto uicario de Aluertoñ, Warino clerico de eadem, Ricardo de Bromptona, Thoma Mansel, Willelmo de Boneuill', Domino Rogero de Burtona, Willelmo de Salcock', Johanne Mansel, Alano Clerico de Thimilby, et multis aliis.

Endorsed in a 15th century hand :—Soit bien view—Thymylby.

The seal.—Only a fragment of the upper part remains. It bears a

³ The Colvilles acquired the manor of Thimbleby towards the close of the 11th century from Hugh de Puiset, Bishop of Durham, who granted it with Foxton, Sigston, and Ellerbeck to his seneschal Philip de Colville, for the good service he had done him. There is no doubt these Colvilles were a junior branch of the Colvilles of Bytham Castle in Lincolnshire. They were both very partial to the name Philip, and the Yorkshire branch proclaimed their origin by their arms, which were Or a fess gules, of the main line, differenced by the addition of three torteaux in chief. The Colvilles of Coxwold assumed three blue lions on the

fess in lieu of the torteaux. They retained possession of Thimbleby until about 1420, when Sir John Colville, the last of the family in the main line, died at Harfleur in Normandy whilst engaged in the French wars. In 1440 his estates were divided between his aunt Joan, wife of Sir William Mauleverer of Wotherstone, near Leeds, and Isabel, wife of William Fencote of Bishopton, in the county of York. The latter got Thimbleby as part of her share, and her descendants by her first husband John Wandesford of Kirklington retained the manor until 1694.—(Grange's Vale of Mowbray. 341).

figure standing, apparently female, with a crown and a sceptre in the right hand.⁴

This charter may be dated to within a few years. William de Colville was a minor in 1270, when Richard Malebisse demised to Simon de Clerevall "totum tenementum," which John Engeram held of Sir William de Malebisse in Dale by Hawnby, until the full age of William, son of Philip de Colvill, heir of the said John.⁵ He had attained his majority before 8 Edward I. (1279-80), in which year he paid a fine of ten pounds to have a respite from being made a knight for one year.⁶ In 1293 he was a defendant in an action of *quo warranto*⁷ about free warren in his demesne lands in East Heselarton, Dale, Arncliffe, and Ingleby, which he claimed under a grant made by Henry III. in 1255 to his relation Robert Ingeram, whose heir he was, and also about amends for breaking the assize of beer in Thimbleby and Sigston, which he said his ancestors had enjoyed from a time whereof the memory of man ran not to the contrary. In the next year William, son of William Freman, recovered common of pasture appurtenant to his freehold in Dale, of which he had been disseised by William de Colville and others.⁸ He was dead before 28 Edward I. (1299—1300), when his brother Sir Robert de Coville (afterwards governor of Norham) tried to recover the manors of Budill and Spindelston, in Northumberland out of the king's hands. William de Colville had granted them in frank marriage to his younger brother Philip and Agnes de Morthington, his wife. Philip died without issue, and his widow remarried Henry de Haliburton, a Scotchman (probably an ancestor of Sir Walter Scott), who became "inimicus et rebellis Regis," whereupon the king seized the manors.⁹ Thus we see the deed must have been executed between 1278 and 1300. The information to

⁴ Can this figure be that of a man and represent St. Stephen, to whom the Nunnery was dedicated, with the crown (στέφανος) of martyrdom on his head? The idea was a favourite one with mediæval writers; thus Adam of St. Victor in his hymn on his martyrdom:—

"Nomen habes Coronati,
Te tormenta decet pati
Pro coronâ gloriæ.

Pro corona non marcenti
Perfer brevis vim tormenti,
Te manet victoria."

⁵ Yorkshire Corporation Papers, II. 967, quoted in Kirkby's Inquest, 98 n.

⁶ Fine Roll, 8 Edward I. m. 1.

⁷ Yorkshire Assize Rolls, N. 1, 16—2, fo. 1.

⁸ *Ibid.*, N. 1. 18—1, fo. 71.

⁹ Calendarium Genealogicum II. 591, 635.

be obtained from the deed is very meagre. We do not learn who was the founder, or to what order the house belonged. The Colvilles were the patrons, but how they acquired the right is unknown. The effect of the deed was to vest the whole of the temporal property of the Nunnery in William de Colville. This surrender, followed in a few years by the depredations of the Scotch after Bannockburn, may account for the disappearance of the Nunnery. We meet with a few traces of it in later times. In a rent-roll of Thimbleby of 11 Rich. II. (1387-8) we find fields called fferland and ladyker, and a tenant called John de Nonhus; and in another, dated 1434 St. Stephen's acre is twice mentioned. The only actual remains are some mounds to the north of the present dwelling-house which appear to cover the site of buildings.

PS.—Since writing the above, I have come across a later mention of the Priory. In 1349 Archbishop Zouche confirmed the election of Alice Gower, as Prioress of St. Stephen's Nunnery in Cleveland. (Registrum Zouche, fo. 168.)

CISTERCIAN STATUTES.

By the Rev. J. T. FOWLER, M.A., F.S.A.

(CONTINUED FROM P. 240.)

III.—*De superfluitatibus et curiositatibus cavendis.*

Superfluitates et curiositates notabiles in sculturis, picturis, ædificiis, pavimentis, et aliis similibus,²⁶ quæ deformant antiquam ordinis honestatem, et paupertati nostræ non congruunt, in Abbatiis, Grangiis vel Cellariis²⁷ ne fiant interdicimus, nec picturæ præter ymaginem Salvatoris. (Tabulæ²⁸ vero quæ altaribus apponuntur, uno colore tantummodo colorentur.) Hæc omnia Patres Abbates in suis visitationibus diligenter inquirent et faciant observari.²⁹

V.—*De Abbatiis non fundandis sine consensu Capituli Generalis.*

Nulli liceat Abbatiam nostri Ordinis fundare, vel fundatam alias transferre, vel etiam commutare, seu locum alterius religionis Ordini per subjectionem incorporare, nisi de licencia Capituli Generalis. Abbas qui contra formam prædictam facere præsumperit, tam promovens quam promotus deponatur, et conventus ad domum priorem revocetur.

²⁶ Ita Cap. Gen. an. 1213. (These notes in Latin are from the "Nomasticon.")

²⁷ According to Dist. VII., cap. vi., in the Statutes of 1256, granges were to be under the care of the *Cellerarius* (Nomast. 329).

²⁸ Retables, or reredoses, often called "tables" in later times. We still say "Tables of the Commandments," etc. Durandus speaks of images or pictures being painted on the "tabula" behind the altar, which seems to be what was forbidden to the Cistercians (Rat. Div. Off., I. iii. 17). The words in brackets are not in the Statutes of 1256.

²⁹ St. Bernard, inveighing against the "ritualistic" Cluniacs in his Apology addressed to William, abbot of St. Theoderic's, is very strong on this point (Opera, Par. 1719, vol. i. pp. 533—546, especially chapters x., xi., xii., which are most remarkable for their vehement puritanism). Early Cistercian buildings represent the early simplicity of the

Order, which was a reaction against the opposite extreme. The difference between earlier and later work is well seen at Rievaulx, Fountains, and elsewhere. Melrose, which was rebuilt in the 15th century, is full of elaborate detail ("Lay of the Last Minstrel," II., i., ix., xi.) The east window has a pair of niches over it containing statues of Our Lord and the Blessed Virgin (mistaken for David I. and his queen), with angels censuring in niches running up the sides of the gable. The heraldic and grotesque tiles often found, and the "Painted Chamber" at Cleeve (Walcott, pp. 107, 119) would have been regarded as too "curious" in the early days. The Inventories of the Dissolution period show that, in vestments and all other church furniture, the Cistercians had then conformed to the general taste of the times. (See Archaeologia, xliii. 214, 238; Monast., v. 440, 484; Mem. Fountains, Surtees Soc., xlii. 288.)

VI.—*De numero monachorum ad nova monasteria mittendorum.*

Duodecim monachi ad minus cum Abbate terciodecimo ad nova cœnobia transmittantur.³⁰ Nec tamen illuc destinantur, donec locus domibus, libris,³¹ et aliis necessariis ita aptetur, ut vivere et regulam ibidem valeant observare. Si autem Abbatiae non habent aut habere non possunt quod sufficiat ad numerum prætaxatum, vel expirent penitus, vel inde faciat Pater Abbas quod viderit expedire, consilio tamen Capituli Generalis.

VII.—*De vestibus et ornamentis ecclesie, et hostiis.*

Altaria majora in præcipuis sollempnitatibus pannis sericis et olosericis³² liceat adornare, et casulæ unius coloris et simplices sint.³³ Indulgetur tamen ut qui casulas olosericas unius coloris jam nunc habent vel imposterum habuerint, eis utantur. Calicem vero et fistulam³⁴ habere licet argentea et deaurata : aurea vero nunquam permittantur haberi, ut in eis celebretur. Et hostiæ non nisi de puro frumento fiant. Eucharistia autem sub clave et bona sera conservetur.

VIII.—*De capis sericis.*

Abbatibus dum benedicuntur, necnon et abbatibus qui eis in benedictionibus assistunt, albis et capis uti licet, et quocienscunque albis et duuntur et portant baculum pastorem. Diacono et subdiacono tunica it dalmatica uti liceat in sollempnitatibus quibus Abbates tenentur celebrare, eorum absentia non obstante.³⁵

IX.—*De Crucibus, et Reliquiis, et lampade Oratorii.*

Cruces pictas ligneas habeamus ; aureæ vel argenteæ notabilis magnitudinis non fiant. In præcipuis vero festivitatibus, cum reliquiæ inponuntur Altari, quod ad missas tantum fieri debet, videlicet in festo Sanctæ Trinitatis, et in omnibus sollempnitatibus in quibus fit sermo in Capitulo, præter primam Dominicam Adventus, duo cerei apponantur cum eisdem, præter luminaria hinc inde apposita.³⁶ Lampadem autem tam die quam nocte ardentem in Oratorio omni occasione remota habere debemus.

³⁰ Cap. Gen. an. 1204. The number twelve with the head was often selected for ecclesiastical corporations, both monastic and secular, as suggestive of the twelve Apostles. St. Bernard went to Clervaux as first abbot, with twelve monks, in 1119.

³¹ The principal books required would be those used in church, together with the Rule of St. Benedict and those referred to therein. See above, p. 235.

³² In the former, the warp was of some cheaper material, the latter was wholly silk (Rock's Handbook to Textile Fabrics, 1876, p. 24).

³³ Without orphreys, so "a white albe plain," i.e. without apparels.

³⁴ A pipe of precious metal through which communicants received the contents of the chalice; it is often called

the *calamus*, from its resemblance to a reed, and possibly from an actual reed having originally been used. The *Ordo Romanus* explains its use in these words: "Diaconus tenens Calicem et Fistulam stet ante Episcopum, usque dum ex Sanguine Christi quantum voluerit sumat, et sic Calicem et Fistulam Subdiacono commendet." See much more about it in Bona, *Rer. Lit.*, lib. I., cap. xxv, § iv, and as to the Cistercian way of using it in *Liber Usuum* in "Guignard," pp. 148, 149.

³⁵ Ita Cap. Gen. ann. 1257, 1258, et 125 (*sic*). In 1256 the statute ended with "Celebrantibus autem Abbatibus in domibus Ordinis nostri nunquam tapetia substernantur."

³⁶ "Præter candelas hinc et inde parietibus affixas." There were probably two

X.—*De Lumine ante Altare pro festo alicujus Sancti.*

Cum festum alicujus Sancti evenierit, ad Altare in honore ipsius principaliter consecratum licebit accendere lumen lampadis vel candelæ.

XI.—*De libris juris et nova librorum expositione.*

Libri juris canonici vel civilis in Armario³⁷ communi minime resideant, nec præsumat aliquis novas librorum exposiciones facere sine consensu Capituli Generalis.³⁸

XII.—*De Campanis, et quomodo pulsantur.*

Campanæ nostri Ordinis de cætero ita fiant, ut unus tantum pulset, et nunquam duo simul.³⁹ Cum autem fit intervallum inter Laudes et Primam, modice pulsari debet major campana. Similiter ad primum signum horæ, ad Mixtum,⁴⁰ et ante cibum et post, et post Meridianam,⁴¹ et ad Biberes,⁴² et ad Missas. Insuper autem pulsari debet ad omnia officia, et ad omnes horas quibus Conversi interesse debent, exceptis Prima, Tercia, Sexta, Nona, Completorio, quæ minori semper campana pulsantur, et Capitulum, et Collatio.⁴³ Quando tamen intervallum non est inter Laudes et Primam, major campana pulsari debet ad Primam.⁴⁴

XIII.—*De distantia Abbatiarum et Grangiarum.*

Grangiæ diversarum Abbatiarum distent ad minus inter se duabus leugis Burgundiæ consuetis.⁴⁵ De distancia vero Abbatiarum et Grangiarum fiat secundum quod visum fuerit Capitulo Generali.

candles, not on candlesticks, but on little iron brackets fixed in the east wall, one on either side of the altar.

³⁷ At Rievaulx, Fountains and Kirkstall as well as in abbeys of other Orders the recess of the common book-case remains in the east cloister. The "Nomasticon" has a note explaining *Armarium* as "Cella intra (sic) Capitulum et Ecclesiam in Claustro libris asservandis disposita," p. 277.

³⁸ "Cum nunc vix aut rarissime Capitulum Generale celebretur, sufficit facultas superioris majoris cum Privilegio Regis et approbatione Doctorum." ("Nomasticon," 277).

³⁹ They are never to be so large as to require two persons to ring them.

⁴⁰ A slight morning refreshment of bread and wine. See below, Dist. xiii., cap. iv.

⁴¹ The noonday sleep, necessary from their having to rise for the long night offices.

⁴² A draught of water taken in the refectory after nones and after vespers, hence a slight afternoon refreshment, "bevers" (see Halliwell) *Liber Usuum*, in "Guignard," pp. 184, 189.

⁴³ "Et legat unus Collationes, vel Vitas Patrum." Reg. S. Ben. cap. xlii. The "Collationes" or Conferences of Cassian, or similar compilations. Smaragdus, however (on the Rule, c. 42), says "quasi collocutio vel confabulatio," because the monks conversed on the portions read. So *Gemma Animæ*, ii. 63. The readings were immediately after supper, which hence came to be called "collation," as did subsequently other meals.

⁴⁴ Though there were only two bells at first, "major," and "minor," Rievaulx and Hayles had five each at the dissolution, Byland seven, and Meaux three, also an organ. (Walcott; Cleeve, p. 104, n. 6). In 1583, there remained at Pipewell unsold, 5 bells weighing 56 cwt. The great 15th century towers above mentioned were clearly intended for more than two bells. One of the Kirkstall bells is at Kirkthorpe near Wakefield, and bears the inscription ✠ LAURENTIUS : IONES : DE : BERDESAY : ABBAS : A° : D : M°. The date is not on the bell, but this abbot ruled in 1396.

⁴⁵ The Gallic leuga is 1 mile and 2003 feet English.

XIII.—*De Cimiteriis, ne habeantur in Grangiis.*

Prohibetur ne in Grangiis nostris decetero fiant Cimiteria, et in his quæ facta sunt nemo sepeliatur. Si vero contingat aliquos jus sepulturæ habere ibidem, quibus non possit denegari, a septis Grangiarum ipsa Cimiteria excludantur, si potest fieri competenter. Sin autem ad Abbatiam sepeliendi deducantur.

XV.—*De stabulis et domibus extra portam.*

Stabula equorum intra Abbatiarum ambitum collocentur,⁴⁶ nec extra portam Monasterii aliqua domus ad habitandum construat, nisi animalium tantum, propter cavenda pericula animarum. Si quæ fuerint, cadant; omnes autem portæ Abbatiarum sint extra terminos.⁴⁷ Conversis infra abbacias licet equitare.

EXPLICIT PRIMA DISTINCTIO.

[DISTINCTIO SECUNDA.]

1. De ingressu mulierum in abbatias tempore dedicationis.
2. De professione et benedictione noviciorum in aliis abaciis.
3. De his qui abbates suos inquietant ut promoveantur, et alienis monachis non ordinandis.
4. De noviter ordinatis ab episcopo suspenso.
5. De monachis alterius ordinis.
6. De benedictione abbatum et forma profitendi et installatione et processione eidem facienda.
7. De episcopis, ne novicios benedicant.
8. De abbatibus et monachis, ne baptizent.

Incipit secunda distinctio, quæ agit de Dedicationibus, Ordinationibus, et Benedictionibus.

I.—*De ingressu mulierum in Abbacias tempore Dedicationis.*

Cum in Abbaciis nostris Ecclesiæ majores noviter dedicantur, per novem dies fœminæ permittuntur intrare, sed intra septa earundem (illo tempore vel etiam ratione alicujus privilegii)⁴⁸ minime pernoctare.⁴⁹

II.—*De Professione et Benedictione Noviciorum in aliis abbaciis.*

Novicii qui in alia domo benedicuntur, secundum formam Ordinis profiteantur, et nichilominus cum ad proprias domos venerint, proprio

⁴⁶ The assignment of Newminster to Rich. Tyrrell in the second year of Edward VI. speaks of "all houses buyldynges barnes stables culverhouses orchards gardeyns land soyle beyng within the scyte and precyncte of the seyde late monasterye." (Newminster Cartulary, Surtees Soc. lvi. 309).

⁴⁷ Scilicet, Claustri Regularis (Nomast.).

⁴⁸ Not in 1256.

⁴⁹ "Ex Cap. Gen. ann. 1190. In Sequanæ portu (abbey of Barbeaux) quia mulieres in anniversario Regis ingressæ sunt Oratorium, tam Abbas quam Monachi et Conversi uno die sint in pane et aqua: Officiales vero qui hoc scienter fieri permiserunt, tribus diebus sint in levi culpa, uno eorum in pane et aqua."

Abbati debitam faciant professionem : nisi ab ipso fuerint benedicti. Abbas autem qui scienter Novicium infra annum vel extra Abbaciam Ordinis benedixerit ; a Patre Abbate deponatur.⁵⁰

III.—*De his qui Abbates suos inquietant ut promoveantur, et alienis Monachis non ordinandis.*

Qui Abbates suos per se vel per alios inquietant ut promoveantur ad Ordines, a die qua hoc fecerint usque ad biennium non ordinentur, nisi promoti fuerint in Abbates. Nec præsumat alienum monachum aliquis facere ordinari, sine licentia proprii Abbatis.

III.—*De noviter ordinatis, et ordinatis ab Episcopo suspenso.*

Sacerdotes noviter ordinati primas Missas non nisi privatim cantant. Ordinati vero ab Episcopo suspenso, et qui scienter a tali aliquem fecerint ordinari ; ab ordinum exequucione suspensi maneant usque ad nutum Capituli Generalis.

V.—*De Monachis alterius Ordinis.*

Monachus alterius Ordinis professus secundum Regulam Sancti Benedicti, in aliquo nostri Ordinis Monasterio receptus, si benedictus non est, in Cella Noviciorum⁵¹ sit per annum et eodem ordine quo Novicius benedicatur. Si autem benedictus fuerit, statim detur ei cuculla. Completis autem ad minus antea quatuor mensibus, ad nutum Abbatis in Capitulo petitionem faciat de professione facienda, et in ecclesia sicut Novicius Monachus professionem suam legens super Altare offerat, nichil amplius faciens.

VI.—*De Benedictione Abbatum et forma profitendi, et Installatione et Processione eisdem facienda.*

Pro Benedictione Abbatum nichil detur, quia symoniacum est. Quod si aliter benedici non poterunt, benedictiones potius omittantur vel differantur. Debemus autem profiteri Episcopis nostris in forma qua profitetur dominus Cisterciensis, quæ talis est, Ego frater B. abbas Cistercii, subjectionem, reverentiam, et obedientiam a Sanctis Patribus constitutam, secundum Regulam Sancti Benedicti, tibi domine Pater Episcope, tuisque successoribus canonice substituendis, et sanctæ Sedi Cabilonensi,⁵² salvo ordine nostro, perpetuo me exhibiturum promitto. Qui aliter profiteri præsumpserit, sciat se deponendum. Pœnam eandem sustineat qui ab aliquo qui non sit de Ordine nostro, vel a persona

⁵⁰ Cap. Gen. ann. 1197. "Per hanc Professionem Abbati faciendam, intelligenda est ea quæ singulis Abbatibus fit, nihilque aliud est quam obedientiæ et subjectionis erga eos testificatio. Fit autem in Capitulo a Novitio vel Monacho genibus flexis et manibus junctis inter manus Abbatis, sub hac verborum formula, *Pater, promitto tibi Obedientiam secundum Regulam S. Benedicti usque ad mortem.*"

⁵¹ "Cella" is here simply an apartment. Monastic rules speak of Cella ægrotorum, hospitum, novitiorum, mo-

nachorum, senum. (Menard, *Concordia Regularum*, Index.) It might mean a bedroom, a store-room, the sanctuary in a church, a monastery as a whole (*ib.* p. 656). The *cella novitiorum* was, sometimes at least, a separate building; the novices were isolated that they might not be able to reveal secrets if they returned to the world, and that they might have more opportunity for contemplation," etc. (*ib.* p. 936).

⁵² Cîteaux was within the jurisdiction of the bishop of Chalon in Burgundy.

nostri Ordinis nomine alicujus praelati se permiserit installari. Nec unquam fiat Abbati processio nisi benedicto.

VII.—*De Episcopis, ne Novicios benedicant.*

Nullus Episcopus, etiam si de Ordine sit, Novicium benedicere, vel visitationem facere in nostris domibus, neque se de Electionibus Ordinis intromittere permittatur.

VIII.—*De Abbatibus et Monachis, ne baptizent.*

Abbas sive Monachus, seu alia nostri Ordinis persona quæ infantem do sacro fonte susceperit⁵³ (nisi a tali persona fuerit requisitus cui absque gravi dampno et scandalo nequeant denegari),⁵⁴ vel qui infantem baptizare præsumpserit, nisi forte in articulo mortis cum presbiter defuerit, omni vj^{ta} feria sit in pane et aqua usque ad sequens capitulum generale, nisi grandis sollempnitas aut evidens infirmitas aliquam exegerit dispensationem.⁵⁵

(A)uctoritate Capituli Generalis statuitur ut quicumque abbas alicujus Abbatis cedentis et ad ipsum profitendi gratia divertentis, professionem recipere noluerit, usque ad sequens Capitulum sit extra stallum Abbatis, et omni vj^a feria in pane et aqua, ad quod Capitulum venire teneatur, in ipso capitulo super hoc veniam petiturus.⁵⁶

INCIPIUNT CAPITULA TERCIE DISTINCTIONIS.

1. De mediocritate servanda in Cantu.
2. De Commemoratione Beatæ Mariæ, et missa ipsius cotidiana.
3. De stando extra stallum in Commemoratione Beatæ Mariæ.
4. De Commemoratione Beatæ Mariæ, quando intermittitur.
5. De horis Beatæ Mariæ in Infirmatorio dicendis.
6. De Missa Beatæ Mariæ in Sabbatis, et Vigiliâ Assumptionis.
7. De præfatione, et Gloria in excelsis, et hymno per octavas Assumptionis et Nativitatis Beatæ Mariæ.
8. De Processione in die Assumptionis.
9. De horis Beatæ Mariæ extra terminos, et officio defunctorum in Infirmatorio.
10. De satisfactione Abbatis ad gradum.
11. De non loquendo infra terminos dum Horæ Canonicæ cantantur.
12. De Oracionibus, ne fiant in Conventu.
13. De eo quod prostrata non oramus.
14. De Anniversariis.
15. De Anniversariis sine licentia non faciendis.
16. De Anniversariis si concedantur, quomodo intelligantur.

⁵³ That is, acted as godparent. The custom was for the godparents to hold the child at the font, and taking it from the priest immediately after immersion, lift it out of the font. (Sarum Baptismal Office, Surtees Soc., vol. 63, p. 15*.)

⁵⁴ Not in 1256.

⁵⁵ Accordingly we do not find fonts in Cistercian churches. The Statute of 1256 goes on to say "et in eadem Capitulo Abbas super hoc veniam petat.

Abbas etiam qui Monachum vel Campanam seu etiam Sacerdotalia vestimenta benedixerit, similem poenam patiatur," with the note in the "Nomasticon," "Hæc omnia nunc, tum ex usu tum ex Privilegio fiunt." The relaxation in favour of abbots seems to have been made soon after 1256, as the passage is not in our copy.

⁵⁶ In somewhat different ink.

17. De non petendo Servizio in morte.
18. De his qui debent exire ad tabulam pro mortuo.
19. De Commemoracionibus Sanctorum sine licencia non faciendis.
20. De Missa alicujus Sancti in Gradali intitulata.
21. De Missis de Trinitate et Spiritu Sancto.
22. De Collecta pro præsenti defuncto in missa cotidiana.
23. De Missa Cotidiana vel annuali non concedendo.
24. De Missis tempore tonsionis et messionis.
25. De elevatione Hostiæ, et restringenda evagatione claustralium.
26. De celebratione Abbatibus et Monachis concessa.
27. De ministris Altarium, ubi communicent.
28. De festo Sanctæ Trinitatis, et Dominica Palmarum.
29. De festo Sancti Barnabæ, et Sanctorum Petri Tharensis, Lamberti, Dominici, et Petri martyris, et Johannis ante Portam Latinam.
30. De Collecta Ecclesiæ, quando intermittitur.
31. De petitionibus non faciendis pro festo alicujus Sancti celebrando.
Expliciunt capitula.

TERCIA DISTINCTIO.

Incipit tertia distinctio, quæ agit de Divino Officio.

I.—*De mediocritate servanda in Cantu.*

Mediocritas servetur in Cantu, ut et gravitatem redoleat et devotio conservetur (et divinum officium tam in infirmitorio quam alibi distincte et ordinate ab omnibus persolvatur.)⁶⁷

II.—*De commemoratione Beatæ Mariæ, et Missa ipsius cotidiana.*

Commemorationes⁶⁸ Beatæ Mariæ et Beatorum Benedicti et Bernardi, ita fiant sicut hactenus est observatum. Ad versum, *Ave Maria*, flectimus genua, et ad *Salve sancta parens*, et ad *Salve Regina* tantum, ubi tamen Sacerdotes in Missis privatis Sacerdotalibus induti, genua non flectant. Per Adventum dicitur Collecta, *Deus qui de Beatæ Mariæ*; versus et antiphona non mutantur. Et sciendum quod omni die quo fit Commemoratio de Beata Maria ad Laudes, ad Missam dicitur collecta. Exceptis tribus Vigiliis Pentecostis, Assumpcionis Beatæ Mariæ, et Omnium Sanctorum. Omni vero die qua cantatur Missa cotidiana, pro defunctis et de Sancta Maria cantatur. Die autem Natalis Domini, Paschæ, et Penthecostis, ebdomadarius ejusdem Missæ cantet de festo, et dicat Collectam de Sancta Maria, et ebdomadarius Missæ pro defunctis, *Inclina*. In Adventu autem et in omnibus sollempnitatibus Sanctæ Mariæ, et per octavas Assumpcionis atque Nativitatis ejusdem, eadem Missa quæ in Conventu canitur, et privatim dicetur. Quociens autem Commemoratio Beatæ Virginis intermittitur, tociens dictorum Sanctorum Benedicti et Bernardi Commemorationes non dicantur. Et de Sancto Roberto in Horis Beatæ Mariæ fiat commemoratio consueta.

⁶⁷ Not in 1256. There is a longer chapter in 1289 (Nomast. p. 503).

⁶⁸ Special Collects, Antiphons, and Versicles added to the mass or office of the day, with reference to the less of two concurring festivals, or when there are local or other reasons for using them more frequently. Those here referred to,

with others, may be seen in the Cistercian Missal and Breviary. Chapters ii, iii, iv, differ a good deal in the Statutes of 1256, and there is a note in the "Nomasticon" that the Commemoration of St. Bernard was ordered by the Chapter General in 1200.

III.—*De stando extra stallum in Commemoracionibus Beatæ Mariæ.*

In omnibus autem (sollemnitatibus) Beatæ Mariæ ad *Benedictus* et ad *Magnificat*, et ad commemorationes ejus quæ ad Laudes et ad Vesperas fiunt, Monachos volumus extra stallum stare.

III.—*De Commemoratione Beatæ Mariæ, quando intermittitur.*

In Vigilia Natalis Domini ad Laudes intermittitur Commemoratio Beatæ Mariæ, usque in crastinum Epiphaniæ, et tunc ad Laudes dicatur. Similiter in Cœna Domini ad Laudes intermittatur usque in vj^{am} feriam post diem Paschæ, et tunc ad Laudes dicatur. In Vigilia quoque Ascensionis Domini intermittatur ad Vesperas, et in crastino agatur ad Laudes. In Vigilia quoque Penthecostis intermittatur ad Vesperas usque in quintam feriam, et tunc ad Laudes incipiatur. In festo quoque Omnium Sanctorum et in omnibus sollemnitatibus Sanctæ Mariæ intermittatur. Per octavas etiam Assumptionis et Natalis ejusdem non fiat præter propriam de Octavis.⁵⁹

V.—*De Horis Beatæ Mariæ in Infirmitorio dicendis.*⁶⁰

Horæ Beatæ Mariæ in Infirmitorio dicantur omni tempore, exceptis festivitibus ejus, et per Octavas Assumptionis et Nativitatis ejusdem.⁶¹ In festo tamen Beati Bernardi dicuntur, et in diebus Paschæ et Penthecostis et Omnium Sanctorum. A Vigilia autem Nativitatis usque in crastinum Epiphaniæ, exceptis festis Sanctorum non dicantur.⁶²

⁵⁹ "Præterquam in die beati Bernardi" (1256).

⁶⁰ A much shortened form of the Breviary Hours constructed with special reference to Our Lady. It was the most popular book of private devotion during the Middle Ages, and was much used by nuns and others who were not bound to say the Previary Office. It seems to have been used in Infirmary chapels as being shorter and less fatiguing to the sick, and because there was not time for it in the conventual church, where the regular Office was sung. The Cluniacs used it in the infirmary chapel for the latter reason (Martene de Ant. Mon. Rit. I. ii. 28). The "Mirror of Our Lady," edited by the Rev. J. H. Blunt for the Early Engl. Text Soc., is a translation of it, with a Commentary, for the use of the Brigittine nuns of Syon, near London, who sang this Office in their chapel, while the Sarum Breviary hours were sung by the brethren in theirs. These Hours of the B. V. were also sung in Lady Chapels (Forbes's Sarum Missal, p. 760*), some of which, Westminster, Ely, and Winchester for example, are clearly arranged for choir-offices as well as for mass. The Cistercians however had no

"Lady Chapel." See Dist. I., cap. i. The Office may be seen in the ordinary Roman or monastic breviaries under the title of "Officium parvum B. Mariæ," and is said to have been instituted by Cardinal Peter Damian before A.D. 1056, if not rather restored, having apparently been used at Cassino as early as A.D. 752. (Gavanti Comm. in Rubr. Brev., Sect. ix). The "Primer" was at first a translation of these "Hours" into English.

⁶¹ When, probably, the longer Breviary Hours would be said.

⁶² It is evident from the way in which the Infirmary is mentioned here and elsewhere that it was a more important part of the Cistercian establishment than was for some time thought. The great church-like Infirmaries of Benedictine abbeys are well-known, as at Canterbury, Ely, Peterborough, Gloucester, and Westminster, and there is no reason why the Cistercian Infirmary should have been a less important building. The so-called "Abbot's Halls" at Fountains and Kirkstall, were no doubt the Infirmarys, and that at Fountains still retains its own chapel, kitchen, and refectory, according to the requirements of a *Privilegium*, A.D. 1334. (Henriquez,

VI.—*De Missa Beatæ Mariæ in Sabbatis, et Vigilia Assumpcionis.*

In omnibus Sabbatis omnino vacantibus, Missa de Sancta Maria sollempniter cum duobus ministris⁶³ sine flexione genuum, omissis usitatis collectis, in Conventu cantabitur cum *Gloria in excelsis*, et præfatione *Et te in veneratione*. Diebus lxx^æ tractus *Gaude Maria*. Diebus Resurrectionis, duo *Alleluia* dicantur, primum *Post partum*, secundum *Virga Jesse*. Propter hoc missa pro defunctis non omittatur.⁶⁴ Idipsum qui Sabbato cantaverint privatim, de Beata Maria observent. Abbas vero in Vigilia Assumpcionis Beatæ Mariæ Missam celebret in Conventu cum duobus⁶⁵ ministris sollempniter sicut (in) Dominica, cum Præfatione *Et te in veneratione*.

VII.—*De Præfatione et Gloria in excelsis, et hymnis per octavas Assumpcionis et Nativitatis Beatæ Mariæ.*

Per Octavas Assumpcionis atque Nativitatis Beatæ Mariæ dicatur præfatio de festo, et *Gloria in excelsis*, et cum duobus ministris missa sollempniter celebretur, ubi fieri poterit competenter. In sollempnitatibus vero Sanctorum quæ infra easdem octavas evenerint ad Tertiam et ad Completorium dicatur Hymnus de Beata Maria, præterquam in Exaltatione Sanctæ Crucis. In Octavis vero Ascensionis Domini et Epiphaniæ, dicatur præfatio de eisdem.

VIII.—*De processione in die Assumpcionis.*

In Assumpcione Beatæ Mariæ fiat processio per totum Ordinem, ita quod in egressu dicatur Responsorium, *Hodie Maria*. In secunda statione, *Felix namque*. (In tertia, *Ora pro populo*.)⁶⁶ In introitu ecclesiæ, *Ascendit Christus*. Et in quatuor sollempnibus processionibus ante crucem, duo cerei deportentur a duobus monachis in cucullis albis (si tamen albæ poterunt inveniri. In suscipiendis vero regibus vel prælatis, crux cum duobus cereis, thuribulo, et aqua benedicta processione præcedat).⁶⁶

IX.—*De Horis Mariæ extra terminos, et Officio Defunctorum in Infirmitorio.*⁶⁷

Abbates et Monachi extra terminos constituti si Conventus defuerit,⁶⁸ et illi qui circa defunctum fuerint, simul cantent horas de Beata Maria,

100 a). Waverley, Newminster, and Pipewell had infirmaries for seculars, and Meaux for lay brothers and for seculars. On the Infirmary, see Micklethwaite on Cist. Plan. *Journal*, vii., 255.

⁶³ That is, with subdeacon and deacon as epistoler and gospeller. But it was "cum tribus ministris" in 1256, perhaps marking the introduction of the "patener" into Cistercian ritual. "In convent" means, the convent being present, this mass being congregational, not private or "solitary."

⁶⁴ In margin of MS., in different ink: "Sed missa alicujus Sancti intitulata in graduali, non celebretur in conventu, sed alicui injungatur a cantore," and at the foot of the page, very small and partly

effaced ". . . intitulata in gradali minime celebrabitur." Not in 1256.

⁶⁵ So in 1256.

⁶⁶ Not in 1256.

⁶⁷ Cap. Gen. ann. 1194. "In audientia, id est alta voce et in communi, nisi malueris per audientiam locum aliquem intelligi in quo loqui infirmis liceret." It probably means in an audible voice, but there were places called the *auditoria* or Parlours, and one in particular in the great cloister (Guignard, 152, 174, 454, 485). Mr. Micklethwaite has clearly identified this with the small apartment next to the chapter-house. (*Journal*, vii., p. 247).

⁶⁸ It required thirteen to make a *quorum* or "convent" in this sense, as

et officium pro defunctis, et in Infirmatoriis communiter dicatur in audientia officium Defunctorum, et idem officium in Ecclesia qui post ebdomadarium invitatorii stat *Benedictus* et *Magnificat* semotus a podio⁶⁹ imponat.

X.—*De satisfaccione Abbatis "ad gradum."*^{69a}

Abbas si ad *Gloriam* primi Psalmi non occurrerit, satisfaciat ad gradum ut Monachus; sine licencia tamen ad sedem suam redeat, nisi Abbas alius in choro fuerit.

XI.—*De non loquendo infra terminos dum horæ canonicæ cantantur.*

Nullus loquatur intra terminos abbatiæ dum horæ canonicæ in oratorio celebrantur, nec ad Vesperas nec ad Laudes, usque post ultimam Collectam.

XII.—*De Orationibus, ne fiant in Conventu.*

In Conventu Psalmi vel aliæ quælibet orationes pro quavis necessitate minime dicantur sine auctoritate Capituli Generalis, nisi forte pro Missa de Conventu, alia Missa pro imminente angustia vel ad eandem Missam Collecta.

XIII.—*De hoc quod prostrati non adoramus.*

Monachi vel Conversi prostrato toto corpore in oratione non jaceant: exceptis Monachis qui de via revertuntur.

[XIV.]—*De anniversariis.*

Præcipit Capitulum Generale quod Anniversaria regis Philippi Franciæ et regis Ricardi (*sic*) Angliæ die statuta fiant sicut fieri consuevit.⁷⁰

XV.—*De Anniversariis sine licentia non faciendis.*

Anniversaria nulla fiant nisi de licentia Capituli Generalis. Si quæ

among the Jews there must be a *minyan* of at least ten for any religious service, perhaps in order to ensure more "righteous men" than there were in Sodom. For "thirteen" see above, Dist. I., cap. vi.

⁶⁹ *Podium* (whence "pew," through Old French *pui*) is properly the desk in front of the stalls. It appears to mean that as the monk on duty for the week began the Invitatory from the lectern in the middle of the choir, so he who stood behind him was to begin *Benedictus* and *Magnificat*, having moved from his place in the stalls.

^{69a} *Gradus Presbyterii* is the step which separates the presbytery from the choir; that is the step upon which the altar rail is now placed. The *gradus chori* of the old rubrics seems to be the same step. Some recent antiquaries have made it a step somewhat more to the west, at the end of the choir stalls, but it does not appear that the old churches usually had a step in that place.

⁷⁰ An erasure occurs in the MS. here, and this passage is entered in a later hand. Philip II. of France granted to

the Order a Privilege in 1304, and Richard I. of England a donation of Scarborough church in 1191 (Henriquez, 228, 231), and various passages in the chronicles of his reign show that he lived on friendly terms with the Cistercians. These kings would accordingly be honoured by year's-minds, but it is not quite clear whether on the same day or not. This and ch. xvi. are quite different in 1256, when there were year's-minds for Pope Honorius III. (who canonised St. Robert), Mar. 18; Philip II., July 14; Lewis VIII., Nov. 8; and Richard I. Tuesday after Low Sunday. That of Queen Eerengaria, the Countess of Campania, and the Duke of Austria, was to be on Dec. 23; not, however, in Convent, only any one celebrating on that day was to celebrate for them. The multiplication of year's-minds soon made it necessary to keep several together once a month (see Appendix), and in the later Cistercian Calendar Sept. 18 is appointed for a general annual commemoration of the "Brethren, Parents, and Benefactors" of the Order.

vero concessa fuerint, sedendo fiant, exceptis *iii*^{or} præcipuis Officiis Defunctorum et Anniversario Regis Ludovici,⁷¹ quod stando fiat ibi tantummodo ubi sepultus est, et Regis Richardi, quod stando fiat similiter in domo Cistercii. Sicubi aliter præsumptum fuerit, eadem die Conventus sit in pane et aqua, et Abbas inde veniam petat in Capitulo Generali.

XVI.—*De Anniversariis, si concedantur, quomodo intelligantur.*

Nulli de cætero Anniversarium de facili concedatur. Si autem ad hoc concedendum induxerit necessitas, sic intelligi debet, ut in unaquaque Abbatia una Missa annuatim privatim tantummodo celebratur. (Nec aliqui petere præsumant Anniversaria fieri in Abbatii Ordinis pro suis vel alienis fundatoribus, nisi ad maximam instantiam eorundem).⁷²

XVII.—*De non petendo servitio in morte.*

Inhibetur ne aliqua persona Ordinis Anniversarium vel plenarium servitium post ejus obitum faciendum a quocunque de Ordine per se vel per alium postulare præsumat. Qui autem hoc attemptaverit, petitio frustretur, et a Generali Capitulo graviter puniatur. Nec aliqui Abbates pro pace interfectorum inter amicos superstites reformanda, seu aliquacunque de causa assumant sibi procurare seu impetrare missarum suffragia a Capitulo Generali, nec super hoc litteras sæcularium recipiant vel asportent.⁷³

XVIII.—*De his qui debent exire ad tabulam.*

Si tabula⁷⁴ pulsetur pro aliquo decedente dum Opus Dei in Ecclesia celebratur, qui de choro exierint in chorum revertantur, nec exeant aliqui ad sonitum nisi quibus a Priore innuitur vel Cantore.

XIX.—*De Commemoratione Sanctorum sine licentia non facienda.*

Commemorationes Sanctorum non fiant præter consuetudinem Ordinis, nisi per Capitulum Generale. Et sicubi præsumptum fuerit, Prior et

⁷¹ Not St. Lewis (the Ninth), but Lewis VII., who founded the abbey of Barbeaux on the Seine in 1147, and was buried there; his body was removed to St. Denis in 1817.

⁷² It would seem that the year's-minds here referred to were celebrated in all the abbeys of the Order. They must in time have become very inconvenient but for such restrictions as those in the text. Instead of the last sentence, the Statute of 1256 has, "Et hoc ipsum declaratur de Anniversario Regis et Reginae Castellæ, in octava Sancti Michaelis faciendū."

⁷³ In 1260 this is cap. xix., and is much shorter: "Nullus ex nostris ab alio Conventu, proprium in morte petat servitium, nec si petierit, exaudiatur; quia omnia nobis sunt communia." The passage in the text is curious, and seems to shew that requests for masses for the

healing up of blood-feuds had become so frequent as to be inconvenient.

⁷⁴ "Quando infirmus morti penitus appropinquaverit, percutiatur tabula crebris ictibus. Quo audito, omnes fratres, relictis omnibus quæ in manibus habuerint, accurrant velociter ad morientem, dicentes, *Credo in Unum Deum*, repentes illud bis, vel ter si necesse fuerit" (Brev. Cisterc. MS. cir. 1230; Ordo ad inung. infirmum). The *tabula* was a board of hard wood struck with two mallets as it was suspended by a cord held between the teeth of the striker. It was much used in monasteries, particularly as above, and during Holy Week, when the bells were silent (Ducange, s.v.; Rocca de Campanis, cap. i.; Magius, cap. xv.). Magius gives a minute description, illustrated by an engraving of a man beating it.

Cantor qui hoc scienter sustinuerint, uno die sint in pane et aqua, et Abbas inde petat veniam in Capitulo Generali.

XX.—*De Missa alicujus Sancti intitulata.*

Quando missa alicujus Sancti intitulata in Gradali, impeditur⁷⁵ pro præsenti defuncto, vel jejunio, vel festo xij lectionum, vel alias, eadem a Cantore injungatur alicui privatim cantanda.

XXI.—*De Missis de Trinitate et Spiritu Sancto.*

Ab octavis Penthecostis usque ad Adventum Domini quando Missa Dominicalis bis in die debet celebrari, Missa matutinalis fit de Sancta Trinitate, et omni v^a feria quæ vacua fuerit, Missa de Spiritu Sancto. Ad Missam vero de Trinitate nunquam dicatur Collecta de Spiritu Sancto.

XXII.—*De Collecta pro præsenti defuncto, et Missa cotidiana.*

Ad Missam cotidianam pro defunctis, si præsens defunctus, sive religiosus sive sæcularis, in ecclesia fuerit, dicatur pro eo collecta *Omnipotens cui nunquam* singulariter post primam Collectam.

XXIII.—*De Missa cotidiana vel annuali non concedendo.*

Nulli liceat cotidianam Missam concedere vel annualem in Conventu, nisi de licentia Capituli Generalis. Nec pacto interveniente vel præcio, missarum celebratio vel Ordinis nostri consortium concedatur vel permittatur, quia symoniacum est.⁷⁶

⁷⁵ Underscored in MS. to this point.

⁷⁶ "Id est, communicatio suffragiorum ordinis." Note that payment for masses was considered to be simoniacal. A constitution of St. Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury (A.D. 1234-1240) expressly forbids the endowment of anniversaries and the saying of mass for payment.

"Præterea venalitem missarum districtè inhibentes præcipimus ne pro annalibus vel tricennalibus missarum faciendis laici vel alii quicquam dare vel legare in testamento præsumant. Et ne super hoc, aliqua pactio vera vel sub aliqua specie palliata a sacerdotibus vel aliis mediatoribus fiat, prohibemus." (Lyndwode, edit. 1679, p. 279). Upon this Lyndwode makes the following remarkable comment:—"Adverte hanc prohibitionem fieri ut scilicet aliquid detur vel legetur pro hujusmodi missis celebrandis. Nam secundum Wil[elmu]m super Ray[mundu]m* Dare vel recipere aliquid tem-

* The comment upon Raymond of Pegnafort by William of Rennes (Redonensis), printed under the name of Joannes de Friburgo. The *ly* for *le*, just below, is common with the school-authors.

porale pro spiritali simoniacum est sive detur pro sacramento sive pro officio sive pro oratione secundum quod *ly*["le"] *pro*, notat appreciationem. Si vero notat causam motivam, non primam vel principalem, sed remotam et occasionalem; tunc licitum est dare vel accipere temporale pro spiritali et huic dicto concordat Thomas in *Summa* arti. 3, *Archid.* 63, distin. *agathosa*, dicit, quod præpositio *pro*, quandoque notat appreciationem sive commutationem, et secundum hoc nunquam concedendum est quod temporale detur pro spiritali vel e contra. Quandoque notat causam efficientem, quandoque finalem. Ubi ergo aliquis dat vel legat, seu disponit aliquid temporale pro re spiritali tanquam pro precio illius rei spiritalis, tunc talis dispositio est illicita, quia significat appreciationem, si tamen significet causam finalem, ut scilicet sit sensus, quod tale quid detur propter venerationem Sacramenti, sive propter venerandum Sacramentum licite potest hoc fieri. Similiter si notat causam efficientem, ut sit sensus, quod tali quid datum est pro devotione, quam aliquis habet ad sacramentum, licite potest eum monere aliquid dare in perceptione Sacramenti. Unde in casu hujus constitutionis considerando aliquid dari, vel

XXIII.—*De Missis tempore messionis.*

Tempore messionis et fœnationis et tonsionis ovium, ubi monachi tondere solent, Missæ celebrentur antequam vadant monachi ad laborem. Nec aliquis de Ordine nostro bis in die missam celebrare præsumat.⁷⁷

XXV.—*De elevatione hostiæ et restringenda evagationibus claustralium.*

Cum Missæ celebrantur, consecratione peracta, Hostia elevetur, ut videri possit.⁷⁸ In Missis vero de Conventu, in ipsa elevatione minor campana uno ictu pulsetur. Et omnes qui audierint, exceptis his qui in Dormitoriis fuerint, petant veniam.⁷⁹ Nec a terra surgant qui in Choro fuerint, donec post consecrationem Sacerdos elevet manus. Quando autem duæ Missæ fuerint in Conventu, non evagentur Claustrales. Districte vero corrigantur qui in hoc culpabiles inveniuntur. Et ebdomadarii coquinæ diebus privatis intersint Missis de Conventu.

XXVI.—*De Celebratione Abbatibus et Monachis concessa.*

Abbatibus egredientibus ætatis tempore post Primam, regredientibus vero post Terciam, in hyeme usque ad Nonam, in Quadragesima vero usque ad Vesperas, Missam permittitur audire vel celebrare, et liceat Monachis in via dirigendis ante Evangelium⁸¹ Missam celebrare.

legari, pro missis celebrandis, sic quod hæc dictio *pro* significet appreciationem, bene procedit constitutio hoc fieri prohibens. Aliis autem respectibus supradictis non procedit quod hic dicitur."

This desperate struggle to square the plain letter of the law with the popular and clean contrary practice of the time then present has probably never been outdone till lately, when the Judicial Committee of Privy Council ruled that an Act of the whole legislature in the time of Charles II. was altered by an informal order of the Archbishop of Canterbury in the time of Elizabeth. They, indeed, went further, for Dr. Lyndwode does not attempt to prove that to say mass without being paid for it is a crime to be punished with imprisonment and deprivation.

⁷⁷ At one time many masses would sometimes be said on the same day by the same priest, as when the priest was incited by devotion, or when there was a concurrence of holy days. Alexander II. (1061–1073) limited the number to one, assigning as a reason that Christ once suffered and redeemed the whole world. It was, however, afterwards allowed to celebrate more than once on some great festivals, and Durandus in the 13th century mentions no less than six different occasions on which it might be done, one

being if any great person came and desired to hear mass. (Martene, de Ant. Eccl. Ritibus, lib. i., cap. iii., art. iii.; Durandus, Rat. Div. Off., lib. iv., cap. i.). Martene quotes several decrees of English and other councils on this matter. In later times it has been, and is still considered wrong either to duplicate "without absolute necessity" (as on Christmas and Easter day or Sundays and great feasts where there is only one priest), or to communicate twice in one day. Thomas Walton, Vicar of Berstead, Sussex, in a letter to the Prior of Canterbury, speaks of his having formerly held the chapel of Bognor together with his vicarage "but than he sange twice uppon the day the which was ageynat consance." *Christchurch Letters* (Camden Soc.), p. 20.

⁷⁸ Ita Cap. Gen. an. 1215.

⁷⁹ "Id est, flectant genua, articulis digitorum ad terram positis."

⁸⁰ That is, apparently, the Gospel after the 12th lection in the monastic matins. In 1256 the words are, "Liceat etiam Monachis post benedictionem viæ acceptam, ante Evangelium celebrare." The *Nomasticon* explains "Benedictio quæ secundum Reg. S. Ben. et lib. Usuum Ord. Cist. iter aggradientibus datur." See *Guignard*, 194.

XXVII.—*De ministris Altarium, ubi communicent.*

Diebus quibus Monachi communicaturi sunt, possunt illi duo⁸¹ qui ministrant ad Missas privatas communicare si visum fuerit Abbati. Quando vero una sola Missa matutinalis canitur pro præsenti defuncto; tunc liceat eis qui communicaturi erant in eadem Missa, ad Altare ubi canitur missa de Sancta Maria communicare. Ubique vero extra ecclesiam dicatur ad Primam, *Pater noster*, et *Credo*, et *Præciosa*.

XXVIII.—*De Festo Sanctæ Trinitatis et Dominica Palmarum.*

Festum Sanctæ Trinitatis⁸² cum tribus lampadibus semper fiat, et Abbas celebret sollempniter in Conventu. Sed sermonem in Capitulo propter difficultatem materiæ fieri non oportet.⁸³ Et in Dominica Palmarum ardeant tres lampades, sicut in præcipuis festivitatibus.

XXIX.—*De festo Sancti Barnabæ et Sanctorum Petri episcopi, (Lamberti, Dominici, Petri Martyris et Johannis ante Portam Latinam).⁸⁴*

Quando festum Sancti Barnabæ Sabbato Sanctæ Trinitatis evenerit, in Vesperis Sabbati nichil de festo ejusdem Sancti fiat nisi Co[m]memoratio tantum post Magu[ificat]. (Si autem in vigilia Penthecostes evenerit, usque quintam feriam post festum Penthecostes differatur.)⁸⁵ Quando vero festum Sancti Petri Tharenthasiensis⁸⁶ diebus Rogationum evenerit, duæ missæ cantentur. Et festum Dedicationis, quando die suo fieri non poterit, transferetur.⁸⁷ Festum vero Beati Johannis ante Portam Latinam, et Beati Lamberti fiant sicut est hactenus observatum. Festum vero beati Dominici Confessoris cum xij (lectionibus) fiat in vigilia Beati Syxti Papæ et Martyris, et sic pronuncietur, "*Civitate Boloniæ, depositio Beati Dominici Confessoris*," et de eo fiat per omnia sicut de Beato Jheronimo. Festum vero Beati Petri Martyris iij^o Kalendas Maii sic pronuncietur,⁸⁸ "*Mediolano, passio Beati Petri Martyris*." Festum vero

⁸¹ That there were *two* to serve at private masses is to be noted.

⁸² The general observance of this feast was first enjoined A.D. 1260, but it had been more or less customary for a long time previously to observe the Octave of Pentecost in special honour of the Holy Trinity.

⁸³ Note this remarkable provision.

⁸⁴ Not in 1256. The Nomasticon gives the dates of the institution by the Chapter General of the later feasts in a note at p. 155. They are very useful for determining dates of calendars, statutes, etc., of the Order. St. Malachi and St. Tho. Cant., 1191; St. Julian of Mans, 1193; St. Peter of Tarentaise, 1197; St. John ante P. L., 1222; St. Robert of Molesme, 1222 and 1259; St. Eligius, 1230; St. Denys, 1232; Corona Domini, 1240; St. Edmund abp., 1247; St. John Chrysostom (to the College of Bernardites, where most of his head was kept), 1251;

B. Dominic, 1255; St. Peter Martyr, 1256; St. Francis, com., 1228, fest., 1259; St. Ursula, to Coll. of St. Bernard, 1258, to whole Order, 1262; St. Bernard, 1260, but observed long before with less solemnity. In the same note it is suggested that in ch. lx of the *Consuetudines* we should read "*martyrum virginum*" instead of "*millium virginum*," in connection with St. Ursula.

⁸⁵ "Si autem," etc., added in margin.

⁸⁶ "Abbatis olim Monasterii Bonævallis Ord. Cist." "Per totam Generationem Bellævallis et Bonævallis dicatur ejus historia, et quotidie ejus commemoratio ad Vesperas et ad Laudes." (Nomast., 508).

⁸⁷ Ita Cap. Gen. An. 1198.

⁸⁸ That is, in the martyrology for the day, read in the Chapter-house after Prime, when each saint was named together with the place especially associated with his memory. This St. Peter's Day is still on

ipsius fiat in crastino Beati Roberti, primi Cisterciensium Abbatis; lectiones, *Si quis vult post me venire*. Omelia vero et cætera omnia sicut de Beato Vincencio. Ad primas Vesperas autem, *Beatus vir qui suffert*; ad secundas, *Beatus vir*. Primum *alleluia*, *Beatus vir qui suffert*. Secundum, *Lætabitur justus*.

XXX.—*De Collecta Ecclesiæ,^{82a} quando intermittitur.*

Collecta Ecclesiæ intermittitur hiis diebus. In vigilia Natalis Domini. In Cæna Domini. In vigilia Paschæ et Penthecostes, in Sabbatis iiij^{or} temporum, in Exaltatione Sanctæ Crucis, et in iiij^{or} præcipuis Officiis Defunctorum.

XXXI.—*De petitionibus non faciendis pro festo alicujus Sancti celebrando.*

Inhibetur ne petitiones fiant de festo alicujus Sancti faciando, nisi de consensu et licentia domini Cisterciensis et diffinitorum.⁸³

(Here follows a paragraph with the heading *De rasuris*, not included in the table of contents.

On fo. 50^b and at the commencement of fo. 51 are some rules in a hand different from, but nearly contemporary with, the original MS. See Appendix).

PRIVILEGIA.

Libertates in privilegiis et indulgentiis a Sede Apostolica nobis concessæ inviolabiliter observentur. Ex quibus subscriptas de eisdem exceptas, præsentì diffinitioni duximus inserendas. Omnia quæ in Carta Caritatis continentur, et omnes Regulares Ordinis nostri Institutiones factæ usque Alexandrum tertium, auctoritate nobis Apostolica confirmantur, et specialiter per Egenium Papam tertium, Anastasium quartum, Adrianum tertium, et Alexandrum tertium supradictum. Iste autem Papa Alexander tercius confirmat omnia Ordinis instituta regularia et honesta.⁸⁰

the 29th of April in the Roman Calendar, but was transferred to the 30th by the Cistercians to make room for St. Robert of Molesme.

^{82a} The same as "collation;" see note 43, above.

⁸³ This chapter is "xxxii" in 1256, being preceded by a long one on the commemorations of a number of saints, among whom is St. Cuthbert, whose name appears in the calendar of a Cistercian *Breviarium Diurnale* in my possession, on the 20th of March.

⁸⁰ The passages from Papal Privilegia here quoted appear to be those which were thought of most practical importance, up to the time of Alexander IV., who reigned from 1254 to 1264. Privilegia of the Cistercian Order and of its

monastic and military congregations, from 1100 to the 17th century, are printed at length and in their original form by Henriquez (*Regula*, etc., 51-542), with an index of matters referred to. In the collection of John Hirst, Esq., of Ladd Castle, Saddleworth, is a MS. volume, not quite perfect, containing those of the Order itself from 1100 to 1458. It will be observed that as here given, the first person is used instead of the second, which latter of course the popes employed in addressing the Order. There are many of the Privilegia here referred to which are not to be found in the collection of Henriquez, but wherever the passage could be identified there, the date has been thus ascertained and here inserted.

Quatuor supradicti, Eugenius ij^{us} (1152), Anastasius iij^{us}, Adrianus ij^{us}, Alexander ij^{us}.

Pro interdictis terrarum nullatenus vacent Ecclesiæ nostræ a Divinis, quocunque Episcopo præcipiente.⁹¹

Alexander ij^{us}, (1169) Celestinus, Innocentius ij^{us}, Urbanus.

Si Episcopus in cujus Dyœcesi⁹² fundata est Abbatia Ordinis nostri, cum humilitate et devotione qua convenit requisitus, substitutum Abbatem benedicere, et alia quæ ad episcopale officium pertinent nobis conferre renuerit, licet Abbati si tamen Sacerdos fuerit, proprios Novicios benedicere, et alia quæ ad officium suum pertinent exercere, et omnia ab alio Episcopo percipere, quæ a proprio Episcopo fuerint indebite denegata.

*Honorius.*⁹³

In recipiendis autem professionibus quæ a benedictis vel a benedicendis Abbatibus exhibentur, ea debent esse Episcopi forma et expressione⁹⁴ contenti, quæ ab origine Ordinis noscitur instituta. Si autem Episcopi ab Abbatibus aliquid præter obedientiam debitam contra libertatem Ordinis a Sede Apostolica nobis indultam expetierint, liberum est ipsis Abbatibus auctoritate Apostolica denegare.

Innocentius ij^{us},⁹⁵

Pro consecrationibus Altarium et Ecclesiarum, seu pro Oleo Sancto vel pro quolibet Ecclesiastico Sacramento, nullus a nobis sub obtentu consuetudinis vel alio modo quicquam debet extorquere, sed hæc omnia gratis nobis Diœcesanus Episcopus debet impendere. Alioquin licet nobis quemcunque voluerimus Catholicum adire Antistitem, gratiam atque communionem Sedis Apostolicæ habentem, qui Apostolica fretus auctoritate, nobis quod postulatur impendat. Quod si Sedes Dyœcesani Episcopi forte vacaverit, interim omnia Ecclesiastica Sacramenta a vicinis Episcopis libere et absolute et absque ulla contradictione, auctoritate Apostolica licet nobis accipere, sic tantum ut ex hoc nullum præjudicium propriis Episcopis imposterum generetur.

Innocentius ij^{us}, Urbanus, (1186).

Quia interdum propriorum Episcoporum copiam non habemus, si quem Episcopum ut diximus Apostolicæ Sedis et gratiam et communionem habentem, de quo plenam notitiam habemus, per nos transire contigerit, ab eo Benedictionem vasorum et vestium, consecrationes Altarium, Ordinationes Monachorum, auctoritate Sedis Apostolicæ recipere valemus.

⁹¹ "Liceat omnibus de Ordine vestro excommunicatis et interdictis ejectis, clausis januis summissa voce Fratribus suis divina celebrare solennia." (Henriquez, p. 54.)

⁹² "Parochia" (1256).

⁹³ Attributed in Henriquez to Lucius III., 1183.

⁹⁴ Namely that the abbots themselves are to make profession "saving their Order" (salvo Ordine suo), and are not compelled to make any profession against the institutes of the Order. Henriquez, Priv. vii., § 3.

⁹⁵ Henriquez gives no Privileges of Innocent III.

Celestinus, Innocentius ii^{us}, Lucius ii^{us}.

Porro si Episcopi vel aliarum Ecclesiarum Rectores in Monasteria nostra vel in personas inibi constitutas, suspensionis, excommunicationis, vel interdicti sententiam promulgaverint; sive etiam mercenarios nostros, pro eo quod decimas non solvimus, sive pro aliqua occasione eorum quo a benignitate Apostolica nobis indulta sunt, seu benefactores nostros, pro eo quod nobis aliqua beneficia vel obsequia ex caritate præstiterint, vel ad laborandum adjuverint, in illis diebus in quibus nos laboramus et alii feriantur, eandem sententiam protulerint, ipsam tanquam contra Apostolicæ Sedis indulta prolatam, decretum est irritari (Urbanus, et Lucius dicunt huiusmodi sententiam non tenere).⁹⁶

Urbanus ii, (1186).

Si quis in aliquem de familia nostra quandiu in famulatu nostro fuerit, propter retentionem decimarum, vel aliud aliquid a Sede Apostolica Ordini nostro concessum, excommunicationis vel interdicti sententiam promulgaverit, licet nobis eum absolvere, et si necesse fuerit, Ecclesiastica Sacramenta et sepulturam conferre.

Lucius ii^{us}, Celestinus ii^{us}, Innocentius ii^{us} (Alexander ii^{us}).⁹⁷

Licet nobis Clericos vel Laicos liberos et absolutos a sæculo venientes ad conversionem recipere, et eos absque aliqua contradictione retinere. Venientes autem ad conversionem vel etiam postea, si confessi fuerint quod pro appositione ignis, vel pro violenta manuum injectione in Clericum, vel aliam religiosam personam, vinculo teneantur excommunicationis astrieti aut aliis modis præter eos qui debito pecuniæ alicui personæ obligati fuerint et solvere possunt, auctoritate Apostolica liberam potestatem absolvendi habemus, et congruam pœnitentiam injungendi.

Celestinus, Alexander ii^{us}, Innocentius ii^{us}, Urbanus.

Nulli fratrum nostrorum post factam in aliquo Monasterio nostro professionem fas est, absque Abbatis sui licentia, de eodem loco discedere. Discedentes vero absque communi litterarum cautione⁹⁸ nullus audeat retinere. Quod si quis forte retinere præsumpserit, licet nobis in ipsos Monachos vel Conversos sententiam regularem proferre.

Urbanus.⁹⁹

Universis Ecclesiarum Prælati per Apostolica scripta mandatur, quatinus sicubi in parrochiis suis vel collegiis suis, professi Ordinis Cisterciensis, vel ab aliis illecti, vel propria levitate seducti inde egressi fuerint, si admoniti ad domos proprias redire distulerint, eos contra-

⁹⁶ Not mentioned in 1256. There seems to be nothing of this whole section in Henriquez, who gives no Privilegia of Celestine III. There are some few words of it in one of Urban III., 1186.

⁹⁷ Not mentioned in 1256. In Henriquez the privilege appears as given by

Alex. III.; no date.

⁹⁸ Should they happen to be received anywhere, no one is to retain them without those credentials which are for the common security of both parties.

⁹⁹ "Innocentius ii" (Inst. of 1256).

dictione et appellatione cessante excommunicatos publice denuntient, et sicut excommunicatos faciant arcius evitari donec ad domos proprias revertantur.

*Honorius.*¹⁰⁰

Indultum est nobis ut cum fugitivi litteras impetrant in quibus non continetur ut recipiantur "*salva ordinis disciplina*," vel "*si Regulare fuerit vel honestum*:" tales litteræ nullam habeant firmitatem, nec earum obtentu ad fugitivorum receptionem aliquis nos auctoritate apostolica compellere potest.

Eugenius ii^{us}, (1152), *Celestinus*, *Innocentius ii^{us}*.

Infra clausuras locorum seu grangiarum nostrarum, nullus violentiam vel rapinam seu furtum facere, ignem apponere, sanguinem fundere, hominem capere, spoliare, verberare, vel interficere, seu violentiam temere audeat excercere. Sed sint ipsa loca sicut atria¹ Ecclesiarum ab omni pravorum incursu ac violentia auctoritate apostolica libera semper et quietata.

Adrianus, *Urbanus*, *Celestinus*.

Nullus etiam Episcoporum infra leugam ab Abbatiis nostris vel Grangiis nostris aliquam Religiosorum vel sæcularium habitationem, unde nobis inquietatio possit provenire, superædificari debet permittere. Quod si præsumptum fuerit, per Episcopum Dyœcesanum (excommunicationis) sententia coerceatur.

Celestinus, *Innocentius ii^{us}*, *Alexander ii^{us}*, *Lucius ii^{us}*, *Honorius ii*, (1224).

De possessionibus ante Concilium² sub Innocentio tercio, celebratum anno domini m^occ^oxx^o habitis, quas propriis manibus aut sumptibus colimus, et de novalibus sive ante Concilium sive post acquisitis, sive de ortis, virgultis, pascuis, molendinis, et piscacionibus nostris, seu nutrimentis animalium nostrorum (nullas) omnino decimas reddere tenemur.

Lucius.

Indulgetur nobis ut generaliter ad omnes vel specialiter ad aliquas causas de consciencia et approbacione sanioris consilii yconomum³ habeamus, qui calumpniæ juramentum pro nobis præstet, et agendi et respondendi super causis monasteriorum nostrorum liberam habeat facultatem.

Celestinus, *Urbanus ii*, (1186), *Innocentius ii^{us}* (*Lucius ii^{us}*).⁴

Licet nobis in causis propriis, sive civilem sive criminalem contineant quæstionem, fratrum nostrorum testimonio uti.

¹⁰⁰ "Urbanus ii" (Inst. of 1256).

¹ The "atria" or cemeteries (see Ducange), but much more the churches themselves. Some security was also attached in certain cases to all ground within certain distances of the church, marked by "sanctuary crosses," as at Durham, Ripon, Beverley, etc. This was a repro-

duction of the Jewish "Cities of Refuge." See *Sanctuar. Dunelm. et Beverlac.* Surtees Soc., vol. 5; Introduction.

² "Scilicet Lateranense." (Nom.)

³ "Oeconomicum; alia manuscripta habent œconomum id est procuratorem." (Nom.)

⁴ Not in Inst. of 1256.

(*Eugenius*),⁴ *Urbanus ii*, (1186), *Innocentius ii*⁵.

Episcopus vel alia quælibet persona ad domos nostras causa Ordines celebrandi,⁶ causas tractandi, vel conventus convocandi, venire prohibetur.

Eugenius ii, (1152), *Celestinus*, *Innocentius ii*⁵, *Gregorius ix*⁶.

Nullus Episcopus vel quælibet persona nisi pro fide ad Concilia, Synodos, vel Conventus forenses nos ire, vel sæculari iudicio de propria substantia vel de possessionibus nostris subjacere compellere potest. Sed si quis adversum nos aliquid sibi crediderit de jure competere, sub Ecclesiastici judicis examine experiendi habeat facultatem.

*Innocentius ii*⁵.

Nullæ litteræ habeant firmitatem; quas tacito nomine Cisterciensis Ordinis contra tenorem Apostolicorum privilegiorum constiterit impetrari.

*Lucius ii*⁵, *Urbanus*.

Indulgetur nobis ut si privilegia nostra cum opus fuerit quorumlibet malignitas nec recipi patiatur nec audiri, et contra immunitates quæ in privilegiis nostris continentur aliquid in juris nostri præjudicium, propter hoc contigerit diffiniri; quod factum fuerit irritum sit et inane nec nos propter hoc debemus ulli dispendio subjacere.

Innocentius tercius.

Universis Ecclesiarum Prælati auctoritate Apostolica mandatur, et in virtute obedientiæ districtè præcipitur, ut illos qui in aliquem de fratribus nostris manus violentas injecerint, vel res nostras sive hominum nostrorum irreverenter invaserint, aut ea quo nobis ex testamento decedentium relinquuntur, contra justiciam detinuerint, vel decimas laborum seu nutrimentorum nostrorum extorserint, si laici fuerint, et principales fautores eorum publice, candelis accensis,⁷ excommunicationis sententia percellant. Clericos autem, Canonicos, sive Monachos, appellatione remota, ab officio et beneficio suspendant, neutram relaxaturi sententiam, donec nobis plenarie satisfaciant. Et qui pro violenta manuum injectione in personas Ordinis nostri fuerint anathematis vinculo innodati, cum Dyocesani litteris ad Sedem Apostolicam absolvendi mittantur. Villæ autem in quibus bona nostra vel hominum nostrorum

⁵ "Chrisma faciendi" comes here in Henríquez.

⁶ "Eugenius, Urbanus, Innocentius, (Inst. of 1256). The extract is there more condensed, as in some other cases.

⁷ That is, the greater excommunication, "with bell, book, and candle." While the sentence of excommunication was being read from the book, lighted candles were thrown on the ground and extinguished by the priests, while the church bells were rung. The extinguishing of candles was practised as early as the 8th

century, as a sign that the souls of the offenders would be quenched in torment unless they repented. See Ripon Chapter Acts, Surtees Soc., vol. 64, pp. 194, 197. It would be done from the altar, pulpit, or rood-loft, and the time for it was at high mass on Sundays after the gospel, when the greatest number of people were present. The English Prayer-book still directs that excommunications, etc., shall be published at the same service, after the creed.

per violentiam detenta fuerint, aut prædones rerum nostrarum permanserint ; nisi habitatores ipsarum diligenter admoniti, eos a se curaverint amovere ; quamdiu ibi fuerint, interdicti sententia, appellatione postposita, supponantur.

Honorius.

Indultum est nobis ut Capellanorum contradictione non obstante, personas liberas ad nos e sæculo fugientes, libere recipere valeamus. Nec licet Capellanis ab eisdem pecuniam vel aliquid aliud pro mortuario⁸ extorquere. Nec Legatis Sedis Apostolicæ sine speciali mandato domini Papæ in nos excommunicationis vel suspensionis, et in Monasteria nostra interdicti sententias, contra ea quæ nobis sunt ab Apostolica Sede concessa possunt promulgare. Item non possunt ipsi legati procurationes pecuniarias a monasteriis nostris exigere vel extorquere. Et cum ad domos nostri Ordinis accesserint,⁹ cibus regularibus debent esse contenti.

Gregorius nonus.

Concessum est nobis indulgendo, ne ultra duas diætas¹⁰ a monasteriis nostris per litteras Apostolicas trahamur in causam, nisi litteræ ipso de hac indulgentia fecerint mentionem.

*Celestinus, Gregorius, Innocentius, Alexander, Lucius, Honorius.*¹¹

Si fundatores monasteriorum nostrorum vel alii fideles apud monasteria nostra elegerint sepulturam, dummodo non sint excommunicati vel interdicti aut etiam publice usurarii ; licet nobis ipsos non obstante alicujus contradictione Ecclesiasticæ tradere sepulture, salva tamen justitia illarum Ecclesiarum, a quibus mortuorum corpora assumuntur.^{11a} Per litteras autem Apostolicas non possumus conveniri, quo de Cisterciensi Ordine non fecerint mentionem. Præterea de bonis mobilibus vel immobilibus quæ devotionis obtentu in vita sua Monasteriis nostris fideles contulerint ; non tenemur cuiquam aliquam solvere portionem.

Gregorius nonus.

Abbates, Priores et Supprieores Ordinis nostri non possunt compelli inviti per judices delegatos a Summo Pontifice, ut excommunicent aut excommunicatos denuntient proprios monasteriorum nostrorum fundatores, seu civitatum, castrorum quoque ac villarum communia, in quorum territorio vel confinio sunt Monasteria nostra sita, nec ut ad villas extra Monasterium personaliter accedentes, eosdem excommunicatos

⁸ A gift left ordinarily to a parish church, in lieu of tithes omitted to be paid during life. Often it was a man's best animal or best garment (see old wills, *passim*), the best according to Selden, making one in the funeral procession. (Jacob's Law Dict., Lyndewood, lib. i. tit. 3.)

⁹ "Sine carniū usu," inserted in 1256, but note that these words were soon expunged, as it was doubtless found that the papal legates would not put up with

Cistercian fare, even under papal recommendation. This last paragraph is in Henriquez under Honorius III., 1219.

¹⁰ Days appointed for appearing in court ; adjournments.

¹¹ "Gregorius IX." (Inst. of 1256).

^{11a} For a dispute between Ripon and Fountains over the body of a parishioner of Ripon, who had died at the west gate of Fountains, see "Ripon Chapter Acts," p. 223.

ab eis publice nuntient evitandos. Et si aliter fecerint ipsi iudices delegati; non tenentur in præmissis eis aliquatenus obedire, Abbates, Priores, et Supprieores, absque mandato Sedis Apostolicæ speciali, aut Legati "ab ejus latere"¹² destinati. Hoc idem indultum est et de claustralibus.¹³ Et additur quod nec Principes nec alios potentes et nobiles citent, excommunicent, aut excommunicatos denuntient, et quod nullo modo possint ad ista compelli.

Gregorius nonus (1234).

Cum jam dudum auctoritate Apostolica inhibitum sit ut nullus Episcopus vel quælibet alia persona regularem electionem Abbatis nostri Ordinis impediatur, aut de instituendo vel removendo (eo) qui pro tempore fuerit (electus), contra Instituta Cisterciensis Ordinis aliquatenus se intromittat.¹⁴

Honorius.

Inhibetur districtius ne Archiepiscopi vel Episcopi, cum aliqui in nostris monasteriis in Abbates eliguntur, de modo electionis inquirere aut examinare personas de vita, litteratura et moribus, et electionem prædictam confirmare ullo modo præsumant, vel capitula ipsorum eos sibi præsentari quærant electos. Nec Archidiaconi ipsos electos installandi jus habeant aliquod vel potestatem. Nichil etiam ab instituendis vel institutis Abbatibus, benedictionis vel installationis prætextu aliquo modo penitus exigatur. Et si forte contra prædictam inhibitionem a quoquam fuerit aliquid præsumptum, irritum sit et inane, et *sententiæ latæ* nullum robur firmitatis habebunt.

Gregorius nonus (1234).

Prohibetur auctoritate apostolica ne Praelati Ecclesiarum, Principes, ac Nobiles, occasione juris patronatus, advocatiæ, seu custodiæ quam in Monasteriis, Cellariis, Grangiis vel Domibus nostris se habere proponunt, nec etiam pro suæ libito voluntatis, bladum, vinum, evectiones,¹⁵ animalia et res alias pro ædificatione ac munitione castrorum et villarum, necnon et pro tyrociniis, torneamentis, expeditionibus, et aliis usibus eorundem a nobis exigere ac extorquere præsumant, nec talliis et exactionibus indebitis aggravare. Item, nec aliis carnes comedere in domibus nostris, nec mulieres easdem domos ingredi licet contra nostri ordinis instituta.¹⁶

¹² A *legatus a latere* is an ambassador or pope's nuncio, usually one of his household, vested with his authority wherever he went. A *legatus natus*, or *legate ex officio*, had a more limited jurisdiction, but was exempted from the authority of the *legate a latere*. The archbishops of Canterbury held the office of *legatus natus* from 1195 till the Reformation, but "Lambeth degrees" are still conferred by a survival of its powers.

¹³ Not mentioned in Inst. of 1256.

¹⁴ In Inst. of 1256 (Nomast., p. 298), and also in Henriquez, the next two sec-

tions both run on under this one heading. "Gregorius IX."

¹⁵ "Pro ipsis *Equis*, seu *Equitaturis*, ubi de visitationibus Episcoporum et Archidiaconorum, etc." (Ducange.)

¹⁶ See below, Dist. x., cap. xix—xxi; also above, p. 341. The series of Privilegia given in Nomasticon, 292—299, and which corresponds in the main with this series thus far, ends here. There is another series in pp. 486—497 (in the *Libellus Antiquarum Definitionum*), classified according to subjects.

Indulgentiæ et privilegia Innocentii papæ quarti.

Indultum est nobis ut in parrochiis illis in quibus nobis veteres decimæ sunt concessæ, novalium quoque, de quibus hactenus aliquis non percepit, proportionem qua veteres nos contingunt, percipere valeamus (1249).

Innocentius iiij^{us} (1245).

Non possumus trahi ad Synodos vel conventus forenses, nisi pro fide dumtaxat, nec ad Capitula vel placita seu forum pœnitentiale, et ratione delicti. Et si quas sententias hac occasione per præsumptionem cujuspiam promulgari contigerit, sunt irritæ et inanes.

Innocentius iiij^{us} (1245).

Non licet Prælati excommunicare, interdicere, sive suspendere familiares, servientes, ac benefactores nostros, nec illos qui molunt in molendinis, vel coquunt in furnis nostris, vel nobis vendendo aut emendo, vel alias communicant. Et si quæ sententiæ promulgatæ fuerint, irritæ sunt penitus et inanes.¹⁷

Innocentius iiij^{us}.

Nulli Ecclesiarum Rectores possunt a nobis exigere decimas de nutritis animalium nostrorum quæ in parrochiis eorum paseuntur.¹⁸

Innocentius iiij^{us}.

Moniales Ordinis in regno Franciæ constitutæ privilegiis Ordinis possunt uti.

Innocentius iiij^{us}.

Mandatur Prælati quod ipsi servant et servari faciant privilegia, indulgentias, et libertates Ordini ab Apostolica Sede concessas, necnon et consuetudines ejusdem ordinis rationabiles et antiquas.

Innocentius iiij^{us} (1245)

Conceditur nobis ut possumus corrigere excessus Monachorum sive Monialium Ordinis nostri, quilibet in suo monasterio vel etiam in filiabus suis prout competit sibi de jure.

Innocentius iiij^{us} (1246).

Indulgetur nobis quod Episcopi vel Prælati non debent examinare Monachos nostros ad Ordines promovendos, exceptis illis in quibus fuerit notorium crimen, vel enorme corporis vitium.¹⁹

¹⁷ An enactment of this sort must have been of great service to the Cistercian Order, in which so much "business" was done. At Newminster there were fulling-mills as well as corn-mills. Tenants of monastic as well as other manors were bound to bring their corn to be ground at the lords' mills, and to pay a certain mulcture, or toll.

¹⁸ In Henriquez, under Honorius III. 1224.

¹⁹ The loss of any part of the body was regarded as a disqualification; nevertheless a distinction was made between intentional and accidental mutilation. Martene *de Ant., Eccl. Rit.*, lib. i., cap. viii., Art. II., § 17; Smith's *Dict. Christian Antiquities*, p. 1482.

Innocentius iiij^{us} (1245).

Ordo per personas Ordinis, et non per alias visitetur.

Innocentius iiij^{us} (1249).

Non licet Monialibus Ordinis aliquibus personis sive religiosis sive etiam sæcularibus confiteri, nisi solummodo Patri Abbati, vel cui ipse commiserit vices suas.

Innocentius iiij^{us} (1251).

Indultum est nobis, ut per decretalem illam qua exempti, quantacunque gaudeant libertate ratione delicti seu contractus, aut rei de qua contra eos agitur, possunt coram locorum Ordinariis conveniri, et illi quoad hoc suam in ipsos jurisdictionem prout jus exegerit, exercere, nullum libertatibus et immunitatibus Ordinis nostri in posterum præjudicium generetur.

Innocentius iiij^{us}.

Non possumus conveniri vel ad iudicium evocari per litteras Apostolicas, quæ de Ordine specialem non fecerit mentionem. Licet in illis generaliter contineatur quod non obstant aliqua privilegia, seu indulgentiæ ab Apostolica Sede obtentæ, de quibus fieri oporteat mentionem.

Innocentius iiij^{us}.

Non tenemur incorporare Ordini aliquas Moniales, etiam per litteras Apostolicas non facientes plenam et expressam, et de verbo ad verbum et toto tenore præsentium, mentionem.

Innocentius iiij^{us} (1251).

Licet nobis Moniales inobedientes et rebelles ab Ordine separare, ac privilegiis et indulgentiis Ordini concessis omnino privare.

Alexander quartus (1258).

Inhibetur auctoritate Apostolica ne quisquam Dyœcesanus aut Prælatus alius, a nobis procuraciones aliquas exigere vel extorquere præsumat, et nobis ne aliquas exhibeamus eisdem, quia nec debent nec possunt nos aliquatenus visitare. Et si quas in nos sententias hujusmodi occasione protulerint, decernuntur non tenere.

Alexander iiij^{us}.

Conceditur Abbatibus Ordinis, quod ipsi possunt absolvere venientes ad Ordinem a sententiis suspensionis, interdicti, vel excommunicationis, vel etiam post ingressum et dispensare cum eisdem, et quod Abbas Cistercii coabbates suos de Ordine, et unus eorum quem ipse eligerit, ipsum super præmissis potest absolvere, et secum mutuo dispensare.

Alexander iiij^{us} (1255).

Confirmatur nobis indulgentia Innocentii papæ iiij de qua dicitur, quod non licet personis Ordinis, alicui alterius religionis, vel sæculari presbi-

tero confiteri, sine Abbatis sui licentia speciali. Nec etiam illis eorum confessiones audire nec eis absolutionis beneficium impertiri.

Alexander iiij^{us} (1255).

Abbates nostri Ordinis non solum Prioribus suis (Greg. ix. 1234 ; Innoc. iv.) sed etiam aliis discretis et litteratis Sacerdotibus²⁰ possunt committere vices suas absolvendi eos ab excommunicatione, quam pro violenta manuum injectione, subditi eorum in se ipsos incurrunt, prout viderint expedire.

Alexander iiij^{us} (1255).

Licet nobis procedere contra Conversos et Capellanos Monialium,²¹ si apostataverint, sicut et contra alios Ordinis apostatas, secundum statuta nostra, et indulgentias nobis ab Apostolica Sede concessas.

Alexander iiij^{us} (1255).

Non tenemur ad præstationem aliquarum collectarum subsidiorum, et aliarum exactionum imponendarum nobis.

²⁰ Compare with this and the end of the former paragraph the conclusion of the exhortation in the Book of Common Prayer: "Let him come to me, or to some other discreet and learned Minister

of God's Word, that he may receive the benefit of absolution," &c.

²¹ Nuns' chaplains were of course to be of the Cistercian order; see the next but one preceding paragraph.

PAVER'S MARRIAGE LICENSES:

PART III.

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 70.)

With Notes by the Rev. C. B. NORCLIFFE, M.A.

Date.	Name and description.	Name and description.	Where to be Married.
1595	Rawson, Robert, of Castleford	Coupland, Jane, of Castleford	Castleford.
1595	Gates, William	Moore, Ellen, of Holy Trinity, Hull	Sproatley.
1595	Hey, John, of Sheffield	Stones, Ann, of Egglesfield ? Ecclesfield	Either p'ace.
1595	Swale, Alexander, of Bagby	Bransby, Clara, of Leake ...	Either place.
1595	Farrer, Robert, of Wadsworth	Akeroyd, Agnes, of Warley.	Luddenden.
1595	Smith, Thomas	Watson, Ann, of Newton-upon-Ouse	Newton - upon - Ouse.
1595	Fothergill, William, of St. Margaret's, York	Coates? (sic), Ellen, or Eleanor, of St. Martin's, York.	Either place.
1595	Farndale, George, of Skelton	Nelson, Margery, of Wilton	Either place.
1595	Stowing, Roger, Vicar of Tadcaster	Siddall, Dorothy, of Tadcaster.	
1595	Langdale, Peter, Gent.	Wharton, Ann.	
1595	Robinson, John	Beckwith, Ann, of Scruton.	
1595	Newhouse, Thomas, of Settle	Oddy, Margaret, of Gisburn.	Giggleswick.
1595	Maltus, Francis, of Moor Monkton	Thompson, Judith, of Kay-ingham	Either place.
1595	⁴⁴ Newton, Christopher, of Kilburn	Spacy, Margaret, dau ^r . of Richard, M. of Kilburn	Holy Trinity, Goodramgate, York.
1595	Darley, Richard, of Buttercramb	Gates, Elizabeth, of Seamer	Seamer.
1595	Chapman, Thomas, of Dio. York	Robinson, Constance, of Swine, Widow.	Swine.
1595	Holt, John	Shaw, Isabel, of Halifax, Widow.	Halifax.
1595	Duckett, <i>alias</i> Duckworth, John	Carr, Elizabeth, of Wigglesworth Hall	Long Preston.
1595	Crawe, John, of Upleatham..	Tocketts, Margaret, of Gisburn	Upleatham.
1595	Dawney, William, of Sessay...	Cholmley, Juliana, of York, Gait.	
1595	⁴⁵ Nottingham, Thomas	Remington, Mary, of South Milforth	Holy Trinity, Micklegate, York.
1595	Elcropop ? (sic), ? Elslack, Christopher, of Gusburn	Smithies, Mary, of Gusburn	Bolton - by - Bol-land.
1595	Peacock, Thomas	Wildon, Grace, of Scackleton Grange, Gent.	Dalby.
1595	Middleton, John, Gent.	Cooke, Ann, of Ripon, Widow.	Ripon.

⁴⁴ Married 19 August, 1595.

⁴⁵ Married 2 September, 1595.

Date.	Name and description.	Name and description.	Where to be Married.
1595	Fowler, Robert	Brockden, Margaret, of Eshton	Gargrave, or Rilston.
1595	Hobman, Mathew, of Emswell	Reeder, Dorothy, of Bedford	Bedford.
1595	Gray, Anthony, of Chillingham, co. Northumberland, Esq.	Bulmer, Margaret, of Terrington, Gent.	Terrington.
1595	Oddy, John, of Dacre Pasture	Hardcastle, Alice, of Hartwith, Widow.	St. Saviour's York.
1595	Johnson, John, of Wath, Gent.	Bird, Rosamund, of Well ...	Well.
1595	Nelson, Robert, of Rysome ...	Whichcote, Bridget, of Anlaby, Gent.	
1595	Atkinson, Francis, of Middleham	Pepper, Ann, of Richmond	Richmond.
1595	More, Robert	Martin, Margaret, of Thurne	Hatfield, or Thurne.
1595	Warde, Barnard	Wardman, Ann, of Harwood-on-Hill	Holy Trinity, Micklegate, York.
1595	Bowyer, Simon, Gent., servant of the Earl of Huntingdon	Moorton, Elizabeth, of York, Widow.	St. Olave's, York.
1595	Carver, William, of Doncaster	Frank, Elizabeth, of Swine, Widow.	Swine.
1595	Bibby, John	Hawley, Margery, of Sandall Magna, Widow.	Sandall Magna.
1595	Lewtie, William.....	Fols? (<i>sic</i>), Agnes, of York, Widow.	Holy Trinity, King's Court, York.
1595	Todd, Thomas, of Beswick ...	Wylis, Isabel, of Lockington	Beswick.
1595	⁴⁶ Thurscross, Clerk, of Withernwick	Staincliffe, Elizabeth, of Easington	Stokesley.
1595	Birdshaw, Nicholas, of Snainton	Pollard, Dorothy, of Snainton	Snainton, or ———.
1595	Viccars, Robert	Wadsworth, Elizabeth, of Bradford	Bradford.
1595	Fox, Nicholas, of Kilburn, Gent.	Stockdale, Elizabeth, of Ayton	Either place.
1595	Letham, John, of Milforth ...	Townrow, Elizabeth, of Gateforth, Widow.	St. Sampson's, York.
1595	Ranson, Marmaduke, of Humbleton	Simpson, <i>alias</i> Pearson, Elizabeth, of Skeckling	Either place.
1595	Scausby, Robert... ..	Swinbank, Alice, of York...	St. Saviour's, York.
1595	Massey, William, of Otley ...	Browne, Sybel, of Kirkby Overblows	Stainburn, Par. Kirkby Overblows.
1595	Marriott, Thomas	Hoyle, Elizabeth, of Wath.	Bradfield.
1595	Grant, William, of Brompton	Wright, Thomasin, of Brompton	Brompton.
1595	Green, Thomas, of Felkirk ...	Scholey, Alice, of Wragby, Widow.	Either place.
1595	White, Richard, of Kirk Smeaton	Norton, Ellen, of Kirk Smeaton	Kirk Smeaton.

⁴⁶ Instituted 25 April, 1595, being then M.A. Administration granted by the Dean and Chapter of York 23 March, 1603-4, to the use of Joseph Thurscross, his son.

Date.	Name and description.	Name and description.	Where to be Married.
1595	Wadsworth, William	Sutcliffe, Christabella, of Warley	Halifax.
1595	Shipton, John	Wood, Ellen, of Atwick ...	Atwick.
1595	Batty, Thomas	Barchard, Elizabeth, of Swine.	Swine.
1595	Sweeting, Mathew, of Ripon...	Barwick, Ann, of West Witton	Either place.
1595	Bickerdike, Robert.....	Swale, Maud	Farnham.
1595	Coupland, Francis, Gent.	Aske, Margaret, of Rither, Widow.	
1595	Rhodes, William, of Howden	Howdell, Ann, of Great Ouseburn	Great Ouseburn.
1595	Leake, Thomas, of Holme-on-the-Wolds	Leake, Alice, of Lockington	Either place.
1595	Duckett, John, of Stonegrave	——, ——, of Stonegrave	Stonegrave.
1595	Scholefield, Samuel	Shirley, Emote, of Birstall, Widow.	Hartshead.
1595	Holland, Ralph	Scholefield, Margaret.....	Elland, or Riponden.
1595	^{46a} Lockwood, Roger, of Almondbury	Beaumont, Isabel	Almondbury, or Huddersfield.
1595	Kendall, Robert.....	Robinson, Jane, of Clint ...	Stainley.
1595	Birkdell, Adam, of Hull, Merch ^t .	Yates, Ann, of Hull, Wid.	Holy Trinity, Hull, or Paull.
1595	Stansfield, Alexander, of Howsome	Youle, Jane, of Whitwell...	Crambe.
1595	Lowson, William	Ballentyne, Elizabeth, of Dio. York	Thornton in Pickering.
1595	Taylor, Edward, of Thurne, Gent.	Lumby, Isabel, of Rothwell	Either place.
1595	Harpham, Richard, of Bilbrough	Edwardes, Elizabeth, of Bolton Percy	Bilbrough.
1595	⁴⁷ Wilkinson, George.....	Askew, Lucy, of Ecclesfield	Ecclesfield.
1595	Shepherd, Sampson, of Flaxton	Moyser, Ann, of Farlington	Farlington.
1595	⁴⁸ Powle, Richard, of Drax ...	Tunstall, Catherine, of Sutton-on-Derwent	Sutton-on-Derwent.
1595	Browne, Richard, of Rise	Wright, Ann, of Great Hatfield, Widow.	Great Hatfield.
1595	Cawood, Thomas	Beck, Mary, of Newton Kyme	
1595	Uppleby, Robert, of Bempton	Wood, Ellen, of Atwick ...	Bempton.
1595	Cute, Peter.....	Wright, Ann, of Great Hatfield	Sigglesthorne, or Great Hatfield.
1595	Dooretree, Michael	Watson, Elizabeth, servant to John Weedley, of Thornton Hill, Gent.	Coxwold.
1595	Siddall, Robert, of Wakefield	Paslew, Alice, of Calverley	Calverley.
1595	Hogg, Robert, of Ilkley	Smith, Mary, of Addingham	Addingham.
1595	Storey, Thomas	Coates, Isabel, of Barnby ...	Bubwith.

^{46a} Took place at Almondbury, 25 November, 1595.—C.A.H.

⁴⁷ Not in A. S. Gatty's Ecclesfield Registers.

⁴⁸ Married 9 December, 1595.

Date.	Name and description.	Name and description.	Where to be Married.
1595	Banks, Robert, of Giggleswick	Creyke, Ann, of Giggleswick	Giggleswick.
1595	Ramsden, Robert	Wilson, Elizabeth	Spofforth, or Wetherby.
1595	Thompson, Thomas, of Collingham	Wigglesworth, Jane, of Kirkby Overblows	Kirkby Overblows.
1595	Spencer, James, Gent.	Wyville, Frances, of Seamer	Cayton, Par. Seamer.
1595	⁴⁹ Wandesford, Richard, Gent.	Yoward, Meriol, of Newton Par. Stonegrave	Kirklington, Stonegrave, or Nunnington.
1595	Croft, Robert	Tempest, Ann, Widow... ..	St. Michael-le-Belfrey, York.
1595	Sanderson, Robert.....	Wood, Dorothy, of Hims-worth	Himsworth, or Doncaster.
1595	Burton, Alexander.....	Terry, Margaret, of Swan-land	Ferriby.
1595	Oglethorpe, Robert, of Guise-ley	——, Faith, of Croft.....	Croft.
1595	Waterhouse, Luke, of Halifax, Gent.	Cooson? (sic), Ann, of Laughton-le-Morthen	
1595	Marston, Peter, of Swine	Jaques, Grace, of Leeds, Widow.	Leeds, or St. Martin's, Coney Street, York.
1595	Kendall, Giles, Vicar of Felkirk	Denton, Beatrice, dau ^r . of James D. of Darton	Either place.
1595	Haigh, John, of Elland.....	Brooksbank, Mary, of Almondbury	Either place.
1595	Lacy, Francis, of Nunburnholme	Westerdale, Mary, of Beverley	Nunburnholme.
1595	Brooke, Edward.....	Birtwhistle, Jane, of Hunslet	Leeds.
1595	Clemet, John	Thompson, Margaret, of Rillington	Rillington
1595	Pollard, Thomas, of Manningham	Dawson, Isabel, of Thornton, Par. Bradford	Bradford, or Bingley
1595	Hunter Gervas, of Fenton ...	Pinder, Elizabeth, of Pontefract, Wid.	Pontefract.
1595	Adams, John, of Hull	Newton, Margaret, of Beverley	Holy Trinity, Hull, or St. Mary's, Beverley.
1595	Gill, Peter	Marston, Frances, of Preston	Sprotley, or Humbleton.
1595	Turton, Nicholas	Willey, Elizabeth, of Sheffield	Sheffield.
1595	Brearey, William, of York, Merch ^t .	Casson, Elizabeth, of Leeds	Leeds.
1595	Conyers, Christopher, of Prov. York	Hall, Margery, of Prov. York	
1595	Walker, Robert, of Hull	Smith, Isabel, of Headon...	St. Mary's, Hull, or Headon.
1595	Freare, Robert	Alderson, Alice, of Hull, Widow.	Cottingham, Sculcoats, or Holy Trinity, Hull.
1595	Dickenson, Richard, of Saxton	Briggs, Isabel, of Whitkirk	Either place.

⁴⁹ Married at Stonegrave before 14 Oct. 1595.⁵⁰ Married 4 January, 1595-6.

Date.	Name and description.	Name and description.	Where to be Married.
1595	Bacon, William	Owram, Jane, of North Ferriby, Gent.	St. John's, Beverley.
1595	Duck, George.....	Hill, Jane, of Whitby, Wid.	Whitby.
1595	West, George, of Knaresboro'	Midgley, Isabel, of Kirkby Overblows	Either place.
1595	Hancock, Henry, of Whit- kirk	Higginson, Agnes, of Tank- ersley	Either place.
1595	Hick, Richard	Bell, Clara, of Thirsk	Thirsk.
1595	Winpenny, Thomas, of Al- mondbury	Firth, Agnes, of Kirkburton	Either place.
1595	Benson, Henry	Staper, Ellen, of Knares- boro'	Whixley or Farnham.
1595	Hutchinson, William	Weddell, Ann, of York.....	by Hugh Hookes, clk.
1595	Petty, William, of North- cliffe, Par. North Cave	Burley, Elizabeth, of Holme- on-Spalding	Holme-on Spald- ing.
1595	Wade, Mathew, of Halifax ...	Akeroyd, Ann, of Halifax...	Halifax.
1595	Burton, John	Milson, Cicely, of Kilburn	St. Michael's, Spurriergate, York.
1595	Lambe, John, of York	Walkwood, Dorcas?	St. Helen's, Stone- gate, York.
1595	Rodley, William.....	Neville, Jane, of Lofthouse	West Ardsley.
1595	Saltmarshe, Robert, of Salt- marshe, Esq.	Calverley, Margaret, Gent., Widow.	Foston.
1595	Beck, Arthur	Bell, Margaret, of Dio. York	Norton.
1595	Leach, Francis, of St. Helen's, Stonegate, York	Hemsley, Ann, of Holy Tri- nity, Good- ramgate, York	Holy Trinity, Goodramgate, York.
1595	Denton, Henry	Shersay, Alice, of Barnsley	Barnsley.
1595	Fowler, John	Hudson, Maud, of Keighley	Keighley.
1596	Richardson, William, of Fy- lingdales	Browne, Ann, of Dio. York	Hornsey.
1596	Hall, Thomas.....	Stephenson, Grace.. . . .	Skirley.
1596	Cowper, John, of Heslerton...	Harrison, Jane, of Ryton, Par. Kirby Misperton.	Kirby Misperton.
1596	Bovell, George	Burdon, Isabel, of Newton- on-Derwent	Wilberfoss.
1596	Fulwood, George	Lewis, Sarah, of Marr	Marr.
1596	⁵¹ Bowles, Thomas, of Osber- ton, Gent.	Parkins, Elizabeth, of Fish- lake	[Fishlake.]
1596	Ellerby, Anthony, of Gilling...	Clerke, Ann, of Smawes ...	Harwood.
1596	Hungate, William, of North Dalton	Creswell, Catherine, of Hag- gett	Either place.
1596	Hinchliffe, Francis.....	Trippet, Elizabeth.....	Sheffield.
1596	Cooke, John	Firby, Alice, of Topcliffe ...	Topcliffe.

⁵¹ Married at Fishlake 20 April, 1596.

Date.	Name and description.	Name and description.	Where to be Married.
1596	Welles, George, Rector of Kirby Knowle	Thwaytes, Helen.	
1596	Burnley, William, of Ecclesfield	Brighthouse, Elizabeth, of Bradford, Widow.	Calverley.
1596	St. Quintin, George, of Harpham	Miles, Catherine, of Harpham	Agnes Burton.
1596	Berryman, John ? of Elerston	Frankland, Jane, of Runckton	Runckton.
1596	Ramsden, Michael, of Halifax	Wrigglesworth, Sybel, of Halifax	Halifax.
1596	⁵³ Witham, Cuthbert, of Garforth, Gent.	Helmsley(Hemsworth), Ann, of Whitgift	Whitgift.
1596	Sowden, W., of York, Merch ^t .	Hewerdine, Elizabeth.	
1596	⁵³ Aldburgh, William	Saville, Mary, of Dio. York, Widow.	Pontefract.
1596	Wayte, Robert	Elston, Cypriana ?	
1596	Coe, Stephen, Rector of Ord-sall	Bellamy, Margaret, of Laneham	Retford, or Laneham.
1596	Turner, Thomas	Browne, Ellen, of Helmsley	Helmsley.
1596	Cooke, William, of Penistone ?	Lacy, Parnell, of Scorboro.	Scorboro, or Hornsey.
1596	Denton, Richard, of Brotherton	Bland, Catherine, of Marston	Marston.
1596	⁵⁴ Swale, Francis, of Greenhammerton	Wilkinson, Catherine, of St. Helen's, Stonegate, York	St. Helen's, Stonegate, York.
1596	Sparke, Thomas	Watt, Mary, of Terrington	Terrington.
1596	Leven, Francis	Hollings, Euphemia, of Dio. York	Otley.
1596	Dransfield, John, of Elland ...	Brooksbank, Frances, of Elland	Elland.
1596	Hardcastle, Miles	Elsworth, Margaret, of Kirkby Malgeard	St. Martin's, Micklegate, York.
1596	Lambert, William	Egglesfield, Elizabeth	Ardsley.
1596	Vaughan, Henry, son and heir of Francis V., Esq.	Stanhope, Susan, dau ^r . of Edward S. Esq.	
1596	Midgley, John ?	Rigg, Sarah, of Heptonstall	Heptonstall.
1596	Hodgson, John, of Ripon	Beane, Maud, of Spofforth	Ripon.
1596	Wilson, William	Sharphouse, Elizabeth of Leeds, Widow	
1596	Henshaw, James	Bates, Ann, Widow.	St. Martin's, Conney Street, York.
1596	Conyers, Gregory, Gent.	Williamson, Ann, of Aughton, Widow.	Aughton, or Bubwith.
1596	Waugh, Roger	Hall, Dionysia, of Wansworth	Beford.
1596	Bradley, Christopher	Smith, Jane, of Otley	Otley, or Weston.
1596	Cock, Michael, of Rowth	Dent, Margaret, of Rowth...	Rowth.

⁵³ Visit Ebor. 1665, p. 374, calls Helmsley Hemsworth.⁵⁴ Mary Saville, widow of Thomas Saville, was daughter of Thomas Burdett of Burthwaite, and was buried at Aldborough 11 June, 1623.⁵⁴ Married 1 June, 1596.

Date.	Name and description.	Name and description.	Where to be Married.
1596	Lillywhite, Richard	Harwood, Jane.	St. Mary's, Hull.
1596	Baynes, George	Greathead, Isabel, of Batley, Widow.	Batley.
1596	Hopkinson, Edward, of Sowerby	Holdsworth, Lettice, Warley	Halifax.
1596	Smith, Gabriel, of All Saints', Pavement, York	Conyers, Elizabeth, of All Saints', Pavement, York.	All Saints', Pavement, York.
1596	Watman, Nicholas, of Hessele	Osnay, Joan, of Anlaby, Par. Kirkella.	Kirkella.
1596	⁵⁵ Bayne, ———, of Newton le Willows	Fox	Holy Trinity, Goodramgate, York.
1596	Baxter, John, of Hirst	Harrison, Mary, of Grib- thorpe!	
1596	Craven, & Graven (sic), Leo- nard of Middles- more	Bayne, Elizabeth, of Mid- dlesmore	Middlesmore.
1596	Brooke, Gervas, of Wakefield	Blundell, Ann, of Wakefield	Wakefield.
1596	Wilson, William	Watson, Dorothy, of Dio. York	Holy Trinity, King's Court, York.
1596	Myers, Walter	Brearey, Margaret, of Pan- nall	Pannall.
1596	⁵⁶ Hungate, Thomas, of Cat- ton, Gent.	Creswell, Dorothy, one of dau ^{rs} . of George C., Gent. late of Nun-Keeling, dec ^d .	[Catton.]
1596	Wilkinson, Thomas, of Hull...	Field, Margaret, of Hull ...	Holy Trinity or St. Mary's, Hull.
1596	Carleton, Roger, of Rainton...	Fisher, Janet, of Sowerby, Par. Thirsk.	
1596	Hutchinson, Anthony	Denton, Frances, of Darton	Felkirk, or Dar- ton.
1596	Bevot, William, of Wakefield, Gent.	Townend, Ann	Wakefield.
1596	Harland, Barthram	Outhwaite Frances, of Rowsby Par. Hinderwell	Rowsby.
1596	Ramsden, John, Gent.	Lewis, Ellen	
1596	Battersby, Thomas	Parker, Elizabeth, of Slaid- burn	Slaidburn, or Waddington.
1596	Awton, John	Wells, Isabel, of Masham.	
1596	Fewster, Nicholas	Hunter, Jane, Wid.	St. Crux, or St. Helen's, York.
1596	Shaw, William, of York, Merch ^t .	Weddel, Millicient, dau ^r . of Leonard, W. of Clifton	St. Michaels-le- Belfrey, York.
1596	Bowes, Marmaduke, of An- gram Grange, Gent.	Tocketts, Muriel, of Dio. York, Gent.	Kirkdale.
1596	Grayson, William	Thwaytes, Alice, of Ripon, Wid.	Ripon.

⁵⁵ Richard Bayne and Margaret Fox married 5 July, 1596, Goodramgate.⁵⁶ Married 26 July, 1596, Catton.

Date.	Name and description.	Name and description.	Where to be Married.
1596	Goddard, Robert, of High Hoyland	Phillip, Margaret	
1596	Holcroft, Thomas, of Vale-reall, Dio. Chester	Talbot, Elizabeth, of Kinalton, co. Notts.	Hollingfare, Dio. Chester, or Kinalton, co. Notts.
1596	Knapton, Edward, of Barwick in Elmet	Walker, Ellen, of Cowthorpe	Cowthorpe.
1596	Harrison, Thomas, of Long Preston	Calverley, Janet, of Bolton	Long Preston.
1596	Todd, George, of Trainholme, Gent.	Byerley, Elizabeth, of Pickhall	Pickhall.
1596	Gray, Richard, of York	Coupland, Catherine,	St. Cuthbert's, York.
1596	Jackson, William, of Saxton	Fletcher, Bridget, of Harwood	Saxton.
1596	Stark, Edward	Ingram, Alice, of Ottringham	Halsham, or Mapleton.
1596	Lindall, Robert	Robinson, Margaret, of Hollin	Hollin.
1596	Taylor, Robert, of Hornsey...	Coniston,, of Hornsey, Wid.	Hornsey.
1596	Barnes, Roger.....	Constable, Joan, of Dio. York	
1596	Hutton, Gilbert, of Batley ...	Foster, Alice, of Batley.....	Batley.
1596	Dickons, Simon	Sturtle, Margaret, of New Malton	St. Michael's, New Malton.
1596	Teasdale, Anthony, of South Dalton, Clerk.	Carr, Jane, of Hunmanby	Hunmanby, or Middleton-on-the-Wolds.
1596	Jackson, Mathew, of Sherburn	Pigburn, Dorothy, of Warmsworth	Warmsworth.
1596	Ward, John, of Sherburn.....	Westwood, Isabel, of New Malton	Sherburn, or St. Michael-le-Belfrey, York.
1596	Norman, George, of Burton Salmon	Spink, Alice, of Monk Fryston	Brotherton, or Monk Fryston.
1596	James, Charles, of Lound, co. Notts.	Hydes, Elizabeth, of Claworth	Epperston.
1596	Silvester, Thomas	Etherington, Jane, of Great Driffield	Great Driffield.
1596	Bussey, John	Smith, Janet, of Leeds, Wid.	Leeds.
1596	Thompson, William	Swayne, Margaret, of Ripon	Ripon.
1596	Thornton, John? of Hemsthwaite	Allen, Alice, of Kirk Smeaton	Hemsthwaite, Royston, or Felkirk.
1596	Dowley, Joshua, of Hull	Baxter, Hyrot. of Brayton	Brayton.
1596	Wasse, John, of Kirby Knowle	Comyn, Cicely, of Old Byland, Wid.	Kirby Knowle or Byland.
1596	Sykes, Oliver, Rector of Hootton Roberts?	Straw, Ann, of Searcliffe ...	Searcliffe, co. Derby.
1596	Healerton, George, of Gisbro'	Preston, Jane, of Kirk Leatham	Either place.
1596	Whitley, Thomas	Richardson, Jennet, of Leeds	St. Michael's Spurriergate, York.

Date.	Name and description.	Name and description.	Where to be Married.
1596	Wilbore, John, of Doncaster	Denton, Margaret, of Hod-royd, Par. Felkirk.	Felkirk.
1596	Pinkney, Francis	Spencer, Eleanor, of Silton	Yarm.
1596	Wade, Anthony, of Peelhouse in Warley	Hopkinson, Grace, of Peelhouse, in Warley	Halifax.
1596	Wade, Thomas, of Harpham...	Foster, Isabel, of Foston ...	Foston.
1596	Ward, John, of Stainforth ..	Burre, Mary, of Selby	Selby, or Cawood.
1596	Hutton, John, of York, Apothecary	Armytage, Grace, of Huddersfield	
1596	Wilson, Thomas, Minister of Danby	Thompson, Mabel, dau ^r . of John T., clk.	Lofthouse-in-Cleveland.
1596	Marshall, Francis, Gent.	Hellard, Elizabeth, of Little Ruston, Wid.	Sledmer.
1596	Reynard, Francis	Gledhill, Elizabeth, of Barksland	Elland or Sowerby bridge.
1596	Rudd, Stephen	Winder, Grace, of Slaidburn	Slaidburn or Waddington.
1596	Goodion, Thomas	Heeles, Ann, of Skipton ...	Skipton.
1596	Feron, <i>alias</i> Chambers, William	Simpson, Jane, of Hull	Sculcoates.
1596	Watson, Peter, of All Saint's, Pavement, York	Mason, Ann, of St. Crux, York	St. Margaret's, York.
1596	Wood, Thomas, of New Malton	Emerson, Elizabeth	
1596	Oldfield, James	Hill, Ann, of Halifax, Wid.	St. Michael's Spurriergate, York.
1596	Copley, Gervas, of Tyershill, Par. Darfield	Wilbore, Dorothy, of Arksey	Darfield, Wath, or Arksey.
1596	Midgley, James	Browne, Ellen, of Hull.....	Cottingham.
1596	Coulman, Adam... ..	Kirkby, Elizabeth, of Preston	Preston, or Humbleton.
1596	Pettinger, Robert	Coringham, Alice, of Dio. York.	Gringley-on-the-Hill, co. Notts.
1596	Gray, Valentine, of Doncaster	Walker, Ellen, of Doncaster	Doncaster.
1596	⁵⁷ Withes, Richard.....	Thompson, Elizabeth, of Knaresboro', Widow.	St. Martin's, Coney Street, or St. Helen's, Stonegate, York.
1596	Cottam, Peter	Leach, Mary, of York	St. Michael's Spurriergate, or St. Martin's, Coney Street, York.
1596	Johnson, George, of Barling, co. Lincoln	Beverley, Frances, of Selby	Selby.
1596	Letby, Thomas, of St. Michael's-le-Belfrey, York	Colton, Ann, of Scrayingham	Scrayingham.
1596	Mellison, William, of Riccall	Hall, Grace, of St. Crux, York, Widow.	St. Crux, York.
1596	Yates, John, of Speton.....	Hewitson, Thomasin, of Speton	Speton.

⁵⁷ Married . . Oct. 1596, St. Helen's, York.

Date.	Name and description.	Name and description.	Where to be Married.
1596	Garnett, Thomas	Porter, Agnes, of Howsome	Stamfordbridge.
1596	Lambe, Mathew, of Rillington	Ruddeck, Elizabeth, of Eddlethorpe Grange, Par. Westow, Wid.	
1596	Raper, Ralph, of York, Sailor	Lobley, Isabel, of Burneston	Burneston.
1596	Welbury, John, of Castle Eden, co. Durham.	Hungate, Susan, of North Dalton	North Dalton.
1596	Prest, Nicholas, of Ripon, Butcher	Johnson, Ann, of Ripon, Wid.	Ripon
1596	Vesey, Nicholas	Metcalf, Elizabeth	
1596	Chapman, Hugh, of Goodman- ham	Dickenson, Elizabeth, of York	St. Michael's-le- Belfrey, York.
1596	Bentley, William, of Pannall	Gill, Elizabeth, of Kirkby Overblows.	Pannall.
1596	Mawe, Michael	Grindall, Jane, of Dio. York.	Holy Trinity, King's Court, York.
1596	Myzen, Robert, of Humbleton	Mapleton, Isabel, of Beverley	Humbleton.
1596	⁵⁸ Langwith, Robert, of York	Darogen, Joan, of York	
1596	Irwin, Thomas	Miles, Frances, of Osino- therley	Sigston.
1596	Tillotson, Robert	Wilson, Grace, of Cowling- head	Kildwick.
1596	Alman, Gilbert, of Hovingham	Sergison, Agnes, of Marton	Either place.
1596	Pilley, Guy, of Moor Monkton	Waynde, Thomasin, of Skewsby	Moor Monkton.
1596	Thompson, Thomas, Clk. of Hull	Johnson, Susan, of Hull ..	St. Mary's, Hull.
1596	⁵⁹ Richmond, Nicholas	Lowe, Jane, of [St. John's], Beverley	Leckenfield.
1596	Wyrall, Gervas, of Loversall, Gent.	Dove, Ann	
1596	⁶⁰ Talbot, John, of Thornton- le-Street, Gent.	Crosland, Frances, dau'. of John C., of Helmsley, Gent.	Helmsley.
1596	Middleton, Richard	Iles, Dorothy, of Kirkby Overblows	Pannall.
1596	Rhodes, William	Hutton, Ann, Wid.	Holy Trinity, King's Court, York.
1596	Thomas, Henry, of Mansfield	Benson, Maud, of Harro- gate, Par. Knaresboro', Wid.	Holy Trinity, Goodramgate, York.
1596	Robinson, Thomas	Stacy, Philippa, of Sheffield, Wid.	Sheffield.
1596	Faulkoner, Thomas	Machell, Elizabeth, of York	St. Mary's, Castlegate, York.
1596	Hewgill, Henry, of Ingleby Greenhow	Halliday, Margaret, of Swine	Swine.
1596	Bell, Richard	Raper, Elizabeth	St. Cuthbert's, York.

⁵⁸ Robert Langwith and Johanna Darragon married 22 October, 1596, Holy Trinity, Goodram-
gate, York. ⁵⁹ Married 6 Nov. 1596, Leckenfield. ⁶⁰ Married 23 November, 1596.

Date.	Name and description.	Name and description.	Where to be Married.
1596	Halstead, Henry, of Burnley, Gent.	Mitchell, Margaret, of Heptonstall.	Heptonstall.
1596	Yates, Robert.....	Ward, Alice, of Topcliff, Wid.	Cundall.
1596	Atkinson, Seth, of Hornsey...	Johnson, Agnes, of Rudston	Rudston.
1596	Nevill, Robert, of Skirley.....	Atkinson, Isabel, of Swine, Wid.	Swine.
1596	Dawson, George, of East Keswick, Par. Harwood	Jefferson, Agnes, of Woodhouse, Par. Leeds	Leeds.
1596	Wood, Richard, of Spofforth, Clk.	Parker, Elizabeth, of Holy Trinity, Micklegate, York	Holy Trinity, Micklegate, York.
1596	Browne, John, of Burton Constable	Cliffe, Jane, of Sprotley, Wid.	Holy Trinity, Goodramgate, York.
1596	Searth, Francis, of Elloughton, Gent.	Saville, Cicely, of Welburne, Par. Kirkdale	Kirkdale.
1596	Harrison, Ralph, of Gristhorpe	Coulson, Jane, of Brompton-in-Pickering	Broxton ? Brompton.
1596	Smith, Abraham	Atkinson, Ann, of Ripon ...	Ripon.
1596	Morley, Robert, Gent.	Fell, Ellen	Lonsdale.
1596	Morritt, John, of Harom, Par. Helmsley, Gent.	Wildon, Susan, of Seackleton Grange	Dalby.
1596	Smith, Richard	Moone, Margery, of Gristhorpe, Par. Filey	Filey.
1596	† Cholmley, Richard, Gent....	Legard, Susan, Gent.	House of John Hotham, Esq., of Scarborough.
1596	Fairweather, Thomas, of Hut-ton Rudly	Wilson, Ann	North Otterington.
1596	Chapman, Edward, of Beilby ? (sic)	Harker, Margaret, of York, Wid.	Holy Trinity, Goodramgate, York.
1596	Audsley, Roger	Gabitus, Agnes, of Wakefield	St. Sampson's, York.
1596	Hargraves, William	Hunter, Ann, of Dio. York	Ardsley.
1596	Wilson, Alan	Braithwaite, Alice.....	Kirby Kendal, co. Westmoreland.
1596	Burton, John, of Leaven	Burthome, <i>alias</i> Burton, Dorothy, of Brigham, Wid.	Leaven or North Frodingham.
1596	Eshe, William	Saltmarsh, Frances	Kipax, or —
1596	Stansfield, Thomas	Scholefield, Isabel, of Sowerby, Wid.	Luddenden.
1596	Pinkney, Robert.....	Newsome, Isabel, of Seasay, Wid.	Seasay.
1596	Secker, John	Smith, Ann, of Himsworth	Himsworth, or Kirk Smeaton.
1596	Broadley, Mark, of Leeds.....	Daggett, Elizabeth, of Topcliffe.	Either place.
1596	Allison, Christopher	Dalby, Mary, of St. Lawrence's, York	St. Lawrence's, York

† See Sir Hugh Cholmley's Memoirs, 1787, p. 16. The marriage articles are dated 29 November, 1596.

Date.	Name and description.	Name and description.	Where to be Married.
1596	Robinson, Philip, of Hull.....	Pattison, Jane, of Hull, Wid.	Holy Trinity, Hull.
1596	Collinson, Laurence ..	Ellis, Rose, of Hull, Wid.	Drypool.
1596	Smith, Roger	Hewgill, Jane, of Nunburn- holme.	
1596	Banks, Robert, of Howden ...	Rhodes, Elizabeth, of Wake- field	Wakefield.
1596	Knowles, Giles, of Kirk Deighton	Sampson, Catherine, of Kirk- by Overblows	Kirk Deighton.
1596	Humpton, Richard, of Peacke- ham	Shipton, Isabel, of Scraying- ham.	
1596	⁶¹ Ruddock, William, of Wes- towe	Mountain, Isabel, of Wes- towe	Westowe.
1596	Hayton, Robert, Rector of Burnby	Raper, Ann.....	Huggate.
1596	Redhead, George	Morley, Agnes, of Fulford, Wid.	Fulford.
1596	Pawson, Christopher, of Leeds	Wilkinson, Jane, of Leeds	Leeds.
1596	Whippe, or Quippe (<i>sic</i>), George, Vicar of North Leverton	Paver, Margaret, of Dio. York, Wid.	Sturton, or North Leverton, co. Notts.
1596	Thompson, Edward, of Golds- boro'	Parkinson, Mary, of Har- wood	Harwood.
1596	⁶² Stapleton, George, of Carle- ton, Gent.	Rye, Jane, of Aston, Gent.	
1596	Ripley, Robert	Preston, Elnote, of Hull ...	Holy Trinity, Hull.
1596	Holmes, William	Frere, Isabel, of Hull	Holy Trinity, Hull.
1596	Fairbarne, Thomas, of Bolton Percy	Idle, Ann, of Bolton Percy	Bolton Percy.
1596	Vickerman, John	Flinton, Ann, of Beverley...	St. John's or St. Mary's, Beverley.
1596	Rawson, John, of Castleford	Fleming, Isabel, of Castle- ford, Wid.	Castleford,
1596	Hopton, Thomas, of Mirfield, Gent.	Metham, Bridget, dau ^r . of Thomas M., Esq.	Kirkby Malzeard.
1596	Waynde, Edward, of Stillington	Scadlock, Isabel, of Hawne- by	Hawneby.
1596	Coates, William, of Routh ...	Wallis, Isabel, of Brans- burton	Bransburton.
1596	Mallet, William	Clerk, Cicely, of York	by Hugh Hookes, Clerk.
1596	Hyde, Richard, of Lonsbro'...	Kirton, Janet, of North Cave, Wid.	North Cave.
1596	Saville, Sir George, Knt.	Saville, Elizabeth, of Dio. York, Gent.	.....
1596	Johnson, Edward, of Selby ...	Lambert, Margaret, of Holme-on- Spalding.	Holme-on-Spald- ingmore.
1596	Harrison, Robert, of Roxby, co. Lincoln	Cholmley, Elizabeth, of Bransby, Gent.	Bransby.
1596	Bland, Adam	Hemsworth, Frances, of Kip- pax, Wid.	Kippax.
1596	Hartley, William, of Hawks- worth, Par. Otley	Thornhill, Hester, of Hali- fax, Wid.	Halifax.

⁶¹ Took place 20 January, 1596-7. ⁶² Fourth son of Brian Stapleton of Carleton, Esq., by Elizabeth, dau. of John Lord Darcy of Aston. His wife was probably sister of Edward Rye, Esq., of Whitwell, co. Derby, and of Aston, co. York, who married Maud, daughter of John Wentworth, of North Elmsall, Esq. and was buried at Rotherham, 27 Nov. 1632. — (Herald and Genealogist vol. vi up. 38, 261.)

Date.	Name and description.	Name and description.	Where to be Married.
1596	Dolliffe, Robert	Bromhead, Elizabeth, of Wakefield	Normanton.
1596	Hird, Thomas, of Kirkby Malham	Lawson, Isabel, of Kirkby Malham	Kirkby Malham.
1596	Mitchell, John	Mitchell, Isabel, of Haworth	Haworth.
1596	Dugdale, Miles	Denham, Isabel, of Topcliff	Topcliff.
1596	Pilkington, Richard, of Mitton	Chewe, Elizabeth, of Whalley.	
1596	Greenfield, Robert.....	Bywater, Beatrice, of Halifax	Halifax, or any chapel in that parish.
1596	Bushell, William	Pepper, Elizabeth, of Leeds	Leeds.
1596	Naylor, William, of Hartshead	Holdsworth, Jane, of Hartshead	Hartshead.
1596	Howden, Robert	Harrison, Jane, of Ripon.	
1596	Rayner, Nicholas, of Selby ...	Harpham, Mary, of Selby.	
1596	Patten, Thomas	Parkinson, Jennet, of Wakefield	St. Lawrence's, York.
1596	Preston, William	Arundel, Elizabeth, of Great Sandall.	Great Sandall.
1596	Page, Robert	Wheatley, Dorothy, of Emley	Emley, or High Hoyland.
1596	Barraclough, Thomas, of Lightcliffe, Par. Halifax	Howley, Ann, of Birstall ...	Hartshead.
1596	Meggett, William, of Haxey, co. Lincoln	Wilbore, Dorothy, of Walkeringham	Walkeringham, co. Notts.
1596	Jackson, Richard, of Killingwold Grave	Hildyard, Ursula, of Beverley, Gent.	St. Nicholas', Beverley.
1597	Sawer, John, of Parlington ...	Freeman, Susan.....	Aberford, or Ca-wood.
1597	⁶³ Vavasour, William, son of Mauger V., of Weston	Vaughan, Mary, dau ^r . of Francis, V., of Sutton-on-Derwent	At the house of Francis Vaughan, Esq., or at Sutton-on-Derwent.
1597	⁶⁴ Nicholson, <i>alias</i> Tomlin, William, of Howden	Turner, Mary, of Howden...	St. Martin's, Micklegate, York.
1597	Clarke, William.....	Pape, Faith, of Beverley ...	Beverley, or Wighton.
1597	Maude, John	Wade, Sarah, of Sowerby, Wid.	Halifax, or Sowerby.
1597	⁶⁵ Anlaby, William, of Thorpe Bassett	Strangeways, Prudence, of Dio. York	Thorpe, Bassett or Norton.
1597	⁶⁶ Milner, Samuel, of Pudsey, Par. Calverley	Oldfield, Grace, of Calverley	Calverley.
1597	Watson, William, of Marston	Allen, Frances, of Healaugh, Wid.	
1597	^{66a} Cartwright, <i>alias</i> Viccars, William	Cartwright, <i>alias</i> Viccars, Catherine, dau. of Barnaby C., <i>alias</i> V., of Brodsworth	Brodsworth.
1597	Liversedge, John, of Hemsworth	Wood, Ann, of Kirk Smeaton	Kirk Smeaton.

⁶³ Took place 28 March, 1597, Sutton Derwent.⁶⁴ Took place 11 April, 1597, at Norton.⁶⁵ Not in Margerison's Registers of Calverley.⁶⁶ William Thomlyn and Mary Turner, married 29 March, 1597, St. Martin's.^{66a} Took place 21 April, 1597.—J. S.

Date.	Name and description.	Name and description.	Where to be Married.
1597	Moxson, Ralph, Clerk.	Cowper, Margaret, of Awburn, Widow.	Awburn.
1597	Somercotes, Andrew, of East Halton, co. Lincoln, Gent.	Thruscross, Elizabeth, dau ^r . of Luke T., of Hull, Alderman.	[Holy Trinity, Hull.]
1597	Benyon, Samuel, of Manfield	Pursglove, Frances, of Kirby-in-Cleveland.	Kirby-in-Cleveland.
1597	Hepworth, Richard	Carter, Grace, of Huddersfield	Huddersfield.
1597	Bamford, Arthur, of Sheffield	Barber, Ann, of Sheffield ...	Sheffield.
1597	Ridley, Richard, of London ...	Glewe, Munday, of Barton [? Brayton]	Brayton.
1597	Taylor, William, of Carlton-in-Craven	Taylor, Margaret, of Emsey	Carlton-in-Craven
1597	Slingsby, Robert, Gent.	Watson, Judith, Wid.	
1597	Greathead, Christopher, of Hauxwell	Topham, Margaret, of West Witton.	West Witton.
1597	Jenkinson, Marmaduke	Cooke, Ann, of Ripon	Ripon.
1597	Jenkins, Henry, of Scoreby, Esq.	Tancred, Dorothy, of Pannall.	Pannall.
1597	Wyrhall, Richard, of Loversall, Gent.	Wheatley, Margaret, of York Castle	Fulford.
1597	Thornborough, Robert	Browne, Ann, of Sandall	
1597	⁶⁶ Newell, John, of Sprotboro'	Tyas, Agnes, of Doncaster, Widow.	Doncaster.
1597	Airey, Richard, of Preston-in-Holderness	Colman, Mathea, of Skeckling	Either place.
1597	Atkinson, John	North, Cicely, of Butterwick, Wid.	.....
1597	Blanshard, Peter	Hawley, Margaret, of Aughton.	.....
1597	Smith, Thomas	Saltonstall, Grace, of Halifax	Halifax.
1597	Hunter, Charles, of Hutton Rudby	Trenham, Isabel, of Hutton Rudby	East Harlsey.
1597	Spencer, Rowland, Clerk... ..	Oglethorpe, Jane, of Dio. York, Widow	Birkin.
1597	⁶⁷ Ellis, Bernard, Esq.	Darley, Mary, dau ^r . of John D., Esq.	St Martin's, Coney St., York
1597	Barmby, Thomas, of Doncaster, Gent.	Brooke, Joan, of Rawmarsh	Rawmarsh.
1597	Willison, Henry, of Hull	Hemsworth, Margaret, of Garforth	Garforth.
1597	Firth, James, of Marsden.....	Hawme, Elizabeth, of Almondbury	Almondbury.
1597	Mitchell, William	Bradley, Ellen, of Skirpenbeck	Fulford.
1597	⁶⁸ Ashton, James, of Tunstall, Clk.	Ha—nbye ? (<i>sic</i>), Haldenby ? Margaret, of Withernsey, Wid.	Withernsey.

⁶⁶ 2 May, 1597.—J. S.⁶⁷ Took place 1 May, 1597.⁶⁸ See the "Priory and Peculiar of Smith" by Rev. C. B. Robinson, London, 1861, p. 84. Mr. Ashton was farmer of the Rectory of Tunstall, E. R. York, in 1594. The High Commission Court ordered, 31 July, 1581, that he was "not to go away without paying 28 shillings charges, and not to serve without license within the Province of York."—Archbishop's Registry, York, C. B. N.

Date.	Name and description.	Name and description.	Where to be Married.
1597	⁶⁹ Fairfax, William, of Ampleforth, Gent.	Wickliffe, Elizabeth, of Staynsby	Ampleforth.
1597	Kirkby, George	Horseman, Dorothy, of Prov. York.	.....
1597	Watson, John	Metson, Mary, of Toccates, Par. Gisbro', Wid.	Gisbro', or Up-leatham.
1597	Marshall, Richard	Collier, Ellen, of York, Wid.	St. Saviour's, York.
1597	Whittaker, Edward, Rector of Thornhill	Blacker, Margery, of Great Sandall, Wid.	Great Sandall.
1597	Story, John, of Ashby, co. Lincoln, Gent.	Thornton, Margaret, late of Filey, now of Halifax	Halifax, or Filey.
1597	Cass, Thomas ..	Canby, Ann, of Selby	Selby.
1597	Faire[wether ?] Edward	Audsley, Dorothy, of Osset, Wid.	Dewsbury, or Sandall.
1597	Newland, John	Thomlinson, Margaret, of Brayton, Wid.	Birkin.
1597	Collier, Thomas ..	Martin, Alice, of Siggles-thorne	Siggles-thorne, or Brandsburton.
1597	Doubiggin, Christopher	Holmes, Jane, of Kirkby Malham, Wid.	Bolton-by-Bowland.
1597	Aukland, Mathew	Bew, Margaret, of Sherburn	St. Michael's or St. Martin's, Coney St., York
1597	Hompton, Robert, of Filey ...	Bracken, Ursula, of Egton.	.....
1597	Ripley, William, of Kirby Moorside	Bayne, Dorothy, of Ripon, Wid.	Ripon.
1597	Harwood, William	Norrison, Margaret, of Whitby	Whitby.
1597	Waterhouse, Edward	Mitchell, Jane	Thornhill, or Darfield.
1597	Midleton, Stephen, of Sutton-on-Derwent	Atkinson, Agnes, of Kirkby Lonsdale, Widow	Killington [co. Westmorland.]
1597	Gibson, Peter, of Bugthorpe	Gibbon, Elizabeth, of Audley	Catton.
1597	Morton, Philip, of Sheffield ...	Cowper, Ellen, of Emley, Wid.	
1597	Stonehouse, Robert	King, Elizabeth, of Hull ...	By John Patten, Clerk.
1597	Cromack, Thomas	Ambler, Isabel, of Leeds, Wid.	Bradford.
1597	Murton, Francis	Moore, Elizabeth, of Burley, Par. Leeds	Leeds.
1597	Iles, Marmaduke, of Castley	Briggs, <i>alias</i> Shepherd, Isabel, of Whitkirk, Wid.	Whitkirk.
1597	Beverley, Robert, of Fiskerton, co. Notts., Gent.	Fairfax, Frances, dau ^r . of Henry F., of Bilbro'	
1597	Corney, Cuthbert ...	Chapman, Susan, of Gisbro', Wid.	Gisbro'.
1597	Harwood, James	Temple, Elizabeth, of Danby	Danby.

⁶⁹ Matthew, son of William Fairfax, was baptized at Gilling 24 February, 1597-8; and William Fairfax, gentleman, was buried 17 September, 1617, at Oswaldkirk. Probably he was son of Robert Fairfax, and first cousin to Thomas, Viscount Elmley, my Ancestor. In the Register of St. John's, York, is the following entry: "Mr. William Fairfax, gentleman, prisoner upon Owse-bridge, for debt, died January 25 and was buried January 26, 1615-6." C. B. N.

Date.	Name and description.	Name and description.	Where to be Married.
1597	⁷⁰ Thorpe, Thomas, of Bird-sall, Gent.	Aislaby, Margaret, of Kirby Grindalyth	Birdsall.
1597	Sale, Thomas, of Campsall ...	Fang, Bridget, of Doncaster	Doncaster.
1597	Auchan [? Hodgson], Thomas	Pocklington, Elizabeth, of Adlingfleet	Knottingley.
1597	Snarey, William	Leckenby, Elizabeth, of Yearstrop	Barton.
1597	Ashburn, Abraham, Gent. ...	Lacy, Susan, of Halifax ...	Halifax.
1597	Burrows, Richard	Harrison, Ellen, of Rotherham	Rotherham.
1597	⁷¹ Marriott, Reynold, of Hospital of St. Leonard, near Newark, co. Notts.	Starke, Mary, of Roos	Roos, or Hilston-in-Holderness.
1597	Jameson, <i>alias</i> Morrith, Thomas	Smith, Ann, of Brayton, Wid.	St. Helen's, Stonegate, York.
1597	Cawdray, John	Clarke, Euphemia, of Fewston, Wid.	Holy Trinity, Micklegate, York, or Fewston.
1597	Dickenson, Peter	Green, Ann, of York	Fulford.
1597	Richardson, Lawrence	Dennison, Elizabeth, of Burnsall	Burnsall.
1597	⁷² Dolman, Thomas, of Pockington	Chapman, Frances, of Garton-in-Holderness	Garton-in-Holderness.
1597	Downes, William, of Beverley	Frankland, Agnes, of Easington, Wid.	St. Margaret's, York.
1597	Stackhouse, ———	Clerke, Ellen, of Gysburn	Long Preston.
1597	⁷³ Lovell, Thomas, of York Castle	Redhead, Isabel, of York ...	St. Saviour's, York.
1597	Wood, Robert	Rayner, Elizabeth, of Wakefield	St. John's, Micklegate, York.
1597	Scott, Stephen	Ellerker, Barbara, of Yolton	
1597	⁷⁴ Metcalfe, James, of Barroby	King, Joyce, of Broad Charnock, co. Wilts.	Holy Trinity, Micklegate, York.
1597	Jopeon, William	Watson, Margaret, of Otley	Otley.
1597	Barwick, Francis, of Doncaster	Metham, Jane, of Melton, Wid.	Melton.
1597	Kirkman, William, of Keyingham	Sisson, Catherine, of Burton Pidsea.	
1597	Stoney, Robert	Marsden, Jennet, of Peniston	Peniston, or Silkston.
1597	Tathwell, Peter, of Lowthorpe	Goodall, Margaret, of Burlington	Burlington.
1597	Paaley, Robert	Slack, Mary, of Cawthorne	Silkston, or Barnsley
1597	[1 Will]son (<i>sic</i>), Reynold, of Filey	Medley, Margaret, of Filey	Aldbrough-in-Holderness.
1597	⁷⁵ Hutchinson, Thomas, Vicar of North Frodingham	Timperon, Juliana, of Beverley	St. Mary's, Beverley.

⁷⁰ The leaf which contained the marriages from 1590 to 1603 has been cut out.

⁷¹ They had issue Paul Marriott, whose son Reginald, bp. 28 Dec. 1635, in 1675 granted a Rent Charge of 6s. 8d. for ever to the poor of Roos. The benefactor's brother Richard, bp. 22 Jan. 1638-9, had a son Reginald, baptised 18 Nov. 1670, and three other sons.

⁷² A younger branch. He was buried at Pocklington 3 Aug. 1647; his wife 19 Sept. 1654. They kept their "Golden Wedding."

⁷³ Took place 24 July, 1597.

⁷⁴ Took place 16 July, 1597.

⁷⁵ He was buried 20 December, 1649, at North Frodingham.

Date.	Name and description.	Name and description.	Where to be Married.
1597	Clerke, Robert	Lonsdale, Agnes, of Bridlington	Bridlington.
1597	⁷⁶ Potter, Francis, of Wighill	Middleton, Ann, of Spofforth	[St. Martin's, Coney Street, York.]
1597	Wells, William	Burton, Elizabeth, of Dio. York.	Sandall.
1597	Stockton, Richard, of Eastone	Wilkinson, Elizabeth, of Pickering.	.....
1597	Chiffnall, Edward, Esq. ...	Worthington, Margaret, of Dio. Chester, Gent.	.....
1597	Duerdine, William, of Ouldham	Matthew, Elizabeth, of Rochdale	Ouldham.
1597	Squire, John, Vicar of Myton	Gryme, Jane, of Ripon, Widow.	.....
1597	Moore, Thomas	Garbutt, Margaret, of Burghwallis.	.....
1597	Jewett, James	Oxley, Janet, of Bradford...	Bradford, or Tong.
1597	Broadhead, Richard, of Marr	Moore, Isabel, of Doncaster, Widow.	Conisbro'.
1597	Morden, John, of York, Merch'.	Belt, Elizabeth, of York.	.....
1597	Feliskirk, William.....	Buckbarrow, Isabel.	.....
1597	Grindon, William, of Wood-appleton	Maw, Elizabeth, of Tolthorp, ? Tholthorpe	Wharran Percy, or Lastington.
1597	Richardson, Oliver	Smith, Elizabeth, of Paull.	Paull, or Burstwick.
1597	Halton, George, of Sutton Lound	Beck, Isabel, of Gainsbro'...	Sutton Lound.
1597	Procter, Anthony, Rector of Middle? Linton	Hudson? (sic), Agnes, of Middle? Linton, Wid.	Linton.
1597	Key, Richard	Thompson, Jane, of Wetherby	Spofforth.
1597	Stather, John.....	Atkinson, Ann, of Fishlake	Fishlake.
1597	Dawson, William	Butterfield, Elizabeth, of Bradfeldale	St. Helen's, Stonegate, York.
1597	Wilkinson, John	Bentley, Ellen, of Pannall...	Pannall.
1597	Pate, Thomas.....	Keld, ———, of Wykeham	Cloughton.
1597	Hagg, William, of Lilling.....	Waddy, Mary, of Ampleford	Ampleford.
1597	Smith, Bryan	Sothaby, Frances, of Humbleton.	.....
1597	Rhodes, Robert, of Hull	Hutton, Ann, of Wakefield.	.....
1597	Waterhouse, Joham? (sic), of Parkhouse	Rhodes, Judith.	.....
1597	Prest, Edward, of Hull.....	Armytage, Jane, of Hull ...	Huddersfield.
1597	Leach, Cuthbert, of Burstwick	Brearccliffe, Mary, of Headon, Wid.	Burstwick.
1597	Booth, John, of Hansworth ...	Castleford, Ann, of Darfield	Either place.
1597	Jackson, John	Moore, Catherine, of Tadcaster	St. Martin's, Coney St., York

⁷⁶ Francis Porter of Wighill and Anne Middleton of Spofforth married 1 August, 1597, St. Martin's, Coney Street, York.

Date.	Name and description.	Name and description.	Where to be Married.
1597	Kettlewell, Richard ..	Ripley, Elizabeth, of Ripon, Widow.	.....
1597	White, Robert	Hunter, Margaret, of Thorn- ton-in-Picker- ing [Lithe.]	.....
1597	Robinson, Roger	Banks, Isabel, of Aldbro'-in- Holderness.	.....
1597	Pickard, Geoffrey, of Menston	Greenwood, Ann, of Brad- ford.	.....
1597	Rumfitt, William, of Leeds ...	Dugdale, Elizabeth, of Cli- theroe	Clitheroe, or—.
1597	Sawer, George	Wilson, Margaret, of Leeds	Leeds, or Otley.
1597	Stable, James, of Harwood ...	Scatchard, Agnes, of Bur- tonhead, Par. Addle	Holy Trinity, Micklegate, York.
1597	Ellison, George	Knowles, Margaret, of Haw- tongill, Par. Arnccliffe.	Arnccliffe.
1597	Middleton, Thomas, Gent. ...	Hungate, Elizabeth, Gent. .	Saxton.
1597	Pocklington, Richard	Rudston, Elizabeth.	.....
1597	Smith, John	Braxe, Elizabeth, of Skeck- ling	Skeckling, or Burton Pidsea.
1597	Chanler, William, of Seamer	Hobson, Margaret, of Thorpe Basset	Thorpe Basset.
1597	Sawer, William	Jackson, Margaret, of Dar- rington	Darrington.
1597	Allen, David ? (<i>sic</i>)	Watson, Ellen, of Danby- in-the-Forest.	.....
1597	Spark, John, Gent.	Coates, Ann, dau ^r . of Alex- ander C., of City of Chester	.....
1597	Tancred, Charles, Gent.	Fox, Barbara, of Cayton, Widow.	Cayton Chapel.
1597	Hewitson, John, of Pickering	Ainsley, Dorothy, of Kirby Moorside	St. Mary's, Castle- gate, York.
1597	Sagar, Henry ..	Brighouse, Isabel, of Brad- ford	Bradford.
1597	Bowscourt ? Rowscourt (<i>sic</i>). James, of York	Cliffe, Isabel, of Leeds, Wid.	Leeds.
1597	Haigh, James	Waterhouse, Sarah, of Thorn- hill	Thornhill.
1597	Walker, William, of Redcar...	Watson, Ellen, of Marske.	.....
1597	Walker, William, of St. Helen's, Stone- gate, York	Robinson, Agnes, of St. Helen's, Stonegate, York, Widow.	St. Helen's, Stonegate, York.
1597	Bywater, Richard, of Kippax	Jefferson, Euphemia, of Bar- wick-in-Elmet	Either place.
1597	Briggs, William	Ferrand, Elizabeth, of Dio. York	Kirk Burton.
1597	Towler, Thomas, of Neffield, Par. Ilkley	Rowland, <i>alias</i> Woodley, Joan, of Ad- dingham, Wid.	.....

WELBURN HALL

By THOMAS PARKER.

ON the high-road between Helmsley Black-a-Moor and Kirkby Moorside, a mile and a half from the latter, is Tilehouse bridge, built in 1773 over the Hodge Beck ; from which an avenue of oaks, elms, and ashes, leads to Welburn Hall, a half-ruined and dilapidated mansion, the greater part of which was built by Sir John Gibson, knight, about the year 1603.

The outside is adorned with moulded dripstones running the whole length of the west front ; while the east front has them only over the windows, which are fifteen in number. The walls are 4ft. thick, and support an oaken roof covered with heavy stone slates. The principal entrance was on the west, through an arched doorway, now walled-up. The staircase has massive steps of oak, 6 ft. 8 in. long and 6 in. thick, with baluster and hand-rail, and thick posts and square-headed knobs on each landing. It is lighted by two mullioned windows, one of nine, the other of six lights. On the east it gives access to a spacious chamber, with ample fire-place and a water-closet, a feature not often met with in old houses. On the west a door opens into the "Great Gallery," which is 74 ft. long and 12 ft. wide, and is lighted by three small windows, and three of nine lights each. It contained, until the year 1816, a large number of family portraits ; among them being one of a man who is said to have died from the bite of a mad dog. Tradition, which has preserved the legend, has not recorded his name. Nine doorways on either side of this gallery open into as many rooms, those on the east having carved panels. That which seems to have been the "Best Bed-room" is still adorned with paintings, and with



A view of the building from the garden

texts of Scripture in Old English characters. An arched door on the south side of the Great Gallery leads into what was once "the Hall," 43 ft. long, 28 ft. broad ; lighted by four windows, the largest being in the south wall.

Before the enclosure of the West Ings, and other lands near the house, in 1784, there was a very extensive view from this window. There were shields of arms in stained glass in the eastern window ; and a chimney-piece of carved oak, with gilded figures of men or animals in each compartment, reached to the ceiling ; but this was pulled down before the year 1816.

Returning to the Great Gallery, the fire-place, on the west side, has been walled up ; but at the north-east corner the ancient winding stair leads to an "Upper Chamber," or garret, which extends the entire length of the building, is lighted by seven windows, and gives access to the leads. Massive tie-beams, about 9 ft. apart, support the floor, and a very steep roof covered with slates, is carried on large rafters, rising from them by means of side-posts.

The "Servants' Buttery" is beneath, and was formerly as large as the hall. The kitchen was 52 ft. long and 17 ft. broad, and had five windows and two fireplaces, the arch of that on the north side being nearly 14 ft. wide. The brew-house, cellar, and other offices form a wing on the south-east.

Adjoining to Sir John Gibson's building, and incorporated with it, is a much older house, built of timber, and possibly of the 14th century. Tradition says this was a "Grange," or detached house, belonging to the Cistercian Abbey of Rievaulx. This was modernized about the year 1760. It contains a spacious and lofty "Entrance Hall" in the south front, with a fireplace of Gloucester stone, whose mantel-piece reaches to the ceiling, and is surmounted by a basket of fruit and flowers. The "Drawing Room" is at the south-west corner, was formerly hung with Arras tapestry, and had a marble fireplace, of which one side only remains. The "Justice Room" was at the south-east corner, and was so used until the year 1816. There are also smaller rooms, called the "Sitting Room" and "Study." On the west is a door to the garden, near the foot of the modern staircase. This is of open trellis-work, and leads to the "Little

Gallery," and "Best Bed-rooms," one of which rooms contains some carving. The ancient oak floor remains hidden beneath the floor of all these modernized rooms, and some few of the quaint figures formerly painted on the walls are still visible.

The gardens are well sheltered and extensive; and were famous for an ancient Cedar, whose trunk was 15 ft. in circumference, while its branches extended 72 ft. from east to west, and 66 ft. from north to south. It is now shivered with lightning, and its glory is departed. In the wall of the garden nearest the house are a Norman doorway and the remains of an arbour. In the south-east corner is a summer-house of two stories high, covered with a slated spire adorned with a vane. The crest of Sir John Gibson is over the doorway, and on the south wall of the lower room are these words: "*Tandem hoc didici, animos sapientiores fieri quiescendo.*"¹ The upper room was reached by a flight of steps from the terrace south of the hall, and over the door are the arms of Gibson, the initials J. G., and the date 1611, with the motto, "*In Infelicitate felix.*" On the ceiling is painted a figure of Virtue, with the legend, "*Ad æthera Virtus.*"

A fine mulberry tree stood on the terrace; doubtless planted at the desire of King James I., who was anxious to introduce into England the cultivation of silk. There was also a large, square dove-cote, which was taken away as late as 1809. The fish-pond winds along the pleasure-grounds on the whole of the south side, and part of the south-east; but one-half of it is always dry. There are no less than four avenues of trees, inhabited by a numerous colony of rooks. A ruined bath-house bears the date 1706. There is a delightful terrace-walk, skirting the plantation, to the site of a temple, which was blown down about the year 1806, and never rebuilt. The view of the house from this point is most pleasing, and carries the mind back to a former age. The pointed gables and tall chimneys, the mulioned windows, and arched doorways, contrast agreeably with the dark green of the cedar, and their girdle of silver firs. This ancient seat is now a total ruin. The gardens

¹ Eastmead's *Historia Rievallensis*, 1824, p. 150, says this word is "quiete." Claudian.

are grass-grown ; the walls decayed ; the terraces, avenues, and fish-ponds are neglected ; the windows are without glass ; and the empty rooms are open to all the winds of heaven.

No busy steps the grass-grown footway tread,
But all the blooming flush of life is fled.

Goldsmith.

THE ANCIENT MANOR-HOUSE OF THE BISHOPS OF DURHAM AT HOWDEN, YORKSHIRE.

A Paper read by the Rev. W. HUTCHINSON, M.A., at the Meeting of the Yorkshire
Archæological Society, Howden, August, 1885.

THE building of which I am to speak has in modern times been called the Bishop's palace, perhaps it would be better to give it its name, by which it is known in ancient documents, the Bishop's Manor House. It will be known by all who have interested themselves in the fame of the extensive Bishopric of Durham that William the Conqueror with an eye to the protection of the Northern border of his English Conquest gave Palatine jurisdiction to the lordly owner of the See. He was invested with powers which, saving the homage due to the Sovereign head of the nation, were closely akin to those of royalty itself. He had his own Courts of Chancery and of Exchequer; appointed his own Treasurer, Justices, Chancellor; received all properties and estates forfeited for high treason; the chattels of all felons who suffered capital punishment. For a prince holding so prominent a position in the maintenance of the integrity of the kingdom, clothed with powers so far reaching, which indeed are named "jura regalia," landed estates of vast magnitude were absolutely necessary. The whole counties of Durham and Northumberland were therefore placed under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Durham.

But besides this vast compact area detached grants of villas were made to him in various parts of Yorkshire, viz.: Crake, Riccall, and Howden. These, it has been suggested, served as convenient restingplaces in the many journeys which the Bishop must necessarily make between his Northern home and the King's Court. And each, it may safely be assumed, would have its Hall or Manor House for his reception on those occasions. What was the style or character of the one here erected we have no record to show until so late as about A.D. 1388, when the good Bishop

Skirlaw was translated from Bath to the see of Durham. Additions were made by that Prelate of which I shall speak further on. But as we learn from history that two or three at least of our Kings made a stay of some days occasionally in this Manor House ; when so early as the days of Bishop Hugh Pudsey, A.D. 1153, Noblemen and Knights, high in the national Councils, were here hospitably received, we cannot doubt that a building worthy for the reception of such renowned guests would then be standing. In mentioning the name of Hugh Pudsey, I may be allowed to say a few words of one, whose ability and worth that Bishop seems early to have discerned, one whom we, the members of an Archæological Society, must ever revere more than all the Kings and Nobles whose presence once dignified the spot where we are assembled,—that one is our native Chronicler “Roger de Hoveden.” To Roger, as Parson (“persona”) of the Church of Hoveden, Bishop Hugh granted the tithes of the Parish, a fact we learn from the Cartularies of the Prior and Convent of Durham, referred to as genuine in Raine’s “Northern Registers.” After a very distinguished career in the household of Henry II. and also in negotiating many trusts of the King of a delicate diplomatic nature, Bishop Stubbs, our eminent historian, in his edition of the Chronicles, pictures Roger in his old age settling down for retirement in this his native place to give the last pages to his immortal work. Bishop Hugh himself was one of the most exalted personages of his day. Boasting of royal lineage, the great grandson of the Conqueror William, Nephew of King Stephen, Cousin to Richard I., he is presented to us in the pages of the Durham Historian Geoffrey of Coldingham as eloquent, energetic, a mighty hunter, a great shipmaster, a magnificent builder, an able defender and besieger, a consummate intriguer and a very wary politician. In A.D. 1190, denied the Justiciarship of Northumbria granted him by the King by the ambitious Longchamp, he betook himself to his Manor of Hoveden, where, by the same astute Longchamp, he was held imprisoned for many days under the strict surveillance of the Lord William de Stutevill and the Sheriff of York, until he made his case known to his Sovereign, who in anger ordered his release. In the following year we find him again in his manorial house at Hoveden celebrating his Christmas festivity with the Count of Mortain, afterwards King John,

who, for eating at table with Bishop Hugh then under excommunication decreed by the Archbishop of York, Geoffrey John's brother, was himself condemned to share in the same ban of excommunication. Finally, in A.D. 1194, we find the Bishop seized with a sudden illness at his castle of Crake, yet sufficiently strong to take his journey on horse-back to Doncaster, whence, his disease augmenting, he was carried by boat to this Manor House, and here, lingering only a few days, on Ash Wednesday he finished his somewhat brilliant and stormy career. The historian, with great precision, gives us the time of his episcopate as 41 yrs : 2 mo : and 3 days.

His successor Philip of Poitiers, who had returned from the Crusade with King Richard, in A.D. 1198, Oct. 11, in our Manor House performed the solemn act of benediction of the Abbots Adam of Salley and Hamo of Byland, and to him in the year A.D. 1200, King John, who had been a frequent guest here, granted the privilege by charter of holding a fair at Hoveden annually on the vigil and on the day of Saint Maurice, O.S. Sept. 22. In a succeeding assertion of claims, Bishop Richard de Kellaw (A.D. 1311) in addition to this grant of King John, claims also the privilege of holding a market on the Saturday of each week.

In the 13th and 14th centuries many notices occur which lead us to conclude that the Manor House of Hoveden was then a favourite resting place of the Bishops. In A.D. 1260 Walter de Kirkham died here, whose body, after the process of disembowelling for its better preservation, was removed for burial in the Cathedral of Durham. His viscera were laid in the Church here, over which a beautiful marble slab was laid, which still by its inscription, although greatly mutilated, testifies to the fact.¹

What might be the state and extent of our Manor House under that magnificent prelate Anthony Bek we can only faintly conjecture, but with the knowledge we have of his constant movements to his various Manors, and the princely retinue by which he was accompanied, we may feel sure that it must have offered something of an appearance in accordance.

He it was who was employed by Edward I. to negotiate

¹ The inscription runs thus: "R^equiescunt viscera Walteri Kirkhā quōdā Dunelmie S. Ep'i. Ora p' ai'a."

a marriage between his son and the heiress of Scotland, which unhappily was hindered by the death of the Queen.

Shortly afterwards, the Bishop was able to bring into the field, in aid of the invasion of Scotland by the same Monarch, 1000 foot and 500 horse, with the sacred banners waving in their midst of S. Cuthbert and S. John of Beverley.²

In the next reign, and under the next Bishop Richard de Kellaw, the King, Edward II., according to his Itinerary in the "*Collectanea Archæologica*," made his stay here on May 9 and three following days in A.D. 1312. In the following year the Bishop gave a substantial proof of his friendship towards the King, by presenting him on his journey to the fatal field of Bannockburn with 1000 marks and a valuable horse. The narrative of the battle relates that the Earl of Gloucester, while riding this same horse in his attack on the enemy, was slain. Arrived at this date, the Manor of Hoveden with others held by the Bishops of Durham in Yorkshire, seems to be falling under a cloud. For fiscal reasons apparently the whole demesne is let out to farm to a single wealthy tenant, or, it is absolutely demised to a Florentine firm of Usurers as in the days of Louis de Beaumont.

This Bishop, a favoured kinsman of Queen Isabella and nearly allied to the King of France, by means of a papal bull obtained his election in the most irregular and, I may say, outrageous manner.

But the ample revenues of his wealthy see were under a heavy strain for 14 years to meet the papal exactions demanded for the privilege thus accorded.³ Inroads of the

² Bishop Anthony Bek bore the title also of Patriarch of Jerusalem, and his arms as such formerly occupied a place in the tracery of a window of the north aisle of the church.

³ In Kellawe's *Registrum Palatinum Dunelmense*, Vol. 1, page cxvi. occur the following remarks of the Editor, the present Bishop Stubbs; "On the death of Bishop Kellawe, the vacant palatinate became an object of considerable competition. The Earl of Lancaster urged the convent to elect his chaplain, John de Knardesley as their Bishop, undertaking in such case, to shield them from the Scots, and to protect them from the King's probable indignation. The King

himself asked them to choose Thomas de Carlton, keeper of his privy seal. Queen Isabella, on the other hand, interested herself so much in favour of her kinsman, Louis de Beaumont, treasurer of Salisbury, and prebendary of Aukland, as to write to each of the monks individually, soliciting his vote in Beaumont's favour. Again, Humphry de Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex, besought them to elect his chaplain, John Walwayn. These solicitations must all have been crowded into a short space of time, for no sooner had the convent obtained the King's licence to elect (dated Oct. 19, 1316) than they made choice of Henry de Stanford, Prior of Fynchale, a man of mature

Scottish armies under Bruce added much to the embarrassments of his position, as his more northerly possessions suffered greatly from the rapine and plunder which they ruthlessly carried on. After 16 years of continued violence and disorder in the political world, and little capacity for episcopal duties in so unquiet a period in the Church, he retired to Brantingham to close his days in calm and peace.

Nor after Bishop Louis is the obscurity which hangs over our Manor House removed until we come upon the bright days of one who stands foremost among the Ecclesiastical worthies of Yorkshire, Walter Skirlaw. As a native of Holderness, rising by pure merit (tradition says his father was a sieve-maker) in rapid succession to the highest dignities, once Archdeacon of the E. Riding, then consecrated Bishop of Lichfield, translated to Bath and Wells, and lastly to the Palatinate See of Durham, he seems ever to have retained a decided predilection for the district to which he was attached by his birth and first promotion from the rank of Parish priest.

I need not remind you of the grand and noble central tower of York, nor, in its proportion, of the equally magnificent tower of our own Collegiate Church, which remain as monuments of his profuse and pious munificence. Would that the structures he raised on this spot had been of the same durable character! From the causes, to which I have referred, we cannot tell what decay and ruin had assailed the buildings which his own replaced. It may be that some portions had been allotted to uses which the changed circumstances of time no longer required.

For in the early days of the mighty Rulers Hugh Pudsey and Philip of Poitiers three courts, at least, belonged to this Manor, a Manorial Court, a Forester's Court in right of the Bishop's possessions in the Forest of Ouse and

age, strict morals, pleasing aspect, and sufficiently well learned. The Cathedral of Durham was crowded with persons interested to learn the issue of the contest. The Earls of Lancaster, Hereford, and Pembroke were there, with several other nobles and men of high standing; among them Henry de Beaumont and his brother Louis, one of the candidates; whom many of the persons present swore they would decapitate should he be elected. The King, who

was then at York, was inclined to confirm the election of the person whom the monks had chosen; the Queen, however, resolved not to be thwarted, with the aid of a papal bull, finally secured the election of Louis de Beaumont; that of Stanford being set aside by the Pope, John XXII., for a large pecuniary consideration." On the day of his consecration, Bishop Beaumont was unable to read his profession of obedience through his utter ignorance of Latin.

Derwent, and a Criminal Court.⁴ If we may suppose these Courts were at first held within the precincts of the Manor-house, yet now, from the description I am able to lay before you, it may be inferred that for the two still existing a separate location had been found. This description is based upon a survey of the house and buildings ordered by Bishop Pilkington on his coming into possession of the See in 1561, with another made in 1577, which were brought to light a few years ago by Canon Raine of York. We there learn that the Manor-house was in the form of a quadrangle, whose inner dimensions were 186 ft. from east to west, and 126 ft. from north to south. Comparing the details of this survey with the statements of William de Chambre the continuator of the Durham historians from A.D. 1333 to 1559, there is no great difficulty in detecting the part of the building due to the liberal hand of Bishop Skirlaw. "He built the *whole* hall," the historian relates, "and expended large sums of money moreover in edifices of the same Manor-house." And the hall, we learn, occupied the extreme eastern portion of the south side. It was 62 ft. long with a width of 24 ft. It was built wholly of free-stone, having seven fair clerestory windows, above which arose a battlemented parapet. At the western extremity of the hall a porch projected 14 ft. square. In a line continuing westward with the front were a pantry and other offices, leading to a spacious kitchen, and this was followed by three living rooms; the whole of this western part was of the same height as the hall, but, forming a pleasing variety, its material was brick, finished above with the same stone battlement. To break the line of the parapet, two elevations, described as *louvres* by the surveyor, were raised, one of very curious workmanship, and both roofed with lead. So much most probably was erected by Bishop Skirlaw. Leaving his work for a moment, on the western side of the quadrant stood the stables, built of stone and embattled in front and at the back. Between the southern range of buildings and the stables, in the south-west corner, an opening, with a gateway, was left to give access to the orchard, barn, bakehouse and brewery which lay outside the quadrangle. On the site of the present Vicarage, and

⁴ In the 19th year of Henry III. Bishop Richard le Poor gave 800 marks for the deafforestation and liberties of the Forest.

extending from the existing gateway to within a few yards of the solitary remnant of the Manor-house, was the only part of the quadrangle enclosed with a bare wall; for on its northern side, beyond the gateway to the west, covering a portion of our present burial-ground, were five houses, erected by Cardinal Langley, in length 125 ft. and width 18 ft., whilst the east side contained rooms and structures of signal importance and ample dimensions. Here were situated a parlour, with dining-room above, running north and south, of lofty height and covered with a high-pitched roof of lead. Separated from these by three dwelling-houses of a like elevation, was a chapel, with its main line in an easterly direction, built over a vaulted space, which might serve as a cloistered seclusion. Adjoining the chapel, at its south-east corner, with its own special roof rising steeply aloft, a small oratory offered its quiet retreat.

The chapel and oratory were approached from the open quadrangle in the north-east by a stone stair, on whose landing place, broadened out, was erected the receiver's room, surmounted by a bell-turret fitted in a frame-work for two bells. With a few minor additions, we may now form a tolerably complete conception of the general outlines of the inner court of the quadrangle with some of its adjuncts. There remains yet to be noticed the structure still existing, in a greatly tampered form, running in an easterly direction in a line with the north wall.

On this, as on all his edifices, Bishop Skirlaw placed, as it were, his seal, his arms, being the well-known six willow wands crosswise. It was a lofty building, and must have presented an imposing appearance to people coming from the town, to whom access could be given without entering the court-yard. It was intended, no doubt, as the Bishop's special private lodging during his visits to his Manor. Beside four rooms, most probably used as sleeping apartments, there was under the same roof a spacious room 54 ft. by 18 ft., known as the "camera major," and alluded to by William de Chambre as that in which, but two years before his death, July 25, 1404, he signed the last codicil to his will.⁵ Jutting from the western extremity of the Bishop's lodging was the beautiful porch which, with its groined

⁵ It was in this chamber also, or in one of the apartments close by, that he drew his last breath.

ceiling, now serves the purpose of a dairy. The whole building was vaulted, and in its front were contained nine windows of two lights, very likely similar to the one over the porch.⁶ We now come to the last addition made to the Manor-house, the gateway which forms the highest adornment of the present Vicarage grounds. It was the crowning work to the whole; erected by Cardinal Langley, whose arms it bears, and who, though occupying the dignified and arduous office of Chancellor of England, seems to have spent much of his time here. It may be that the fierce and stubborn rebellions raised in the north against the sovereignty of Henry IV. had something to do in determining him to fix here his residence. His occupancy of the See, together with that of Skirlaw, lasted over a period of nearly fifty years, which may be looked upon as the palmiest days of our Manor-house, the time in which it achieved the climax of its splendour.

With the exception of Bishop Neville, but few records remain which tell of the lordly owners of the princely Episcopate honouring these walls with their presence. In their continued absence, the hand of time alone appears to have left its mark, until the more ruthless hand of the despoiler not only stripped it of its architectural charm and beauty, but also left it in a condition to fall away more rapidly into decay and ruin. To Bishop Pilkington, who, in a prolonged stay at Geneva had contracted the iconoclastic fever of its atmosphere, is ascribed the inglorious task of stripping the roofs of the hall and larger structures of their lead, of breaking down the battlements for mere waste and destruction, and of thus leaving the crumbling walls to hasty wreck and desolation.

With the survey of his residences, ordered by his successor in A.D. 1577, before us, recounting minutely these acts of rapacity and vandalism, a clause in his will in reference to them may well excite mingled feelings of grief, pity and contempt. The clause runs thus: "Item, I give

⁶ I may be pardoned if, before parting with the good Bishop, our noble benefactor, I enumerate the rich presents he bequeathed to our Howden Church; "A vestment of red velvet embroidered with golden trefoils; orfkeys of silk with adornments of gold, a chasuble, two

tunics, three albs, three amices, four copes, a frontal and subfrontal, one closely-fitted ('strictum') frontal, covering for the lectern of red sarsenet embroidered with golden trefoils, with two red silken hangings rayed with gold."

to my successor, Busshoppe of Durham, all fourmes, boardes, cubbordes, chaires, the velvet one excepted. And I give also to him all stooles, leades, &c. Also the lyke stuffe in my howses at Durhame, Darniton, Howden, and Stockden, and all this I do in condicion he demaunde noe delapidacions for any howse * * * seeinge I have bestowed so much in repayringe them." In spite of this very liberal offer of forms, boards, cupboards, &c., Bishop Barnes, his successor, entered legal proceedings against Widow Pilkington for dilapidations, the total amount of which for Howden alone, according to the estimate made by nineteen of the leading inhabitants of the town, whose names are frequently met with in the registers of this date, was no less than £700 and upwards. It is a consolatory fact that, in the sixteen years that the Bishop presided over the Diocese, he had been able to make so ample a provision for his widow and two daughters, that if the rest of the episcopal residences made an equal claim, its payment would be but feebly felt. As a proof of his accumulated wealth, Queen Elizabeth, in true Tudor fashion, on hearing of his large bequests, made a demand of £1000 a year from the See. Already in the reign of Henry VIII. the palatine jurisdiction of the Bishops of Durham had been shorn of its unique privileges; the ducal coronet, surmounted by a mitre, still borne on their arms, no longer marks their *princely* rank. With this declension of rank, their income, in the 16th and 17th centuries, suffered frequent curtailments. The maintenance of their many manor-houses became too heavy a drain on their resources. These fell back, one by one, into the common category of houses for the leading lessees or tenant farmers. Bishop Morton was the last, according to "Hutchinson's History," who made a formal claim for dilapidations. In the year 1634 he prosecuted this claim before the Court of Delegates, when sentence was pronounced that henceforth this Manor-house of Howden, with others, should be discharged from all such claims.

Thus neglect and decay were allowed full swing over the scanty remains which cupidity and spoliation had spared; the materials, which once formed the walls of this noble Manor-house, were in part used up, after its demolition, in the building, with its misleading air of quaintness, which stands near to the gateway; in part they have been dis-

persed, like the stones of the choir, as patches in several buildings of the town ; in part they have been broken up to serve as metal for the repair of the roads. Notwithstanding this dispersion, the scattered notices I have been able to gather will help you, I trust, to realize in thought a fair notion of what, for 600 years, were the fortunes and misfortunes, the ups and downs, of the Bishop's Manor-house of Howden. "*Sic transit gloria mundi.*"

DEED IN THE POSSESSION OF CHARLES ARMITAGE, ESQ.,
DRAWN BETWEEN 1236—58, ENDORSED "BRIDGE
ROYD."

Communicated by JOHN LISTER, M.A.

SCIANT presentes & futuri quod Ego Robertus de Notingham tunc Rector Ecclesie de Almanbiri dedi concessi et hac presenti carta mea confirmaui Ade filio Johannis de Locwode et heredibus suis aut cuicumque aut quibuscumque aut quodcumque dare legare vendere aut assignare uoluerit, quoddam messuagium cum gardino et edificio desuper edificato cum pertinenciis quod Ermitagium nuncupatur cum decem acris terre in quodam assarto immediate jacentibus juxta messuagium et gardinum versus austrum in feodo de Crosslande Rogeri Concessi eciam eidem quinque acras terre cum pertinenciis in quodam assarto in eodem feodo juxta pontem de Crosslande Rogeri versus austrum quod assartum vocatur Briggerode & xiiii acras terre & dimidiam cum omnibus pertinenciis suis jacentes propinquiores Kalde-welle Denebroke infra diuisas de Crosseland quondam Ricardi de flossato et duas acras terre et dimidiam cum quinque acris et dimidia prati cum omnibus pertinenciis suis que quidem due acre et dimidia cum prato prenominato uocantur Osolfley infra easdem diuisas sine ullo Retenemento Quod quidem messuagium cum gardino et omnibus terris et pratis predictis concessum est eidem Ade cum omnibus libertatibus et asiamentis ad uillam de Crosselande spectantibus et cum

communi pastura utriusque uille de Croslande omnibus averiis suis & hominum suorum ubicumque fuerint levantes uel cubantes cum libero introitu et exitu infra uillam et extra Et boscum viridem et mortuum ad edificandum & comburendum & sepes claudendum & cum persona porcorum suorum sine vendicione nemoris et pessone porcorum prout in cartis Ricardi filii Philippi de Upton et Ade filii Rogeri de Crosslande super eisdem terris et prato confectis plenius continetur Concessi eciam eidem Ade duos holmos jacentes juxta aquam que uocatur Kolne ex occidentali parte uersus Crosslande Rogeri quorum unus holmus jacet in longitudine & latitudine inter predictam aquam ex occidentali parte, & gardinum de Ermitagioet alius holmus jacet in longitudine et latitudine inter predictam aquam ex parte occidentali & unum assartum quod uocatur macotrode cum bosco in eisdem crescente quos quidem holmos Ego Robertus de Notingham a Rogero de bosco prout carta inter me & predictum Rogerum confecta testatur' pro denariis meis comparavi Tenendum & Habendum predicto Ade & heredibus suis aut assignatis aut quibus assignare dare uel uendere uel legare uoluerit de me hereditarie libere quiete pacifice integre cum omnibus communis in pratis pasturis pascuis in viis in aquis in boscis & in omnibus aliis libertatibus & asiamentis ad predictas terras & duos feodos pertinentibus cum libero introitu & exitu Reddendo inde annuatim capitalibus dominis quinque solidos & decemdenarios scilicet pro Ermitagio & terris ac pratis & asiamentis ad ipsas spectantibus Willelmo de Bello monte viginti & octo denarios Ade de Crosslande quinque denarios ad festum Scī Martini in yeme & monachis de Pontefracto duos solidos ad festum Scī Johannis Ewangeliste in Natali Domini Et monialibus de Kirkeleys duodecim denarios ad Purificacionem Beate Marie & heredibus Rogeri de bosco pro duobus holmis unum denarium die Scī Micaelis pro omnibus seruiciis exactionibus & demandis Et ut hec mea donacio concessio & presentis carte mee confirmacio Robur perpetue firmitatis optineat hanc cartam sigilli mei impressione Roborauī Hiis testibus Dominis Ricardo de Thornil Johanne de Heton ffranconio Teutonico Militibus Willelmo de Birttona Johanne de Schepeley Willelmo de Bello monte Johanne de Querneby Hugone de ffosato Johanne Locwode & aliis.

Notes.

[The Council have decided to reserve a small space in each Number of the Journal for notices of Finds and other discoveries; it is hoped that Members will assist in making this a record of all the matters of archaeological interest which may from time to time be brought to light in this large county.]

XXV.

BYLAND ABBEY.

REPRESENTATIONS having been made to the Council as to the dangerous state of the west front of Byland Abbey, the honorary Secretary was instructed to communicate on the subject with Mr. E. C. Munby, Major Stapylton's agent.

The Council are very glad to find that Major Stapylton has already consulted with Mr. C. Hodgson Fowler, F.S.A., and a member of this Association, whose Report they are enabled to give. The Council feel sure that the ruins of this beautiful Abbey could not be in more reverent or in more skilful hands.

"Having been requested by Major Stapylton to inspect the west front of Byland Abbey, I went over there with his agent, Mr. E. C. Munby, and suggested to him various works of reparation. These are as follows :—

"To clear the inner cill of the great west rose window, and to fill in all the cracks with cement, and to cement over the cill so that no wet may lodge on it; to very carefully cement in their places the remaining arch stones of the rose window, and all the other stones now loose on the top of the western walls; to point the upper part of the N.W. pinnacle, and to build up a rough buttress to support it on the north side; and also to build up some rough walling on the south side of the west window of the south aisle.

"In addition to these works Mr. Munby agreed to remove a large tree at the north-west angle of the west front, which I believe is the cause of the rather serious crack that has appeared, its roots going under the walls (which appear to

have little or no foundation), and shaking them whenever the tree is swayed by the wind. The roots will be removed and the wall underset, and when that is done I think there need be no fear of the cracks extending.

"There are many other works that should be done, such as cementing over the top of all the walls, cutting back the ivy, and taking out young trees, as well as some undersetting and building up in different parts, but these will involve a larger outlay than is at present contemplated."

C. HODGSON FOWLER, F.S.A.

Since the above was set up in type, the following note has been received from Mr. Munby :—

"We found, on clearing away the rubbish from the base of the rose window, that some of the stones had been broken, probably by the fall of the roof, and that this has been causing the mischief by allowing the rain to percolate between them. We are therefore taking all these out, and replacing them with fresh stones gathered from the building, which we are carving in the same way and setting in cement. I have found several small pieces of stained glass; and it appears that the building has been roofed with flat red tiles, one of which I found nearly perfect, and many broken ones. The rose window has been 26 ft. in diameter, and inside it, on the interior of the plateau, there have been four light perpendicular columns going up to the roof. I have heard it reported that this window was never glazed; the stained glass will, I think, confute this idea, but it is difficult to find out how the glass has been inserted. I am inclined to think that it must have been inserted in a wooden frame, for there is the mark of some flat substance round the window. We are filling up all the holes with cement, and have cut down the tree at the north-west angle of the west front, in accordance with Mr. Hodgson Fowler's suggestion."

XXVI.

EARLY DIALS.

SINCE sending a note on a dial found at Monk Fryston (*Journal*, ix., 254), I have found so many in Holderness that they cannot be so uncommon as has been supposed. On the south wall of the nave at Burton Agnes are two dials, one deeply scratched on an ashlar stone, and somewhat irregularly divided; another, more deeply cut, and extending over parts of three stones. The lower half of the circle is divided by radiating lines into hours from 9 a.m. to 7 p.m., marked by Roman numerals, some of which have disappeared; there are shorter lines ending in little holes, marking the half-hours. At Skipsea there is a very distinctly marked one, the radius about a span, the lower half of the circle divided by thirteen radii into six spaces, the fourth and seventh line prolonged and with cross-bars, apparently to mark 9 a.m. and noon; the 11 a.m. line lengthened, but without a cross-bar. There are remains of the iron gnomon in the central hole. At the same church I saw another, similarly divided, but not so large or deeply cut; another, smaller still, unequally divided into twelve portions below the horizontal line and seven above, and there were traces of three others. Dr. Fairbank of Doncaster has photographed two at Armthorpe, close together on the face of an ashlar block, one somewhat larger than the other, and the two circles in contact. Each has a central hole for a gnomon, and radiating lines ending in little holes, disposed somewhat irregularly, but apparently meant to indicate 12 or 13 day-hours, the divisions being only in the lower portions of the circles. These circular dials may be of any date, but are probably mediæval. In Colsterworth Church, near Grantham, is preserved a semi-circular dial with radiating lines, said to have been cut by Sir Isaac Newton when a boy.

J. T. F.

XXVII.

EARLIEST MONUMENTAL INSCRIPTIONS IN HOWDEN
CHURCH IN 1885.

ON a grave-cover of Frosterley marble lying loose and broken in the south transept, with a raised cross—

IN REQVI(ESCVNT V)¹ ICCRA WALT'I KIRKDA : QVÖDA : DUNELTIES
CPI : ORA

The rest of the inscription is defaced ; it may have been *orate pro eo*, or, *pro anima ejus*. The bishop died at Howden, A.D. 1260, on the eve of St. Laurence, and was buried at Durham on the octave (Graystones, in "Scriptores tres," p. 44). The viscera would probably be removed that the body might be embalmed.

On a floor-slab in the south aisle of the choir, with a floriated cross on its right, a book, and on its left a chalice and host. Round the margin :

Hic iacet Joh' Cobe cap' Cantar' Sci Thōe mris q' obiit i flū
riusde A^o doⁱ M^o CCCCLxvij cui' aīe p'piciet' de'.

A modern inscription has been cut on the same stone.

On a slab turned out of the Saltmarshe chapel, now in the floor of the south transept, with a fine incised figure in plate-armour with feet on a hound, the arms of Saltmarshe at the corners :

Orate pro aīa Johannis saltm'che armigeri qui obiit sextodecimo
die mensis augusti anno dñi millesimo quingentesimo t'ciodecimo cuius
aīe p'picietur deus. Amen.

Near the door in the south transept, on plain slabs :

✠ MIC : IACT : WILLCEVS : MANNI.

✠ AVNGER : DE : SKELTON.

Orate pro anima Johis pereson et (name worn out) uxoris eius.

Hic iacent Henrichs Pereson qui obiit xj^o die Septembris anno dñi
mccccxxv et Margareta uxor eius q' obiit 18 die Septēbris, A^o Dⁱ
1558.

¹ The corner of the stone having been broken off, some letters are wanting here.

The steps to the *pulpitum* are partly made of grave-slabs ; two steps together have—

✠ HIC . . . DOMINUS : WILLELMVS : . . . VS ORATE PRO EO.

On a slab built into the east side of the *pulpitum* is a portion of a cross, with shears and square-ended chopping-knife.

In the nave, in rude Roman letters :

FRANCIS HVTCHINSON OF HOVLDEN MARCER WAS BVRIED
THE 18 DAY OF AVGVST 1652 AND HEAR LYETH THE BODY
OF DOROTHYE HVTCHINSON HIS WIFE WHOE DIED THE 5 OF
MARCH ANNO Do. 1657.

O QVAM DVLCCE FORIT HIC IN MVNDO DOMINARI SI MORS
NON POSSIT DOMINANTIBVS INSIDVARI.

J. T. F.

XXVIII.

CONISBOROUGH CASTLE.

THE Members of the Association who may remember Mr. Clark's observations upon the condition of the keep of this Castle (Journal, vol. viii., p. 157) will be glad to hear that the Trustees of Lord Conyers, the present owner, have been authorized by the Court of Chancery to expend a certain sum of money in such repairs as the structure absolutely requires. These are to be done without delay, and Mr. J. S. Newstead, of Leeds, their solicitor, has been in communication with myself, as a member of the Council, in reference to the matter.

What I have had to report as necessary for the safety of those who venture to the platform and to the oratory will, it is hoped, be executed at least before holiday times, when, I understand, large numbers go to the top. The other matters that will be attended to at the same time are simply these :—replacing stones, re-bedding others that are loose, preventing the damp working down the walls and through the vaulting

of the oratory. The sum will not, however, admit of much that is desirable being done, such as a wrought iron railing round the platform.

It would appear from the interesting "view" or Survey communicated to the Journal by Mr. W. Brown (vol. viii. p. 221) that even so late as 1538 all the floors except one were still in existence. These were subsequently burnt out, and the course of the flames making for the upper door openings may be still clearly discerned by the reddened or disintegrated stonework. It may be added here that the ashlar of the chamber at the entrance level is much earlier than the rest of the work, indicating that the tower may have remained unfinished for many years. The external work, however, from the ground line is of the later date. The Norman masons put their marks upon the face of the stones, and these are still very perfect, as well as the tool marks in the part referred to. Many of the stones were worked by a man whose mark was a spear head. Some good examples may be seen on the Norman work unearthed at Pontefract Castle.

It is evident the keep of Conisborough must have stood quite alone for years, as the curtain walls are of much later date. The passage widening from the entrance to the doorless chamber was in all probability so constructed as to allow a step ladder being drawn within and then give room for the external door to be closed.

The voussoirs were worked down on the bankers for straight arches, and were not so set as to allow of the arches being worked to the curved face of the inner wall except the lowest arch.

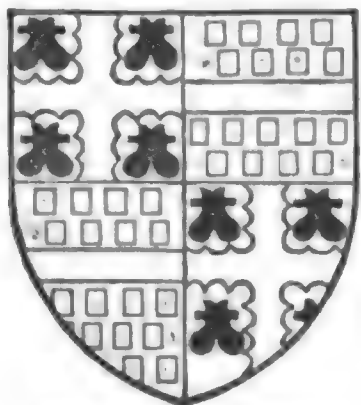
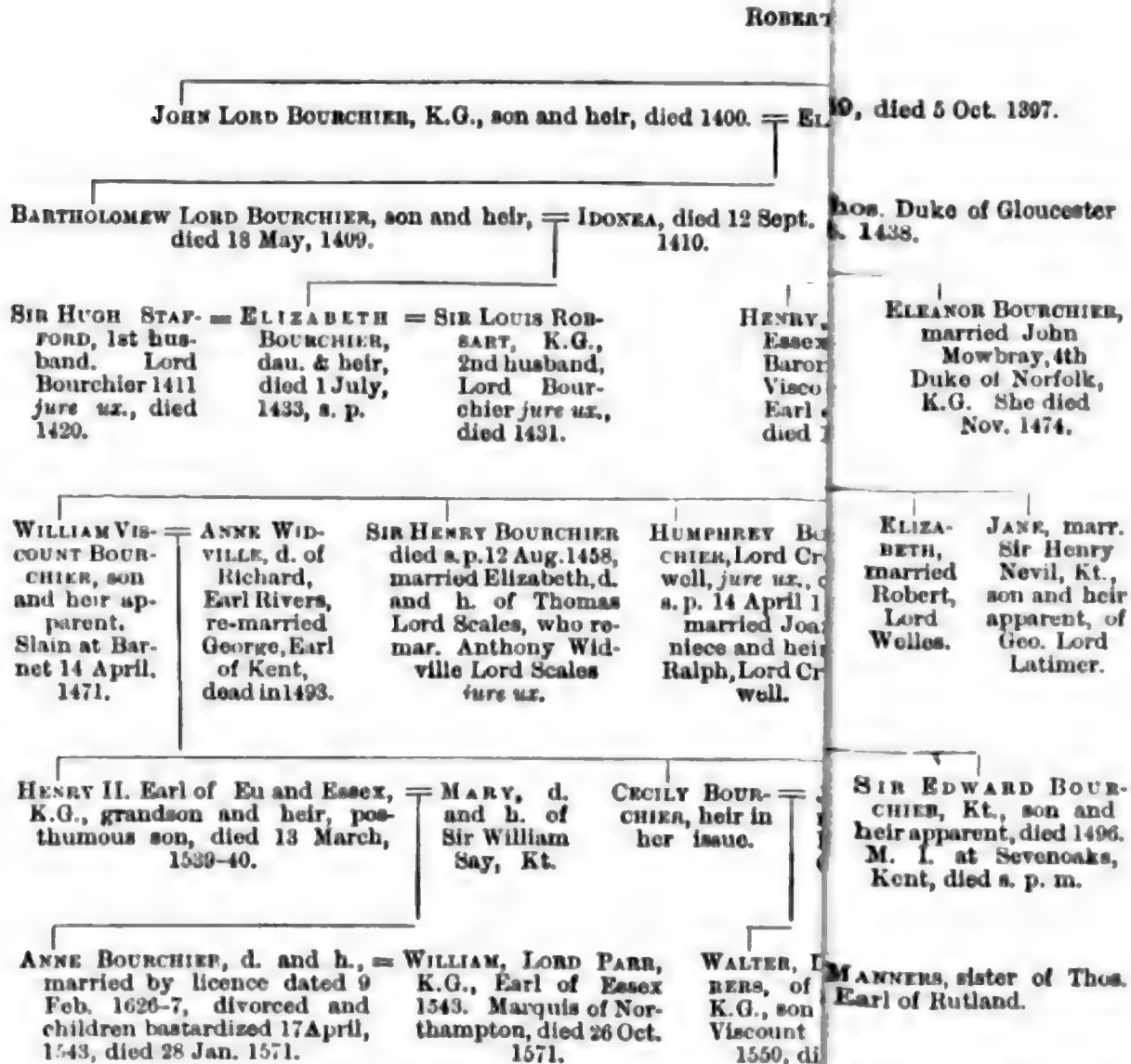
The bases of the nook shafts in the angles of the oratory have been worked for a rectangular corner and never worked back to the wall faces.

A. S. ELLIS.

19th December, 1885.

[To face page 401.]

ARMS.—Quarterly I. & IV. *Argent a cross*



BOURCHIER AND LOVAINE.
QUARTERLY.



HOWARD, d. of Wm. Lord Howard of Effingham.

SIR RICHARD DEVEREUX Kt., son and heir parent, died 1547.

th = RACHEL FANE, dau. of Francis, Earl of Westmoreland.

WALTER, VISCOUNT H and heir, created F succeeded as Baron Countess of Essex, himself EARL OF E dated 14 June, 1576.

JOHN, sister of Oliver, Earl of Bolingbroke.

THE COUNTS OF EU, SOMETIME LORDS OF THE HONOUR OF TICKHILL.

By EDMOND CHESTER WATERS, B.A.

[CONTINUED FROM P. 302.]

PART II.

THE EARLS OF EU.

THE County of Eu was, as it has been already related, confiscated after the execution of Count Ralph V. de Brienne by the King of France, who re-granted it, in 1352, to John of Artois as an appanage.¹ It remained with his descendants for three generations, who enjoyed it without interruption until Normandy became an English province by the conquest of Henry V.¹ But when King Henry held his Court at Rouen, in 1419, as Duke of Normandy, to receive the homage of the Norman nobles, Count Charles of Eu, who was taken prisoner at the battle of Agincourt, refused to acknowledge the King of England as his suzerain, and the County of Eu was dealt with as an escheat at the King's disposal; for it was taken soon afterwards to form one of the Earldoms, which Henry V. created in Normandy to reward his Generals for their services in France.

Sir William Bouchier, who was created Earl of Eu on 10 June, 1419, was a cadet of a noble family in Essex, which was raised to the peerage by Edward III.² He was a grandson of Robert Lord Bouchier, who was Lord Chancellor of England in 1340,³ and the first layman who ever held that office.⁴ His father, who was the Chancellor's younger son, improved his slender fortune by marrying Eleanor de Lovaine, the heiress of a baronial family, whose chief seat was at Easton ad Turrim, in Essex.⁵ The Lovaines sprung from a brother of Adeliza of Lovaine, the widow of King Henry I., and held their estates by the service of Castle guard at Windsor, for they were derived

through female heirs from a younger son of Walter fitz Other, the Constable of Windsor Castle in Domesday.⁵ Eleanor was born and baptized at Easton in 1345, and was already married in 1359, when she made formal proof of her majority.⁶ She died on 5 Oct., 1397, when her son William, who was then 23 years old, had livery of his mother's lands of inheritance in Essex and Suffolk.⁷ He was a gallant soldier, and like his father greatly improved his fortune and position by his marriage, for he married, in 1404, a rich young widow of the blood royal. His wife, Anne Countess of Stafford, was only 21 years old, when her first husband, Edmund, 5th Earl of Stafford, K.G., was slain at the battle of Shrewsbury, on 23 July, 1403; and she was doubly related to King Henry V., for she was the eldest daughter and ultimately sole heir of his uncle, Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester, the 6th son of King Edward III. by Eleanor de Bohun, who was the King's aunt. The Countess and her second husband were in high favour at Court, and he was appointed Constable of the Tower of London for life in 1415. He served in the wars in France with a retinue of 40 men-at-arms and 80 mounted archers, and was rewarded for his services by a series of grants in Normandy.² He obtained, on 26 Sept. 1417, the custody of the Honour of Hermanville during the minority of the heir, and in 1418 was appointed Governor of Dieppe. He was created, on 10 June, 1419, Earl of Eu, with special remainder to his heirs male by his wife, Anne of Gloucester, and the Earldom carried with it the revenues and seignorial rights of the County of Eu, which were to be held by the tenure of rendering to the King, at his Castle at Rouen, a *garde-broche* or *vanbrace* on the feast of St. George in every year. He was never summoned to Parliament in right of this Norman Earldom, although a parliament met at Westminster on 16 October, 1419.⁸ But he died on 28 May, 1420, and was buried in Lanthony Abbey near Gloucester, one of the religious houses of which his wife was the hereditary patron. It was found at the inquest, which was held after his death, that he had no other lands in England beyond those which he had inherited from his mother;⁹ and it is significant that he is styled in the verdict Sir William Bouchier, Chevalier, without any mention of his Earldom. He left five young children, of whom the eldest was only

16 years old. They all achieved singular distinction in after life, and ranked amongst the chief personages of their time. His daughter married the Duke of Norfolk, and his second son was Archbishop of Canterbury and a Cardinal, whilst his three other sons were all Peers of the realm and Knights of the Garter, and two of them filled the office of Lord Chancellor.

His widow, the Countess of Stafford, survived him 18 years, and in 1421 made partition with King Henry V. of the Bohun Estates, which made her the richest widow in the kingdom.¹⁰ She died on 16 Oct. 1438, at the age of 56,¹¹ and in accordance with the directions of her will was buried beside her second husband in the Abbey Church of Lanthony in the tomb which she had made in her lifetime. Her will is dated on the day of her death, and she styles herself Anne, Countess of Stafford Buckingham^{*} Hereford^{*} and Northampton,^{*} and Lady of Brecknoc.¹² She had intended to charge her estates with an endowment for two canons to say mass daily for ever in Lanthony Abbey for the souls of herself and her second husband, and her five sons obtained the royal licence in 1453 to carry her intention into effect by settling in mortmain lands of the value of £20 per annum.¹³

The Countess had issue by her first marriage two daughters and an only son, Humphrey, who was scarcely 12 months old when he succeeded on his father's death as 6th Earl of Stafford, and was created Duke of Buckingham in 1444. She had issue by her second husband, the Earl of Eu, five children, viz.

I. ELEANOR BOURCHIER, the only daughter of William Earl of Eu by the Countess of Stafford, is mis-named Anne by Dugdale,⁴⁴ and married John Mowbray Duke of Norfolk, K.G., who died in 1461. She survived him thirteen years, and died in November, 1474.⁴⁵

II. HENRY succeeded his father as 2nd Earl of Eu.

III. THOMAS BOURCHIER, the second son of William Earl of Eu, was scarcely 14 years old when his father died in 1420. He was educated for the priesthood, and was sent young to Oxford, where he resided at Neville's Hall.⁴⁶ His

* There is no record of these dignities being conferred on her, although her eldest son similarly styles himself Earl of

Buckingham Hereford and Northampton in an indenture dated 13 Feb. 1443, which is cited by Dugdale.¹³

relationship to the King ensured him rapid and abundant preferment, and in 1426, when he was still a minor, he was already in possession of the rich Deanery of St. Martin's le Grand.¹⁵ This was only one of many benefices which were conferred on him, for in 1432 he held the prebend of West Thurrock in the Collegiate Church of St. Mary of the Castle at Hastings, which was founded by his ancestor Henry Count of Eu in the reign of Henry I.¹⁶ Notwithstanding his youth he became Chancellor of the University of Oxford in 1434, and in the next year was elected Bishop of Worcester. He was consecrated on 15 May, 1435, after some delay arising from canonical objections to his age.¹⁷ He was translated to the more lucrative See of Ely on 20 December, 1443,¹⁸ but he is described in the annals of that church as a tyrant, who during his ten years' episcopate never celebrated mass in his Cathedral Church after the day of his installation, and who oppressed the Chapter by fines and the tenants by imprisonment.¹⁹ The monkish historian, however, is discredited by the Bishop's popularity with the House of Commons, who petitioned the Council of State on the death of Cardinal Kemp that the Bishop of Ely might be recommended to the Pope as a fitting successor to the Primacy "for his grete merits virtues and grete blood that he is of."²⁰ Their petition was readily complied with, for the Duke of York, who ruled the kingdom as Protector during the King's illness, was doubly connected with Bishop Bouchier, since they were both descended from Edward III., and the Duke's sister had married the Bishop's elder brother. He was accordingly elected Archbishop of Canterbury on 22 April, 1454,²¹ and was enthroned with royal state on 26 January following, when his half-brother the Duke of Buckingham officiated as Lord High Steward.²² The Archbishop had hitherto taken no side in politics, and was regarded with equal favour by the Lancastrians and the Yorkists. The result was that when the King recovered his health in February, 1455, and the Duke of York was removed from his post of Protector, the Archbishop was appointed Lord Chancellor by Queen Margaret in the place of the Earl of Salisbury.²³ This appointment was so popular with both parties, that he continued to hold office after the Duke of York regained his ascendancy by his victory at St. Albans on 22 May, 1455. His brother the Earl of Eu,

who had married the Duke's sister, was at this time appointed Lord High Treasurer, so that for the next eighteen months the administration of public affairs was mainly conducted by the Bouchiers. The two brothers were too lukewarm and conciliatory to satisfy Queen Margaret, but it was not until October, 1456, that she felt herself strong enough to dismiss them from office. The Archbishop might fairly complain of this treatment, but he refused for some time to be provoked into absolute hostility to the Court, for he was sincere in his desire to establish peace between the contending factions. The solemn reconciliation, which took place in March, 1458, was mainly brought about by the Archbishop's personal influence ; but when the quarrel broke out afresh, and Queen Margaret insisted on the attainder of the Duke of York and his chief supporters, he despaired of peace and the Lancastrian cause, and from this time forward he was an avowed partisan of the House of York. His support contributed in no small degree to the ultimate success of Edward IV., whom he crowned at Westminster on 29 June, 1461. The Archbishops of Canterbury were at this period usually Cardinals, and King Edward made supplication to the Pope, on 5 Aug. 1463, that a red hat might be given to Archbishop Bouchier.²⁴ He was accordingly nominated, in 1464, by Pope Paul II., a Cardinal Priest, with the title of St. Cyriac in *Thermis*, but for some reason or other he never actually received the red hat until 31 May, 1472.²⁴ He had in the meanwhile remained staunch in his loyalty to King Edward during Warwick's rebellion, and the Yorkists were fortified by the blessing of the Church before they marched forth to conquer on Barnet field. The Cardinal Archbishop took no further part in public affairs during this reign, except that he was one of the ambassadors who concluded with France the peace of Picquigny in September, 1475. It was on this occasion that he incurred the honourable censure which Philip de Comines passed on English diplomatists, that they were too ingenuous and straightforward²⁵ to succeed as politicians. It does more credit to his heart than his understanding that on the death of King Edward the Cardinal did not see through the dark designs of Richard of Gloucester ; for it was in reliance on the Cardinal's undertaking for his safety that the Queen gave up her son, the Duke of York, to the custody of his uncle.

The Cardinal must have believed in the story that King Edward's sons were illegitimate, for he officiated at the coronation of King Richard, and the decision of a Primate of royal birth would generally be accepted as final. But he never forgave the King for his nephews' disappearance, and was therefore one of the Yorkists who rejoiced at the triumph of Henry of Richmond and the union of the Houses of York and Lancaster. Notwithstanding his age he officiated at the coronation of Henry VII. on 30 October, 1485, and at his marriage with Elizabeth of York on 18 January, 1486. But this was his last public act, for he died at his manor-house of Knole in Kent on 30 March following, and was buried in his own cathedral, where his monument still remains.

He was, as became his birth and station, princely in his tastes and munificence. He was a liberal patron of musicians and men of learning, and it was by his bounty and enterprise that Caxton was supplied with the funds to bring over skilled workmen from Germany, and to set up a printing press in England. Like most Lord Chancellors of that period he was a statesman rather than a lawyer, but his legal attainments were by no means contemptible, for Sir Thomas Lyttleton submitted to him for revision his famous treatise on the law of tenures. He died rich, and his relations were not forgotten in his will. He bequeathed to his nephew, the Earl of Essex, a golden bowl with a cover, to be preserved as an heirloom in the family of Bouchier; and devised the manors of Halsted and Eynesford in Kent to his nephew, Sir Thomas Bouchier the younger, who was his godson. But the bulk of his wealth was devoted to works of piety and charity, and he left legacies of large amount to the churches of Worcester and Canterbury. The Universities of Oxford and Cambridge were also liberally remembered, and "Bouchier's Chest for poor students" long kept his name in honourable remembrance at Oxford. He devised to his successors in the see of Canterbury the manor of Knole, which he had purchased from Lord Say and Sele in 1455 out of his private fortune. It was his favourite residence, and he had built there one of those stately mansions which were beginning to supersede the old baronial castles. Knole continued to be the chief residence of the Archbishop of Canterbury, until Henry VIII. took it away from Archbishop Cranmer by a forced exchange.²⁶

Archbishop Bouchier stands alone in the annals of the English Church for the length of his official career. No other Archbishop of Canterbury ever held his see 32 years, and no other Bishop lived to complete 51 years after his consecration.¹⁵

IV. WILLIAM BOURCHIER, the 3rd son of the 1st Earl of Eu, was summoned to Parliament on 2 Jan. 1448-9, as Baron fitz Warine, in right of his wife Thomasine, the daughter and heir of Sir Richard Hankford by Elizabeth sister and heir of Fulke Lord fitz Warine.²⁷ He was, like his brothers, a Knight of the Garter, and died in 1472, when he was buried in the church of the Augustine Friars in London. His grandson John, 3rd Lord fitz Warine of the House of Bouchier, married Cecily Daubeney, sister and heir of Henry Earl of Bridgewater, and was created Earl of Bath 9 July, 1536. He died on 30 April, 1539, and his son John, the 2nd Earl of Bath, became, in 1540, on the death of his cousin Henry, 3rd Earl of Eu and 2nd Earl of Essex, the heir male of the 1st Earl of Eu, and ought therefore, according to the limitations in the patent of creation, to have succeeded as 4th Earl of Eu; but it would seem that neither he nor any of his descendants ever assumed or laid claim to that dignity.*

V. JOHN BOURCHIER, the 4th son of the 1st Earl of Eu, was summoned to Parliament on 26 May, 1455, in right of his wife Margery, the daughter and heir of Richard Lord Berners. He fought for Queen Margaret at the first battle of St. Albans in 1455, but afterwards changed sides, and like his brothers was in high favour with King Edward IV. who made him Constable of Windsor Castle and a Knight of the Garter. He died on 21 May, 1474,²⁸ and was by direction of his will buried in Chertsey Abbey.²⁹

John Lord Berners had issue by his wife Margery 4 children,³⁰ 2 sons and 2 daughters.

* I am confirmed in this assertion by the high authority of my friend Norroy King of Arms, who has been good enough to make an exhaustive search amongst the records of the College for the purpose of verifying my statement that the Earls of Bath never styled themselves Earls of Eu. As none of these Earls were Knights

of the Garter, there are of course no Garter plates to be consulted, and (as it happens) there are no funeral certificates of these Earls on record. But the wills of the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th Earls and the epitaph of the 5th Earl are agreed in styling them Earls of Bath without any other title.

I. HUMPHREY BOURCHIER, son and heir apparent, was slain at the battle of Barnet Field on 14 April, 1471, fighting on the side of King Edward.³¹ He married Elizabeth daughter and heir of Sir Frederick Tilney, Kt., who remarried in 1472 Thomas Duke of Norfolk, and died in 1506.³² Sir Humphrey left issue by his wife Elizabeth an only son and two daughters.

1. JOHN succeeded as 2nd Lord Berners.

2. MARGARET, 3. ANNE, are mentioned in their mother's Will in May, 1472.³²

II. SIR THOMAS BOURCHIER, Kt., the second son of Lord Berners, was called the younger to distinguish him from his cousin of the same name, who was a younger son of the Earl of Essex. He was the godson of his uncle Cardinal Bouchier, who devised to him by will the manors of Halsted and Eynesford in Kent. Sir Thomas fought gallantly at the battle of Bosworth on the side of Henry of Richmond, and was one of the commanders of the Royal army, which defeated the Cornish rebels at the battle of Blackheath, on 22 June, 1496. He married two wives Agnes and Anne, but his first wife Agnes, who was the daughter of Sir Thomas Charlton, Kt., was the mother of his only son.³³ Sir Thomas Bouchier died in 1512, when his granddaughter Alice Petley,³⁴ the daughter of his deceased son Edward, was found to be his heir.³⁵

SIR THOMAS BOURCHIER, Kt. WILL dated 3 Sept. 1512.

To be buried in the church of Boxley Abbey in Kent, where I intend to found a chantry with a priest to pray for the souls of my Lord Cardinal Bouchier my late uncle, and of Dame Agnes and Dame Anne my deceased wives, and of my Lord my father, and of my Lady my mother, and of my son Edward.

To my nephew Thomas Nevill a jewel. To my godson Thomas Colepeper son of Alexander Colepeper, a jewel. To my wife Anne the manor of Halsted in Kent. My manor of Eynesford to be sold, and out of the proceeds £200 to be paid to the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge in accordance with the will of my uncle the Cardinal. Sir Edward Poynings, Kt., Sir John Peche, Kt., and Alexander Colepeper, Esquire, to be my executors.³⁶

SIR EDWARD BOURCHIER, Kt. the son and heir apparent of Sir Thomas by Agnes Charlton, died in his father's lifetime in 1496, and was buried at Sevenoaks.³⁷ His only daughter, ALICE BOURCHIER, was the heir of her grandfather in 1512, and carried his estates to her husband William Petley,

Esquire, who died in 1528, and lies buried with his wife Alice in Halstead Church.³⁴

III. ELIZABETH BOURCHIER, the elder daughter of John Lord Berners, married Robert Lord Welles, one of the leaders in the Lincolnshire insurgents in March, 1469, who was beheaded with his father, and was buried in the church of the Grey Friars at Doncaster.³⁸ He had no issue, and his widow Elizabeth made her will on 2 October, 1470, whereby she desired to be buried beside her husband, and appointed her mother Lady Berners and her brother Sir Humphrey Bouchier, Kt. to be her executors.³⁹

IV. JANE BOURCHIER, the younger daughter of Lord Berners, married Sir Henry Nevil, Kt., son and heir apparent of George Lord Latimer. Her husband was slain in his father's lifetime at the battle of Edgecote near Banbury on 26 July, 1469, fighting for Queen Margaret and the Lancastrians,⁴⁰ but he left two infant sons. His widow made her will in 1470, in which she mentions her sons Lord Latimer and Thomas Nevil, her father and mother Lord and Lady Berners, her brothers Sir Humphrey and Thomas Bouchier, and her sister Elizabeth wife of Sir Robert Welles.⁴¹

JOHN BOURCHIER, THE SECOND LORD BERNERS, was only 7 years old when his grandfather died in 1474, and succeeded his grandmother in the Barony of Berners in December, 1475.⁴² He was a great scholar, and is known to fame as the translator of Froissart's Chronicle. He died Captain of Calais on 16 March, 1532-3, without legitimate male issue, and by direction of his will was buried in the parish church of Our Lady at Calais.⁴³ He married Catherine Howard, daughter of John Duke of Norfolk, K.G., and had issue an only daughter from whom the present Lord Berners descends.

II.

HENRY BOURCHIER, 2ND EARL OF EU, the son and heir of Earl William by the Countess of Stafford, was scarcely 16 years old when his father died in May, 1420.⁹ He was a soldier from his youth, and as soon as he came of age was retained by indenture to serve in the wars beyond seas. He accordingly landed at Calais on 27 April, 1430, with a retinue of 33 men-at-arms and 115 archers. Three years afterwards he gained a great accession of honour and estate, for when his cousin Elizabeth Lady Bouchier the widow of Sir Lewis Robsart, K.G., died without issue on 1st July, 1433, he inherited the Barony of Bouchier and the family estates.⁴⁶

It was not until after his accession to the barony of Bouchier that he was summoned to Parliament on 5th July, 1435, and although the writ of summons is addressed to him as Earl of Eu, he was in fact summoned as a baron, though by the appellation of an Earl. The French archives at Rouen however contain proof that he had actual possession of the Earldom of Eu and its revenues in 1430, and that he continued to enjoy them until 1450, when the English were driven out of Normandy.¹ The loss of his Norman earldom did not deprive him of his seat in Parliament, for he had been summoned on 14 Dec. 1446, as Viscount Bouchier.

He was installed a Knight of the Garter on 22 April, 1452, and having married his cousin Isabel, sister of Richard Duke of York, was appointed Lord High Treasurer of England on 29 May, 1455, when the Duke regained supreme power in the State after the first battle of St. Albans. He retained this high office about 18 months, and his brother Archbishop Bouchier was at the same time Lord Chancellor. The Earl was induced by his brother to take a neutral position in politics, but they were both dismissed from office in October, 1456, when Queen Margaret regained the ascendancy, and the Earl was from this time forward one of the Queen's bitterest opponents.

He fought on the side of the Yorkists at the battle of

Northampton on 10 July, 1460, when his half brother the Duke of Buckingham was slain, fighting on the other side. King Edward was fully aware how much he was indebted to the Bouchiers for the ultimate success of his cause, and the first act of the new reign was to reward the Earl of Eu and his brothers for their services. The Earl was reappointed Lord High Treasurer on 18 March, 1461, 14 days after King Edward's accession to the throne, and three months afterwards was promoted a step in the peerage.

He had long aspired to exchange his Norman earldom for one of the three English earldoms, which his mother claimed to inherit from the Bohuns. For although her eldest son the Duke of Buckingham had assumed the style of Earl of Hereford and Northampton, the earldom of Essex remained at the King's disposal. The Lord High Treasurer had not long to wait for the coveted dignity, for he was created Earl of Essex on 30th June, 1461, the day after King Edward's coronation. The Earl was Lord Steward of the King's household from 1463 to 1471, and remained unshaken in his loyalty to King Edward during Warwick's rebellion, and two of his sons were slain at the battle of Barnet, fighting for the House of York.⁴⁷ He was for the third time appointed Lord High Treasurer on 22 April, 1472, and kept this office until the day of his death. He was also for some weeks in the next year Lord Chancellor, for he held the Great Seal during the whole Trinity Term, 1473.⁴⁸ King Edward made a noble provision for his aunt the Countess of Essex and her husband out of the estates of attainted Lancastrians, and they were enriched in 1474 by grants of castles and manors, which had formerly belonged to the Earls of Devon and Wiltshire. They were grateful to God for their prosperity, and obtained the royal license in 1482 to found and endow a guild in honour of the Blessed Virgin at Ulting in Essex. The Earl died at the age of 79 on 4 April, 1483, five days before King Edward, and was buried at Beleigh Abbey near Maldon in Essex.⁴⁹ His widow Isabel survived him 18 months and died on 2 Oct. 1484,⁵⁰ when she was buried with her husband in Beleigh Abbey.

Henry Earl of Eu had issue by his wife Isabel of York 7 sons and a daughter Isabel, who survived her birth only a few days. Their seven sons were—

I. WILLIAM VISCOUNT BOURCHIER, son and heir apparent.

II. SIR HENRY BOURCHIER, KT., the second son of Henry Earl of Eu and Essex by Isabel of York, married Elizabeth daughter and heir of Thomas Lord Scales, but died before his wife succeeded to her inheritance. He died without issue on 12 Aug. 1458,⁵¹ and his widow was found to be 24 years old when her father died on 25 July, 1460.⁵² She married soon afterwards Anthony Widville, son and heir apparent of Richard 1st Earl Rivers, who was summoned to Parliament in her right as Lord Scales on 22 Dec. 1462.⁵³ She died without issue before her second husband on 2 Sept. 1473.⁵⁴

III. HUMPHREY BOURCHIER was summoned to Parliament on 25 July, 1461, as Baron Cromwell in right of his wife Joan, the daughter and co-heir of Sir Richard Stanhope by Maud sister and heir of Ralph Lord Cromwell.⁵⁵ He had no issue, and was slain at the battle of Barnet Field with his brother William on 14 April, 1471.⁴⁷

IV. SIR JOHN BOURCHIER, KT., had two wives, and his first wife was a peeress in her own right, for he married Elizabeth widow of Sir Edward Grey who was Lord Grey of Groby in her right, and died 18 Dec. 1457.⁵⁶ She was the mother-in-law of the Queen of Edward IV. whose first husband, Sir John Grey, was slain at the battle of St. Albans on 17 Feb. 1460—1, fighting on the Lancastrian side.⁵⁷

Sir John Bouchier married, secondly, Elizabeth daughter of Sir John Chicheley of Wimpole in Cambridgeshire, who survived him. He had no issue by either of his wives, and died in the autumn of 1495,⁵⁸ when he was buried at Stelling in Essex, notwithstanding the directions in his will, in which he expresses his wish to be buried in Beleigh Abbey beside Maldon "near my lord father and my lady mother, beneath their sepulture and tomb; and I will have there a tomb made for me and for both my wives according to my degree." His will is dated 4th June, 1495, and was proved on 3rd November in the same year by his widow Elizabeth, who was his sole executrix.⁵⁹

His widow, Dame Elizabeth, did not long survive him, for she died in the spring of 1498. Her will is dated 18 Feb. 1497—8, and provides that the wishes of her late husband should be carried into effect. For she desires to be buried

within Our Lady's chapel in the Abbey Church of Beleigh, and directs that the bones of her late husband Sir John Bourchier, Kt. which are now resting in Stelling Church, be taken up and carried to Beleigh. She leaves rings of gold to her sister Florence Zouch and to her nephew Henry Chicheley.⁶⁰ Her will was proved on 14 May, 1498.⁶¹

- V. SIR THOMAS BOURCHIER, Kt., the 5th son of Henry Earl of Eu and Essex by Isabel of York, was known as the Elder to distinguish him from his cousin of the same name, who was a younger son of Lord Berners. Like all the younger sons of this family he was enabled by his royal birth and connections to marry a rich wife. His 1st wife Isabella was the widow of Humphrey Stafford Earl of Devon (who was beheaded at Bridgewater on 17 Aug. 1469),⁶² and was the daughter and heir of Sir John Barre, Kt. of Knebworth, Herts.⁶³ They had issue two daughters,⁵¹ Isabella, born 24 April, 1474, and Joan, born 18 Mar. 1474-5, but they both died young before their mother. The Countess died on 1 March 1488-9,⁵¹ and was buried at Ware in Hertfordshire. She died without surviving issue seised of large estates in Hertfordshire, Herefordshire and elsewhere, and it was found at the inquest, which was held after her death at Hereford on 31 Oct. 1489, that the heirs of her father's three sisters were her next heirs,⁶⁴ and that, subject to her husband's life estate as tenant by the courtesy, her cousins Sir Edmond Cornwall, Kt. aged 30, Richard de la Bere, Esq. aged 40, and William Hamner, Esq., aged 46, were entitled to her lands of inheritance. Sir Thomas however enjoyed something more than a life interest in his wife's lands, for he sold the manor of Knebworth to Sir Robert Lytton, Kt., from whom it has descended to the present Earl Lytton.⁶⁵

Sir Thomas married secondly Anne widow of Sir John Sulyard, Kt., who was also an heiress with a large jointure, for she was the daughter and co-heir* of John Andrews, Esq., of Baylham, Suffolk, by the heiress of the Strattons.⁶⁶ He had no issue by either of his wives, and died without issue on 26 Oct. 1491, when his nephew Henry Earl of Essex was found to be his heir.⁶⁷

* Her only sister Elizabeth married Thomas Windsor, Esquire, the ancestor of the Earls of Plymouth. The will of

their mother, Dame Elizabeth Andrews, who died in 1474, is printed in the *Testamenta Vetusta*, p. 329.

SIR THOMAS BOURCHIER THE ELDER, KT. Will dated 17 Oct. 1491.

My body to be buried in the parish church of Ware, and the bones of Dame Isabel my late wife to be taken and laid by my bones, for the doing whereof I give £20 for their costs and 10 marks for their labour. To my nephew my Lord of Essex a bed of blue damask. A priest to say mass daily for ten years in the Church of St. Andrew at Baynard's Castle for my soul. My wife Dame Anne to be my Executrix.⁶⁸

His widow, Dame Anne Bouchier, proved her husband's will on 19 Nov. 1491, and was still living on 10 Oct. 1500, when her husband's niece Isabel Bouchier made her will.

VI. SIR EDWARD BOURCHIER, KT., the 6th son of Henry Earl of Eu and Essex, was slain at Wakefield fighting for the House of York on 30 December, 1460. He died unmarried.⁵¹

VII. FULKE BOURCHIER, the youngest son of Henry Earl of Eu and Essex, died in childhood.

III.

WILLIAM VISCOUNT BOURCHIER, the son and heir apparent of Henry Earl of Eu and Essex by Isabel of York, was slain with his brother Humphrey at the battle of Barnet Field on 14 April, 1471, fighting on the side of King Edward.³¹ He married Anne Widville, daughter of Richard 1st Earl Rivers by Jacquetta, widow of John Duke of Bedford, and left issue three children.

I. HENRY succeeded his grandfather in 1483 as 3rd Earl of Eu and 2nd Earl of Essex.

II. CECILY BOURCHIER married John Devereux Lord Ferrers of Chartley,⁶⁹ who survived her ; for she died before 10 Oct. 1500, the date of her sister's Will, and was buried in Whittington College, London. She was in her issue the sole heir of her family, and her great grandson Walter Devereux, the 2nd Viscount Hereford, who inherited the Barony of Bouchier on the death of Anne Countess of Essex, the

adulterous and divorced wife of Sir William Parr, K.G., Earl of Essex and afterwards Marquis of Northampton, was created Earl of Essex 4 May, 1572.

III. ISABEL BOURCHIER, the younger sister of Henry 2nd Earl of Essex, died unmarried early in 1501, and was buried by direction of her Will near her sister Cecily Lady Ferrers of Chartley, in Whittington College, London. Her Will is dated 10 Oct. 1500, and was proved on 14 May, 1501.⁷⁰ She bequeaths to her brother Henry Earl of Essex £100, which was in the hands of her aunt, Sir Thomas Bouchier's widow; and to her half-brother Richard Lord Grey of Ruthyn, £100, which was in the hands of her uncle John Bouchier's executors.

Lady Bouchier, the mother of these children, obtained from King Edward IV., in 1479, in consideration of her being the sister of Elizabeth the Queen, a grant for her maintenance of lands in Suffolk and Essex, which came to the Crown in 1472 by the attainder of John Earl of Oxford.⁷¹ She married secondly George Grey 2nd Earl of Kent, and was the mother of his heir Richard the 3rd Earl.⁷² Dugdale says that she married thirdly Sir Anthony Wingfield, Kt.;⁷³ but this is impossible, for her second husband, the Earl of Kent (who survived until 1504), married after her death a second wife, who was the mother of the 4th Earl;⁷⁴ whilst there is proof that she was dead in 1493, when her son Henry Earl of Essex had livery of his inheritance.⁷⁵

IV.

HENRY BOURCHIER, 3RD EARL OF EU AND 2ND EARL OF ESSEX, the only son of William Viscount Bouchier by Anne Wydville, was the youngest child of his parents, and must have been born after his father's death at the Battle of Barnet, for he was not yet twelve years old when his grandfather died, in April 1483.⁴⁹ Soon after he came of age in 1493, he had a special livery of all the lands to which he

was entitled as the heir of his grandfather Henry Earl of Essex, his father William Viscount Bouchier, his grandmother Isabel Countess of Essex, his mother Anne Countess of Kent, and his uncle Sir Thomas Bouchier, Kt.⁷⁵ The Earl stood high in the favour of Henry VII., who made him a Knight of the Garter in 1496, and he was, with his cousin Sir Thomas Bouchier the younger, one of the Generals of the army which defeated the Cornish rioters at the battle of Blackheath on 22 June, 1497. He accompanied the King and Queen to Calais in May, 1500, and was present at their reception of Philip of Burgundy on 9 June.⁷⁶ The Earl made a still more conspicuous figure amongst the courtiers of the next reign, for Henry VIII. was magnificent in his tastes and ideas, and one of his first acts after his accession to the throne was to supersede the yeomen of the guard, which contented his father, by a band of 50 gentlemen-at-arms mounted on horseback, and splendidly equipped and furnished.⁷⁷ Their trappings and accoutrements were gorgeous with cloth of gold, and each gentleman had at his orders an archer, a demi-lance, and a constrill to serve him. The Earl was appointed Captain of this new body guard, who were called "the Spears," and were in constant attendance on the King's person, both at home and abroad. The Captain of the Spears held the rank of Lieutenant-General, and was in attendance on Henry VIII. at the sieges of Terouanne and Tournay in the campaign of 1513.⁷⁸ The Earl was well skilled in martial exercises, and was as formidable an opponent in the lists as in the field of battle. He was, therefore, one of the three champions, whom the King selected for his comrades, when he rode into the lists and challenged all comers at the famous tournament, which was held on 19 and 20 May, 1516 in honour of Queen Margaret of Scotland.⁷⁹ The Earl was present at the head of his brilliant troop of Spears at the field of Cloth of Gold in 1520,⁸⁰ and was one of the peers who subscribed the letter to Pope Clement VII. in 1530, warning him that his supremacy in England was in danger of being disclaimed, unless he complied with King Henry's request for a divorce from Queen Catherine.⁸¹ He is named amongst the nobles of the King's own train in the order for the solemn reception of Anne of Cleves on her landing in England to marry the King in

1539.⁸² But this was the last Court pageant in which the Earl figured, for he died from the effects of an accident in the following spring. He was now in his 69th year, but his love of knightly exercises was unabated, and he was engaged in breaking in a young unruly horse at his manor of Bass in Hertfordshire, when he was thrown off, and broke his neck. He died on 13 March, 1539-40, and was buried at Little Easton in Essex.⁸³

The Earl had married Mary, daughter and ultimately sole heir of Sir William Say, Kt.⁸⁴ who brought to him the manors of Sawbridgeworth and Bennington in Hertfordshire, and left issue an only child Anne, who married, by the Bishop of London's licence,⁸⁵ dated 9 Feb. 1626-7, Sir William Parr, Kt., created in 1538 Lord Parr of Kendal.⁸⁶ Lord Parr had livery in 1541 of his wife's lands of inheritance, which comprised fourteen manors in Essex, the manor of Bildeston in Suffolk, and two manors in Hertfordshire, all of which he conveyed soon afterwards by the King's licence to the Earl of Southampton and others, upon trust to re-settle the same on himself and the heirs of his body, begotten of his wife Anne.⁸⁷

Lady Parr inherited on her father's death the barony of Bouchier, but she did not succeed to either of his earldoms, for they were limited to heirs male; and as the Earl was the last surviving male descendant of the first Earl of Essex, this earldom became extinct on his death. It was however revived within the next four years in favour of the late Earl's son-in-law, Lord Parr, who was now a Knight of the Garter and the King's brother-in-law, for King Henry VIII. married Catherine Parr on 12 July, 1543.⁸⁶ Lord Parr was created on 23 December, 1543, Earl of Essex, "with the same place and voice in Parliament as his wife's father had in his lifetime."⁸⁶

This creation is remarkable, because in the spring of this same year Lord Parr had repudiated his wife, Lady Anne Bouchier, and an Act of Parliament was passed on 17 April, 1543, by which her children were declared bastards and incapable of inheriting.⁸⁸ The Earl was one of the executors of Henry VIII.; and when the members of the Council of Regency gave effect to the alleged intentions of the late King by promoting themselves in the Peerage, he was advanced to the Marquisate of Northampton. The

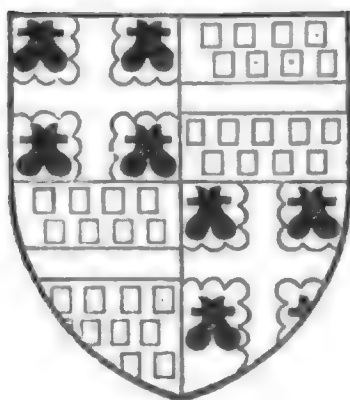
Marquis was conspicuous at Court during the whole reign of Edward VI., and was appointed Lord High Chamberlain in 1551. He was one of the recognized leaders of the Protestant party, which gave him so much influence, that he was able, in 1552, to obtain a special Act of Parliament, by which his marriage with Lady Anne Bouchier was annulled, and his marriage in her lifetime to a daughter of Lord Cobham was declared valid.⁸⁸ This Act was without precedent, and was not passed without protest, for the Catholic doctrine that the bond of matrimony was insoluble was still an article of national belief, and until the time of the Commonwealth judgment in causes matrimonial was reserved to the Church. But all such scruples disappeared after the Revolution of 1688, and from this time the dissolution of marriages became a recognised branch of Parliamentary procedure, which continued until the Divorce Court was established in the present reign. The Marquis was too zealous a Protestant not to dread the accession of the Catholic Queen Mary, and was one of the Duke of Northumberland's supporters in his vain attempt to set Lady Jane Grey on the throne. He was attainted accordingly, and, although his life was spared, was deprived of all his honours and estates in August, 1553. He was restored in blood in 1558, but not in honours, and remained a commoner until after the accession of Queen Elizabeth, when he was created a second time Marquis of Northampton on 13 Jan. 1559. He was never reinstated in the earldom of Essex; but it was not until after his death, which occurred on 28 Oct. 1571, that this earldom was restored in favour of the heir general of the Bouchiers.⁹⁰

In the meanwhile his divorced wife Anne Bouchier had died in obscurity on 28th January, 1571, when the Barony of Bouchier passed to Walter Devereux, 2nd Viscount Hereford, the greatgrandson and heir of Cecily Bouchier, the sister and (in her issue,) the sole heir of Henry, 2nd Earl of Essex and Eu. Walter was created Earl of Essex on 4th May, 1572, and styles himself Earl of Essex and Eu in his Will, which is dated * 14 June, 1576.⁹¹ His grandson Robert, Earl of Essex, the parliamentary general, similarly styles himself Earl of Essex and Eu in his Will,⁹² which is dated 4th July, 1642; but the garter-plate of Earl Walter

* Dugdale misdates this Will in 1567 (ii. 178), but my friend Norroy has kindly

supplied me with the true date from the original Will.

does not repeat this assumption, for he is styled thereon, "Comte de Essex, Vicomte de Hereford, Baron Ferrers de Chartley Bouchier et de Lovaine."⁹³ The fact being that these Earls of Essex had no right or claim whatever to the Earldom of Eu, which was limited by the original patent of creation to the heirs male of the body of Sir William Bouchier by his wife Anne, Countess of Stafford. By virtue of these limitations the Earldom of Eu had passed on the death of Henry, Earl of Essex and Eu, in 1540, to his cousin John Bouchier, 2nd Earl of Bath, the great-grandson and heir of William Bouchier, Lord Fitz Warine, the third son of the 1st Earl of Eu, and remained vested in the succeeding Earls of Bath, until they became extinct in 1654. It is a curious fact, however, that whilst none of the four Earls of Bath, who were *de jure* Earls of Eu, ever cared to assume the Earldom, it was persistently usurped by the Earls of Essex, who had no right whatever to the title.



BOUCHIER AND LOVAINE. QUARTERLY.

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- ⁴ Foss's Judges of England.
- ⁵ Morant's Hist. of Essex, vol. i. p. 466.
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- ²⁸ Inq. p. m. Johis Bouchier Dni Berners 14 Edw. IV. No. 23.
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- ³¹ Polydore Virgil.
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- ⁸⁷ Rot. Pat. 31 Hen. VIII.
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- ⁹¹ 185 Twisse in Prerog. Court.
- ⁹² From the Records of the College of Arms, communicated by G. E. Cokayne Norroy.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE PARENTAGE OF GUNDREDA, COUNTESS OF WARRENNE.

By Sir GEORGE F. DUCKETT, Bart.

It is doubtless known to most members of the Yorkshire Archæological Association, that the husband of the Countess Gundreda, William, 1st Earl of Warenne and Surrey, was rewarded by the Conqueror with lands in various counties of England, to a greater extent, perhaps, than most of his other followers, and possessed at his death in 1087 nearly the half of South Yorkshire; the great lordship of Coningsburgh being the honour with which his name is commonly identified in the North. This connection with Yorkshire would alone entitle the paper now submitted to the Society to figure in its *Journal*, but the additional facts in connection with Gundreda's granddaughter, Gundreda, Countess of Warwick, make the question a matter of historical interest for the Northern counties generally.

Gundreda, daughter of William de Warenne, second Earl of Surrey, married as her first husband Roger de Newburgh, Earl of Warwick; she married secondly, William, surnamed of Lancaster, Baron of Kendal; and thirdly Roger de Glanvill, Sheriff of Northumberland, from the 31 Henry II. to 1 Richard I. She was consequently granddaughter of Gundreda, the subject of the following notice, who, until proved otherwise, was daughter of William, Duke of Normandy. Many authorities for these, and other authenticated facts in this paper, are given below;¹ others are quoted as they occur.

¹ Dugdale Bar. i. 73, 421 sq.; John Rous of Warwick (Hist. MS. Bibl. Cotton.); Ordericus Vitalis (Hist. Eccles.); William of Jumièges (ed. Duchesne, 1619); Milles' "Catalogue of Honor" (ed. 1610); Mon. i. 708a, n. 60; Mag. Rot. 1 Ric. I. Northumberland; Madox's Exchequer, ii. 236; 3rd Report App. p. 321; Wil-

liam of Poitou (ed. Guizot); Madox's Baronia; Spelman Glossar.; MS. Cott. Vesp. F. xv.; Mon. v.; MS. Cott. Vitellius, A. x. fo. 129; Intro. Domesd. B. i. f. 100; Thierry, Conquest of England, i. 428; Roman de Rou (ed. Pluquet); History of the Norman Conquest, vol. iii. App. p. 645-658; Archæologia, xxxii.

That Gundreda de Warenne had been considered the daughter of William the Conqueror, by all chroniclers, historians, and heralds, up to within a very recent date, when the late Mr. Stapleton undertook to astonish the world by his wonderful discovery that she was the daughter of an obscure *avoué*, needs no comment, being an unanswerable and undeniable fact; and had that gentleman not broached this perfectly unauthenticated and ridiculous statement, the present controversy on her descent would never have arisen, or her parentage been questioned.² The *uncorroborated* statement of Ordericus Vitalis—that William de Warenne married “the sister of Gherbod” is the only ground upon which Mr. Stapleton and his followers were able to originate the slightest excuse for their theory. And here it may be mentioned as noteworthy, and quite inexplicable, save on the score of oversight, that of all people Dugdale, in his *Baronage*, should be found to adopt Ordericus’s version of “Soror Gherbodi,” when at the same time he actually gives a reference in the margin, and over leaf another reference in the margin, to his own (and Dodsworth’s) *Monasticon*, published many years before, which quite *upset* it.⁶

We propose to take our own view of this story in due course. Still, with this sole obstacle in view, we verily believe that, from recent light thrown upon the question, the problem of her descent ought to be within measurable distance of solution.

We will first undertake to prove that Gundreda was the daughter of Queen Matilda; and if so (according to our view), the eldest child, for it is not possible that she could have been the “fifth” daughter, as will be shown hereafter; the place assigned to her by some, among the Conqueror’s issue.

Two authentic instruments, recently brought to light, afford direct and irrefutable evidence of the 1st and 2nd charters of foundation of Lewes Priory. Both of these are among the Archives of Cluni, in the National Library of France. The first of them is the *original confirmation*

p. 103–125. See also some remarks by Lord Stanhope, *Proc. Soc. of Ant.*, vol. v. p. 133–139; Delisle, *Catalogue du fonds de Cluni*, 1884; *Archæological Journal*, iii. pp. 20 *seq.*

² *Archæological Journal*, vol. iii. p. 1–26.

⁶ See account of Dugdale’s *Baronage* in Moule, with account of Anthony à Wood’s *Errata and Corrigenda* (*Bibl. Bodl.*)

charter of St. Pancras, signed by the Conqueror, Queen Matilda, W. de Warenne and his wife Gundreda, and others. The copy is given in Appendix A. The second is the Inspeximus and exemplification of Earl Warenne's 2nd charter, with notarial attestation or certificate dated 6th Sept. 1417, made by direction of Thomas Nelond, prior of Lewes, and Vicar-general over the whole order of Cluni, who assigns his reason for having transcript made of the original. This Inspeximus-charter is more fully referred to in Appendix B.⁷ The charter recited in it is, word for word and letter for letter, the same as the charter given by Dugdale in his Monasticon (Vespasian F. XV.), but it is prior in point of time by 27 years. It is scarcely necessary to repeat, what is so well known, that the Abbey of Cluni declined to send monks to colonize Earl Warenne's new foundation until it had received the original deed of gift, which accounts for its being in possession of the mother house; equally that the reason, or at least one reason, for making the 2nd foundation charter arose from the fact that on the accession of Rufus, and the disturbed state of affairs, the monks of St. Pancras complained to Earl Warenne that they had no charter, their original deed of gift being at Cluni, and called upon the Earl to furnish them with another.

In this last charter, in speaking of Matilda the Queen, Earl Warenne calls her "*mater uxoris mee*."

This quite disposes of the attempt to show that Gundreda was not the daughter of Matilda, and renders further argument unnecessary on that point.

The next part of the inquiry seems to be as to the validity of the words "*filie mee*" in the Conqueror's charter, giving to the monks of Lewes the manor of Walton in Norfolk, supposed by some to be an "*interpolation*," and which, until proved to be so, makes her the Conqueror's daughter. This charter is in the Cottonian Library (Vespasian F. III. fo. 1), and has been rubbed with gall, is illegible, and very ancient, as we know. But it happens that among the Rawlinson MSS. in the Bodleian, there exists a copy of the same charter in the handwriting of Sir Richard St. George, Norroy King-

⁷ For the transcript of this Vidimus or Inspeximus-charter we have to thank M. Léopold Delisle, Director-General of the National Library. Its length pre-

cludes its being given in this paper, but it will be found in "Record Evidences of Cluni;" printed for the Author; Wolff Lewes, 1886.

at-arms.⁸ This herald lived temp. Q. Elizabeth and James I. The volume of collections containing the charter is in several handwritings, but the copy of it is written by the herald himself. This alone gives it a decided value, but being almost 200 years nearer to the time, there is every possibility that the supposed "interpolation" was made *subsequent to his transcript*. One thing is certain—that the Conqueror's charter was at that time more clear and legible than at present; but whether so or not, a herald of Sir Richard's fame and character as an antiquarian, would not lightly have copied words of a doubtful nature, and if he did so, would have noted his doubts.⁹ Moreover, St. George's copy entirely omits the words *following* the assumed interpolation, "*pro me et heredibus meis*," or as otherwise diversified, according to the taste or imagination of the present day, for there are at least four ways in which they are forthcoming. The copy by St. George reads thus: "*pro anima Will'mi de uuarenna et uxoris sue Gundrede, filie mee, quendam mansionem, &c.*" In fact, the words "*pro me et heredibus meis*" appear themselves to be an interpolation, the Conqueror having just said that he gives Walton "for the health of the soul of my wife Matilda, and "*filiorum atque successorum meorum.*" On the authority of Sir Richard St. George, therefore, we maintain that the words "*filie mee*" were written in a hand long subsequent to the rest of the charter, and *in place of the same words* which had disappeared from decay.¹⁰ A copy of Sir Richard St. George's transcript will be seen in

⁸ We state this on the authority of the Rev. W. D. Macray, perhaps the first living authority on the Bodleian treasures, besides many other subjects, and more conversant with that herald's handwriting than any other person. The vol. containing the transcript is Rawl. MS. B. 103, fo. 251.

⁹ Richard St. George was Windsor Herald in 1602 (44 Eliz.); Norroy King in 1604 (2 James I.); and Clarencieux in 1623 (21 James I.); he died 17 May, 1635. [For this information we have to thank the present Norroy King of Arms, G. E. Cokayne, Esq.]

¹⁰ Mr. Stapleton wishes us to understand that this charter to the monks of Walton was the Conqueror's *original* charter to St. Pancras. His words are—"The charter of William the Conqueror is apparently as follows":—But not this

only: he suppresses entirely, in quoting it, that part which is in favour of Gundreda's relationship to King William to suit his own theory, and by that omission renders it an unfaithful copy of the record whence he took it (Archæol. Journal, vol. iii., 1846). He has been called "*facile princeps*," and so he may have been in some matters, but not in those affecting this inquiry. Here are some more of his blunders:—"No copy of the original charter of foundation was sent to Cluni." (Mr. S. seems to have had a very confused and vague idea of the original, judging from the above.) "The first endowment is only to be collected from Domesday Book." (Knowing nothing about the first charter, he had little else to quote; but, even in so doing, he was wrong.)

Appendix C. Whether this last view of the controverted words "*filie mee*" brings us nearer to their solution, we leave to others to consider. We will now proceed to show the probability of their truth in another way. St. Anselm writes to Henry I. that a marriage is in contemplation between one of his daughters and William de Warenne (2d E. of Surrey), Gundreda's son. He warns him of the *consanguinity*, and implores him on no account to permit it. His letter is seen in Appendix D. This very letter has been brought forward by some of late who maintain that the subject of this inquiry "had not a drop of Matilda's blood in her veins"—such are the words. Then if so, why did St. Anselm ever mention consanguinity or write at all to the King? The consanguinity is proved by the very letter; and to whom does the consanguinity refer? Certainly on one side to Q. Matilda (as we know); equally so, we believe, to the Conqueror. Here then is one argument in favour of "*filie mee*." To proceed:—"Why," says a writer in "Notes and Queries,"¹¹ in reference to the above-named grant of Walton to the monks, "should William the Conqueror have given a manor for the repose of the souls of *two people* so distantly related to him" (one, in fact, not at all, according to some) "as de Warenne and Gundreda are stated to have been? Is there another example of the Conqueror's having bestowed a manor on the *manes* of any other Norman baron as indifferent to him? Surely, allowing the '*filie mee*' to be an interpolation, the grant itself speaks the same words." [N. & Q., 6th Series, XI. 140.]

But two or three more cases require mention, tending to substantiate the same view. In the "Book of Benefactors," quoted by Dugdale (Mon.), Gundreda is named conjointly with her brother, Henry I. of England—"In Norfolcia Karletuna, quam dedit *Matildis regina, mater Henrici Regis et Gundrede Comitisse*." Then, the very wording of the *coeval* epitaph on Gundreda's tomb at Lewes is conclusive of her relationship to the Conqueror; indeed, it speaks for itself:—"Stirps Gundreda *Ducem*." Of what dukes could she be the issue or offspring but of those of Normandy? Now be it observed this recorded descent on her epitaph makes no allusion whatever to her mother Q. Matilda. The epitaph on her tomb

¹¹ Dr. Sykes, of Mexborough, Yorkshire.

at Caen speaks of *Royal* descent—"Germen *regale* Mathildem;" "*Regali* ex genere descendentem nomine Mathildem," are the words also of William of Jumièges (lib. 7, c. xxi.). It is obvious from this that the word "*ducum*" has reference only to Gundreda's paternity, not in any way to her maternity.

In the well-known controversy between Brooke and Camden, regarding William de Warenne and his wife, the former held that the "Rex" who had made W. de Warenne Earl of Surrey was the Conqueror, whereas Camden maintained that it was his son William Rufus. The argument of Brooke was, that the words "*pro salute*," in the Foundation Charter of Lewes Priory, showed that the Conqueror was still alive, for had he been dead, the wording would have been "*animâ*," overlooking, however, the fact that the title of "Rex" was given to Rufus in the same sentence. Nevertheless, in that controversy neither of those heralds questioned Gundreda's parentage in the remotest degree, and in Brooke's Catalogue she is named in the list of the Conqueror's issue.

Other extracts from the Register, &c., of Lewes Priory might be adduced, in which she is repeatedly styled "*filia Conquestoris; cujus filiam desponsavit*," etc.

But before we investigate the matter further it is essential to make a very necessary remark. The recent discoveries among the Cluni MSS. quite set at rest the imputation of forgery in respect of the Warenne's 2d Foundation Charter. This must be conceded, no matter whether with good or bad grace. If, then, the transcript of MS. xv. by Prior Amicel, who arranged the MS. Vespasian F, now in the Cottonian Library, is proved to be a faithful and *verbatim* copy of the original (which it is, as testified by the Inspeximus charter), does it not follow that equal faith is due to all his other entries in that same volume? Mr. Stapleton, about whom we can scarcely be brought to write coolly, *sagaciously* observes that this compilation is of so late a date as to be unworthy of confidence. But this opinion may go for nothing after the blunders he makes, to which we have drawn attention. The two original charters being thus *verified*, subsequent recorded evidence of Lewes Priory being *per se* of minor importance, its validity is not to be questioned at the caprice of anyone, in order to suit some ingenious theory.

We now turn to the consideration of Duke William's marriage with Matilda, and will endeavour to show the absurdity

of the hypothesis first promulgated by Mr. Stapleton, for which there is not a particle of evidence, and on what it is based—the *uncorroborated* statement of Orderic Vital that Gundreda was “Soror Gherbodi.”

William, Duke of Normandy, was already more than a young man, and full of the vigour of that age, when his Norman counsellors urged upon him the desirability of contracting some matrimonial alliance, and fixed their selection on the daughter of a neighbouring sovereign, Baldwin, Count of Flanders, then barely 20, or even under that age.¹² This projected marriage must have been first broached as early as 1047-8,¹³ long previous to 1049, because in that year the Council of Rheims, under Pope Leo X., forbade the marriage on the score of consanguinity. The Princess Matilda had already been sought in marriage by other reigning princes, and had had some experience in love matters. She had some short time before become attached to a young Saxon noble, Brictric Meaw, son of Earl Algar, when a representative at her father's court from King Edward (the Confessor).¹⁴ Advances on her part were so little reciprocated, that she went into the other extreme, and formed a violent hatred to him, which was practically displayed on her becoming Queen of England. Thierry mentions her name as the first inscribed on the partition roll of the English territory, receiving as her portion this same Saxon's lands. She consequently fell in more readily with William of Normandy's advances.¹⁵ It has become the fashion to record that the actual marriage did not take place until 1053, in which year the Duke is said to have set the edict at defiance;¹⁶ but all things point to an earlier consummation of it, namely, in 1049, or even in

¹² Gemmeticensis, lib. vii., c. xxi.

¹³ Norman Conquest, iii. 87.

¹⁴ Domesday B. i., fo. 100; Intro. Domesd. i. 452; Thierry, “Conquest of England,” i. 428 (Hazlitt); Dug. (Mon.) i. 154; Wace's “Brut d'Angleterre,” i. 73.

¹⁵ Malde de Flandres fu née
Meis de Escoce fu apelée,
Pur sa mère ke fu espusé
Al roi de Escoce ki l'out rové,
Laquelle jadis, quant fu *pucelc*,
Ama un conte d'Engleterre,
Bric'trich Man le oi nomer,
Après le rois ki fu riche her;
A lui la *pucelc* envela messenger
Pur sa amur à lui procurer

Meis Bric'trich Maude refusa,
Dunt ele mult se coruça,
Hastivement mer passa
E à Willam Bastard se maria.
(MS. Cott. Vitellius A. x., fo. 129.)

The continuator of Wace, who wrote temp. H. III., and is the authority for this fact, has, however, been guilty of more than one anachronism, in confounding two subsequent Matildas, viz., the daughter of Malcolm, King of Scotland, and the daughter of Henry I., of England, married to the Emperor of Germany.

¹⁶ Norman Conquest, iii. 85, 90.

1048. This is, however, of no very great importance, as regards Gundreda, whom we take to have been the eldest child, for she died in May, 1085, traditionally affirmed to be 35 at that time, and this date coincides in a remarkable manner with the year following the prohibition of Rheims, in 1050, as it does with her projected marriage tour with W. de Warenne, about 1073, as detailed in his charter.¹⁷ We say in respect of Gundreda, for Pluquet (ed. of the *Roman de Rou*) has well observed, that Agatha, the betrothed of Harold, and affianced of Alphonso of Gallicia, would, if the offspring of parents married in 1053, have been too young to have inspired any emotion in Harold. The age, therefore, of Matilda in 1048-9; the former love affair with Briktric Meaw, which came to an untimely end, when the courtship first commenced with W. of Normandy; and, above all, the fact that Matilda, as the reigning Count's daughter, sprang from an exalted race—descended through the Kings of France from Charlemagne—render the supposition of any alliance, especially with one so removed from her in the social sphere, perfectly inconsistent and improbable.

Allowing in fact, for the sake of argument, that such a marriage had ever happened, is it not more than absurd to suppose that Duke William's Norman advisers would have selected for him the wife of another man, and mother of two or three children, as a desirable or possible bride? The story must have been concocted to serve a purpose, without any regard to historic truth. The late Mr. Stapleton's paper, which first gave rise to the ridiculous theory of a marriage with one Gherbod, is the veriest tissue of statements irrelevant to the matter, padded with extracts from charters foreign to the subject, abounding in "*suggestions*" and "*inferences*," *without one particle of proof* of what he asserts *from first to last*, and if he had aught on which to found this ridiculous theory, it was the uncorroborated statement of Orderic Vital that Gundreda was "*Soror Gherbodi*."

We have from the first endeavoured to show how (assuming the wording to be that of Ordericus) the same is applicable to Gundreda; but of this presently.

¹⁷ It was within the years 1073 and 1077 that the contest between Pope Gregory VII. (Hildebrand) and Henry IV., the Emperor of Germany, was going on, the

main cause of their journey not being prosecuted. Pope Gregory did not succeed to St. Peter's chair before 1073, on the death of Pope Alexander.

It is plain, and in entire opposition to such marriage, that Duke William's affections were set on Matilda from the very first thought of the marriage, and reciprocated by her. Nothing of this sort could have occurred had Matilda been the wife of another man, and one so low in the grade of society, and still less would his Norman advisers have directed his matrimonial views to such a quarter, as just observed. Matilda "won and retained his deepest affection," and some time after their first courtship William refused to give her up.¹⁸ She is, not by one, but by every chronicler who names her, styled "*puella*," *pucelle*, a young unmarried girl. Quotations are endless.¹⁹ Who, in fact, could be the father of Gundreda but Duke William? For upwards of 700 years she has been called his daughter, and such traditional and documentary evidence is not to be put aside without some unimpeachable proof.

Then, again, to suit the same purpose, how *conveniently* the (supposed) husband, Gherbod, is got rid of, to make way for the Duke. He is either coolly put aside by the Pope, or if that does not quite suit, death comes in very opportunely and makes her a convenient widow! These matters are simply named for their absurdity—well enough for a pantomime, but not for history—and are of themselves quite sufficient to upset so preposterous a story.

We have been at some pains, in two articles on this subject in the *Sussex Archæological Collections*,^{19a} to suggest in what sense the assertion of Ordericus, according to our view, ought to be taken, the whole question turning upon the word "*Soror*" as used by him.

Our view has ever been from the first that this individual

¹⁸ "Nam Dux *puellam*, quam acceperat, nullo pacto dimittere vellet."—Vit. Lanfr. 289.

¹⁹ Par conseil de sa barunie,
Prist une fame de haut lin,*
En Flandre fille Balduin,
Niece Robert li rei de France,
Fille soe fille † Cunstance;
A maint noble home fit parente,
Mahelt ‡ out nom, mult bele e gento.
("Roman de Rou," Ed. Pluquet, ii. 58.)

What are we further to understand by these words:—Laquelle jadis, quant fu "*pucelle*"; what by the same word "*puella*," twice occurring in the "Chronicle of Tours," with reference to Matilda and her marriage with William of Normandy; and again by the following in Benoit's "Chronicle of the Dukes of Normandy"?—

"Cist out une fille trop bele
Maheut out nom jeune '*pucelle*.'"
(Harl. MS. 1717.)

* Lineage. † Fille de sa fille.
‡ Mathilda.

^{19a} "Observations on the Parentage of Gundreda," &c. ("Sussex Archæological Collections," xxviii. and xxxiv.

Gherbod was Gundreda's *foster*-brother, else why should not this man have been affiliated to Q. Matilda also?

The word "*Soror*" is one, and we believe the only one, which, in the whole vocabulary, admits of the interpretation of *foster-sister*²⁰ or "*seur de lait*," and these are the reasons:—

In old (and Norman) French "*seurer*" signifies to *wean from suck*: (*seurée*, weaned from suck; *qui est seuré*, that is *weand*). Apart from this, we know that "*soror*" is often used figuratively, but the old Norman French of Vitalis's time would readily suggest "*soror*," and we are convinced that the term is used by him without any respect to consanguinity. The derivative word "*sororiæ*" [maiden's paps] may be also taken as indicating analogy, in connection with the above words, *seur*, [*soror*,] *seurer*. In the early days of chivalry foster-brotherhood was one of its peculiarities, and the foster-sister or brother was socially more than the brother or sister by blood.

A few instances of the use of the word "*foster*" will rather elucidate the peculiar applicability of the word, taken from the older writers:—

Chaucer says of someone:—"She was *fostered* in a nunnerie."—*The Reve's Tale*.

Again, of another:—

"*Fostered* she was

With milk of Irish breast; her sire an Earl, her dame of Prince's
blood." *Surrey*.

Again, Bacon:—"The Duke of Bretaine having been a host or a kind of parent or *foster father* to the king, in his tenderness of age and weakness of fortune, did look for aid this time from King Henry."—*Bacon*.

In Ireland *Foster children* do love and are beloved by their *foster fathers*, and their sept, more than of their own natural parents and kindred.—*Davies*.

In the opinion of the Irish, *fostering* has always been a stronger alliance than blood.

²⁰ We are under the impression that we anticipated the author of the "*Life of St. Anselm*" in the discovery of the "*key to the interesting puzzle*," of which he ("*Academy*," April 9th, 1883) claims the credit, in our particular application of it to "*foster-parentage*." The adaptation of the theory to "*baptismal-sureties*,"

which he adduces for a like purpose, cannot be maintained, for "*Soror*" is a *solitary instance*, and, perhaps, the only word in the whole vocabulary, which admits of such conversion.—(*S. Sussex Archæological Collections*, vol. xxviii. and vol. xxxiv. p. 11.)

My father was your Father's client, I
His son's scarce less than *foster brother*.

Byron's "Doge of Venice."

There still remains in the Islands, though it is fast passing away, the custom of *fosterage*.—*Johnson, "A Journey in Western Islands."*

The position of Gherbod is quite explainable. As we have observed, this statement of "Soror Gherbodi" is perfectly *uncorroborated*, and never again repeated by Ordericus, although he mentions Gundreda as Earl Warrenne's wife more than once. Throughout his whole work, Ordericus never hints at any connection or supposed marriage with anyone on the part of Matilda, Gherbod is never once mentioned as *Queen Matilda's son*; sooner or later in his narrative of events, such relationship could not have been overlooked. He would certainly have intimated as much when stating that the Conqueror had given him the Earldom of Chester. Instead of saying—"Cestriam et comitatum ejus Gherbodo" "Flandrensi jamdudum rex dederat," his words would have been somewhat to this effect: Cestriam &c. Gherbodo, *filio videlicet Mathildis postea Reginae Anglorum* rex dederat.

Again, the position of the wife of an *avoué* would be quite in unison with that of a mother called upon to foster a child of Royal birth, and into such care and keeping Gundreda was undoubtedly committed. The subsequent elevation of Gherbod to the Earldom of Chester was a natural consequence of his position. Fosterage in that age counted in many ways for as much, or more than relationship by blood. But we have an instance of fosterage in connection with Royalty among our later Sovereigns, in the middle of the 17th century. This case occurred in the person of the Princess Anne, d. of James, Duke of York, and afterwards Queen of England. The foster-mother of that Queen was Susannah, the wife of an Irish gentleman supposed to have been connected with the Household of the Duke.²¹

When Ordericus (whose shortcomings we will presently enumerate), asserts Gundreda to have been "sister to Gherbod," we still believe that he intended us to understand that she was his *foster-sister*, and in no way disposed to deny her relationship to the Conqueror and Matilda. If the passage in which the assertion is made, and *nowhere else repeated*,

²¹ Notes and Queries (2nd series), Nos. 31, 34, 49. 1856.

be attentively weighed, a very material point will appear to have escaped notice, going far to establish the belief that the *near relationship* of Gundreda to the Conqueror was present in the writer's mind at the time he coupled her name with that of Gherbod. The passage is made up of King William's *own family* and belongings.

In the sentence "immediately preceding" the mention of Gherbod, Ordericus brings forward the name of the Conqueror's *own niece* (Judith), and in that "immediately following" he refers to Adelaide, the *sister* of the same King; and lest *sister* should in this case be misinterpreted, he adds, *daughter* of the same father, Duke Robert. The manifest inference to be drawn (in our mind) from these entries, and the *joint* enumeration of so many of the Ducal (and Royal) family, or relation in which they stood to the King, is, that Ordericus naturally classed them together as members of the *same House*, and for the following, if for no other reason. Were in these days a writer to quote two or more members of our English Royal family, he would assuredly not interpose or associate with them the name of a somewhat obscure subject of the reigning Sovereign, unless that subject had been elevated to a very much higher position by marriage or other connection. In this instance Gherbod had some time before been made Earl of Chester, a rank evidently acquired solely in virtue of his being Gundreda's foster-brother.

The passage in Ordericus runs thus:—"To the Count Gallève [*the Saxon Earl Waltheof*], son of [*Earl*] Sivard, the most influential and powerful of the English, the King gave in marriage *with his niece* Judith the county of Northampton, and this he did chiefly with a view to gain him over to his interest; and William de Warenne, who had married Gundreda, the [*foster-*] sister of Gherbod, received the county of Surrey. Odo, Count of Champagne, nephew of Count Theobald III., who had married the King's *sister* (*i.e.*) daughter of the Duke of Normandy (their common father), obtained the county [*territory* or isle] of Holderness."²²

²² Rex Guillelmus Guallevo comiti, filio Sivardi, potentissimo Anglorum, comitatum Northamptonie dedit, eique Judith neptem suam, ut firma inter eos amicitia perduraret, in matrimonio conjunxit, quæ, &c. . . . et Guillelmo de Guarenna, qui Gundredam sororem Gher-

bodi conjugem habebat, dedit Surregiam. Odoni vero Campanensi, nepoti Theobaldi comitis, qui sororem habebat ejusdem regis, filiam scilicet Roberti ducis, dedit idem comitatum Hildernessæ (Ord. Vit., pars ii., lib. iv., 332).

The position which the Countess Gundreda holds in this paragraph is that, we maintain, which was due to her *birth* alone, let Ordericus be right or wrong in naming her [*“foster”*] sister to Gherbod.” It may be reasonably urged, however, with equal probability, that, on account of his many shortcomings, he was in error in so doing, for no other authority whatever can be found to corroborate the statement, neither does he himself repeat it, in alluding to her afterwards as Countess of Warrenne, or, in short, in any other part of his Ecclesiastical History, as we have already said. The errors of Ordericus and his want of trustworthiness are quoted in the *Biographie Universelle*, and in the preliminary matter of Guizot’s French translation of his Chronicle. He has grossly erred in making the said Countess to survive her husband, and in ascribing the Earldom bestowed on the latter as the gift of the Conqueror. The late Mr. Blaauw says (*“Archæologia,”* XXXII.) that “on matters of the royal pedigree his acknowledged errors are so numerous, as to deprive him of much authority;” that he wrote his Chronicle “when a very old man, with a *confused* memory of details.”

To conclude :—If in the absence of a more convincing solution, and in the interest of historic truth, a balance is to be struck, or parallel drawn, between the two cardinal points of this question, the probabilities, we believe, would seem to lie rather with this our view of “Soror” Gherbodi, than with the outrageous hypothesis of a divorced wife (or widow) with three children!

APPENDIX A.

Foundation Charter of the Cluniac Priory of St. Pancras at Lewes ; among the original evidences of the mother-community, the Abbey of Cluni.²³
[*Extended copy.*]

“NOTUM SIT OMNIBUS FIDELIBUS QUOD EGO WILLELMUS DE WARENNA & Gundreda uxor mea, pro redemptione animarum nostrarum, concilio & assensu domini nostri regis Anglorum Guillelmi, donamus Deo et sanctis apostolis petro & paulo ad locum Cluniacum, ubi preest Dominus Hugo abbas, in eadem Anglorum terra, ecclesiam Sancti Pancracii cum his que ad eam pertinent, et terram duarum carrucarum in proprio in Suambergia cum villanis ad eam pertinentibus, et unius in terra, que nuncupatur—, & villam Falemeta, ubi sunt tres carruce proprie, cum his omnibus, que ad eam pertinent, sicut tenebat eam supradicta uxor mea. IN NOMINE DOMINI NOSTRI IHV CHRISTI, EGO

GUILLELMUS DEI GRACIA REX ANGLORUM INSPIRATIONE DIVINA compunctus, pro incolomitate regni mei, & salute anime mee, rogantibus etiam & obnixe postulantibus, Willelmo de uuarennâ et uxore ejus Gundreda, hanc inscriptam donationem, quam faciunt Sanctis Apostolis Dei Petro et Paulo ad locum Cluniacum, sigillo nostro signatam confirmo, et regali auctoritate corroboro, ut in perpetuum firma et inconcussa permaneat. Hanc donationem ita concedo, ut habeam eandem dominationem in ea, quam habeo in ceteris elemosinis, quas mei proceres faciunt meo nutu, et hoc in ista elemosina habeam, quod habeo in aliis.

- | | |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| + S. Rotberti de bellomonte. | + Signum Will'mi regis Anglorum. |
| + S. Henrici de bellomonte. | + Signum Mathildis regine Anglorum. |
| + S. Rotberti Gifardi. | + S. Willelmi comitis filii regis. |
| + S. Rogeri de mortuo mari. | + S. Willelmi de Warennâ. |
| + S. Goiffredi de calvomonte. | + S. Gundrede uxoris W. de Warennâ. |
| + S. Radulfi dapiferi. | |
| + S. Mauricii cancellarii. | |

The above document is in the most perfect preservation, and heads a series of other historical records relating to our earliest Norman rulers among the Cluni archives.²³

Apart from its importance and bearing on the Gundreda controversy, the document is of great historic value. It fills up omissions and corrects the imperfect copy of the same charter which the late Mr. Blaaup had used in his paper in disproof of Mr. Stapleton's assertions ["Archæologia," XXXII., 123] (taken by him from a printed copy in the "Bibliotheca Cluniacensis," 1614), and the witnesses to its attestation are some of the most noted persons of that early date. Among these, in addition to the Conqueror, are his Queen Matilda; his son Wm. Rufus (here unusually styled *comes*); William de Warenne and his wife Gundreda; Robert de Bellomonte (Earl of Mellent); his brother Henry de Bellomonte (Earl of Warwick); Robert Giffard; Roger de Mortimer; Geoffrey de Calvo Monte; Ralph, the Steward of the Household; and Maurice, the King's Chancellor.

The value of this original record cannot be over-estimated, for admitting that no mention is made in it of Gundreda's relationship to Queen Matilda or the King, still we glean from it corroborative facts of equal significance. It is the very charter which was wanted to upset the theory of the non-validity of de Warenne's second Charter of Foundation (in which Gundreda's relationship is named) granted to Lewes Priory in the time of Rufus, for de Warenne especially refers to it in that very second charter, where, in speaking of the Conqueror, he says:—"Qui meam priorem donationem confirmavit;" and again "*Donavimus in principio omnia quæ eis promisimus, et confirmavimus per scriptum nostrum, quod misimus Abbati Cluniacensi et conventui. . .*"

It strengthens, also, and confirms other points, which, although needing no additional confirmation, have been so unscrupulously raised of late into matters of doubt where none existed. With respect, for instance, to the title of "*Comes*," given to Rufus in this document. This designation is

²³ See "Record-Evidences among the Cluni Archives," printed for the Author; Lewes, Wolff, 1886.

given to him when witnessing the charter of St. Stephen at Caen (1077), though it is absent in Domesday. It is also added to the name of his elder brother Robert (Neust. Pia, 648), and is given to both, when witnessing the charter of the St. Trinity at Caen (1082). The plain inference from this is, that *Comes* and *Comitissa* were the titles of the Conqueror's and Matilda's issue. Gundreda is repeatedly styled "*Comitissa*," and although we have cause to know that Comes (Warrenne) of Domesday would justify this designation of his wife, we now find every reason to believe that Gundreda was styled "*Comitissa*" as the King's daughter, irrespective of her husband's position, more especially where she is named with Henry I. :—"In Norfolcia," Karletuna, &c., quam dedit Matildis regina, Mater Henrici Regis et Gundredæ comitissæ.

The foundation of the Priory of St. Pancras was first made, as will be apparent, by the "*advice*" of the King, and this, of itself, is a corroborative proof of some close connection, and displays the interest which the King took in its founders. But it will also be seen with greater interest and some surprise to those who deny or disbelieve in Gundreda's Royal descent, that some (if not all the lands forming the first foundation of the Priory) were lands of her dower, if not of her inheritance, for it will probably by further research transpire that they formed part of Q. Matilda's portion. Falemota "*sicut tenebat eam supradicta uxor mea*" (hodie Falmer, in Lewes district) was one of these; and Suamberga (which we identify as Swanborough, Swanberg) was probably another, with the lands omitted to be named by the scribe. These grants of land bespeak importance and position, and are corroborative and undeniable facts. The order, also, in which the names are subscribed in the original charter is significant, but cannot be conveniently shown in the annexed copy.

APPENDIX B.

The *Inspeximus* and exemplification of William de Warrenne's 2nd Charter of foundation to Lewes Priory, forms one of the record evidences among the Cluni archives in the National Library of France. It is given at length in the "Cluni-Evidences," recently published.²⁴ This notarial instrument of attestation recites also the Confirmation Charter of William, second Earl of Warrenne and Surrey. It is dated Sept. 6th, 1417, and was made by direction of the then prior of St. Pancras, Thomas Nelond. From the notarial certificate it appears that the *Inspeximus* was undertaken for the perpetuation of the charters, the general business purposes of the convent, and for obviating the danger of transport and carrying the originals from place to place; but in respect of Earl Warrenne's second foundation charter, it is further stated to have been owing to the age (*vetustas*), the general condition of the charter, and the fragility (*fragilitas*) of its seal. The *Inspeximus* was made twenty-seven years earlier than Prior Amicel's copy of the same charter for his compilation of the "Nigrum Registrum prioratus de Lewes" (Vesp. F. xv), with which it agrees, word for word and letter for letter.

²⁴ Record-Evidences of the Abbey of Cluni; printed for the Author; Wolff Lewes, 1886.

APPENDIX C.

WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR'S CHARTER TO LEWES PRIORY OF THE
MANOR OF WALTON.

Notum sit presentibus et futuris quod ego Willelmus Dei Gracia rex Anglorum, Concedo monasterio S^{ti} Pancratii quod situm est apud Lewes, pro anima Domini et antecessoris mei Regis Edwardi, et pro anima patris mei Comitis Rotberti, et pro anima mei ipsius et uxoris mea Matilde Regine, et filiorum et successorum meorum, et pro anima Will'mi de uuarenne et uxoris sue Gundrede, fillie mee, quandam mansionem in Norfolcia, nomine Waltonam, cum omnibus ad eandem mansionem pertinentibus, quam Will' de me tenuit. Concedo etiam, ut monachi in eodem monasterio conversantes et conversaturi ea libertate possideant, quam ecclesie quas baronas mei, me concedente construunt, possident; elemosinas quas ego eis concessi; et ita quod ego in ista elemosina habeam quicquid in illis habeo, et ut hac donatio firma remaneat, sigillo Sancte crucis manu propria confirmavi, et manibus fidelium meorum testificandam liberavi. Signum + Willelmi regis; Signum + Will'mi filii regis; Signum + Henrici filii regis; Signum + Rotberti + Comitis de Mellent; S. + Will'mi ep' Dunelmensis; S. + Walteri Giffardi; S. + Edwardi vicecomitis; S. + Ricardi de Tona; S. + Rogeri Bigotti; S. + Milonis Crispini.

[Rawl. MS. B. 103, fo. 251].

APPENDIX D.

St. Anselm's letter ("S. Anselmi Epist., iv., 84) runs thus:—

"Henrico charissimo suo domino, Dei gratiâ regi Anglorum, Anselmus archiepiscopus fidele servitium cum orationibus.

"Gratias ago Deo pro bonâ voluntate quam vobis dedit, et vobis qui eam servare studetis. Quærit consilium celsitudo vestra quid sibi faciendum sit de hōc, quia pacta est filiam suam dare Guillelmo de Vvarenne, cū ipse et filia vestra ex unâ parte sint cognati in quartâ generatione, et ex alterâ in sextâ. Scitote absque dubio quia nullum pactum servari debet contra legem Christianitatis. Illi autem, si ita propinqui sunt, nullo modo legitimè copulari possunt, neque sine damnatione animarum suarum, neque sine magno peccato eorum, qui hoc ut fiat procurabunt.—Precor igitur et consulo vobis, ex parte Dei, sicut charissimo domino, ut nullatenus vos huic peccato misceatis, neque filiam vestram eidem Guillelmo contra legem et voluntatem Dei tradatis. Omnipotens Deus dirigat vos et omnes actus vestros in beneplacito suo."

ADDENDUM.

The "Record-Evidences of Cluni" have brought much to light, of which we had no former knowledge, since the foregoing article was in type. There are many points of coincidence affecting Cluni and its foundations, in which members of the reigning family of England at the Conquest were concerned, too close and evident to pass observation; all indicating a kindred feeling with regard to the Order; all evincing a family predilection for it. Their every motive and impulse, seem, as by one common understanding, to centre in Cluni. To begin with Queen Matilda:—The gorgeous candelabrum, studded with gems, the stem of which alone, without the branches, exceeded eighteen feet in height, said to have been made after the fashion of the golden "candlestick" the Lord commanded Moses to burn before the tabernacle [Exodus xxxvii. v. 17], was her gift to the Abbey of Cluni.²⁵ Her daughter, Gundreda de Warrenne, founded with her husband (Matilda's son-in-law), the first Cluniac establishment in England. Henry I. contributed, beyond all others, to the construction of the basilica or abbey-church of Cluni, if we except Alphonso VI. King of Galicia, the same who was affianced to the latter's sister, the Princess Agatha, and this prince even exceeded him in his munificent donations.²⁶ The Empress Matilda, the Conqueror's granddaughter, was more than usually devoted to Cluni, and the mandatory-epistle, emanating from its abbot at her death, as to the prayers and oblations to be offered up throughout the whole Order,²⁷ forms one of the existing records among the Cluni archives. The then dignitaries of the Church, Lanfranc, Anselm, and the Cardinal Bishop of Winchester, Henry de Blois, are one and all concerned in the welfare and prosperity of the Order—the latter contemplated closing his life at Cluni.²⁸

Now, in an investigation like the foregoing, which has caused so much erroneous speculation, the most minute circumstance is not to be overlooked. But here we have several, surpassing many yet brought forward as arguments.

The various benefactions emanating from, and matters affecting, mother, son, daughter, "intended" son-in-law, and granddaughter, were the reverse of fortuitous, and if taken singly would be, perhaps, unimportant as illustrative of the question, but placed together they arrange themselves in lucid order, and pointing to a kindred and unmistakable origin, afford corroborative and additional evidence, *should such be requisite*, of the Gundreda descent.

²⁵ Pignot, *Ordre de Cluni*, ii. 563; Cucherat, *Cluny au XI^{me} Siècle*, p. 109.

²⁶ *Gemeticensis, Hist. Norm.* l. viii.

c. xxxii.; Pignot, *Ordre de Cluni*, ii. 132, 138.

²⁷ *Cluni Record-Evidences*, pp. 43, 50.

²⁸ *Ordre de Cluni*, Pignot, iii. 477.

LETTER FROM STEPHEN, THE PRIOR OF ST. JOHN OF
PONTEFRACT, TO PETER, ABBOT OF CLUNI, EXPLANA-
TORY OF THE CAUSES WHICH HINDERED HIS UNDER-
TAKING THE VISITATION OF THE CLUNIAN ORDER IN
ENGLAND.

Communicated by Sir G. F. DUCKETT, Bart.

THE following record, the date of which is apparent from the contents, is transcribed from the original parchment document among the Cluni muniments at the National Library at Paris. In point of time it is somewhat subsequent to the execution of Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, and we infer from the particulars related, that it was written at Easter of the year (probably) following that on which the Earl was beheaded. As a contemporaneous composition it is of value, not only in certifying the presence of Edward II. and his queen, and their whole Court in 1322 at Pontefract,¹ but illustrative of the constant intercourse and control kept up between the Cluniac foundations and the mother-community. The visitation of the subordinate houses of the Order, which the Prior of Pontefract had been ordered to undertake in conjunction with the Prior of Prittlewell in Essex,² had been hindered by the disturbed state of the kingdom, but more especially by the then recent events at Pontefract, requiring the Prior's constant presence and attendance at his Priory during the sojourn of the Court at that time.

The Order of Cluni, it may be observed, was exempted by Papal authority from the episcopal visitation of the diocesan Bishops, which accounts for the selection of certain heads of its foundations being entrusted with this duty. From such periodical visitations, of which the records of

¹ This is apparent also by reference to the *Fœdera*, &c., from the number of instruments issued by the king at Pontefract, during March and April of 1322.

² Prittlewell was a cell of Lewes, and dedicated to St. Mary; founded temp. H. II. by Robert FitzSwaine.

Cluni afford several examples, an insight is often gained into the domestic concerns, habits and customs of monastic communities, not otherwise attainable from the usual documentary evidence relating to them.

The present document affords no further evidence than what is already known as to the execution of the Earl of Lancaster, details of which had probably already been sent to Cluni, the chief burden of the Prior's complaint being the loss and ultimate recovery of the oblations offered on the spot where the Earl was beheaded. It corrects, however, an error as to the Priory church, which is generally but wrongly spoken of as dedicated to St. Nicholas, the latter being a college and hospital. The monastic institutions at Pontefract were numerous. The Cluniac Priory of St. John the Evangelist was founded by Robert de Lacy, temp. King Rufus; the convent of Carmelites was founded by Edmund Lacey, E. of Lincoln, in 1257, and that of the Dominicans or Blackfriars somewhat later in 1266. There were besides two hospitals, one dedicated to St. Mary Magdelene.

[*Extended copy.*]

Reverendo in Christo patri ac domino Dommo P., miseratione divina abbati Cluniacensi, suus humilis et devotus frater Stephanus, prior humilis domus sancti Johannis apostoli et evangeliste de Pontefracto, obedientiam usque ad mortem debitam tanto patri. Cum vestra reverenda paternitas officium exercendum in domibus Anglie ordinis Cluniacensis existentibus, priori de Putrewell [*Prittlewell*] et michi per vestras nuper patentes litteras commisissetis, dignemini pie pater intelligere, quod a die commissionis vestre nobis facte ad exercendum vestrum officium supradictum, usque in crastinum dominice palmarum, dominus Rex Anglie, cum domina regina, episcopis, comitibus, baronibus, proceribus et magnatibus, ac aliis regni peritis, de negociis arduis ipsum et suum regnum contingentibus tractando, ad Pontefractum continue perhendingavit. Unde domus de Pontefracto oppressiones et gravamina non mediocra sustinuit, largifluas necessario effudit et expensas, nec me tunc potui salvo domus mee statu aliquallyter absentare. Ita similiter tunc temporis contigit, quod quidam non recto ducti spiritu, jura domus et libertates infringere nitebantur, quos mea presentia, ut Deo placuit, restringebat. Quidam eciam in regis presencia, contra personam meam litem injuste moverunt, quos devicit injuria propria, et me veritas liberavit. Et quod cor meum in dies doloris jaculo intimius penetravit, quidam laici omnes oblationes que fiebant in monte ubi decollatus fuerat Thomas, comes Lancastrie, infra parochiam meam de Pontefracto notorie existente, a die qua obiit idem comes ibidem, et a die qua domus de Pontefracto administrationem suscepi, per commissiones regis et regine ac Henrici comitis Lancastrie, hucusque totaliter perceperunt, de eis

disponendo pro sue libito voluntatis, in sancte ecclesie nostreque domus prejudicium et juris lesionem, quas oblationes, resistantibus pluribus regni dominis et magnatibus, quali jure colorato potuerunt ad valorem annum centum librarum argenti et ultra, coram rege omnes commissiones et litteras in contrarium ab eo in hac parte preconcessas cum effectu revocante, et jus nostrum ad dictas oblationes, sub suo magno sigillo approbante, recuperavimus, non sine magnis laboribus et expensis, et mee presencie exhibitionem quominus alicui visitationi potui aliquialiter interesse. Quare, pater reverendissime, premissis attentis super visitatione predicta, ut vestrum mandatum exegit, non expedita me habere dignemini excusatum, et super hiis, que penes me humilem vestrum volueritis michi demandetis, si libeat velle vestrum in dierum longitudine vestra vigeat paternitas veneranda. Datum London', die sabbati in septimana pasche.

This document is endorsed :—Reverendo in Christo patri Domino P.
Dei gratia abbati Cluniacensi.

“ Visites d'Angleterre.”

[Original à la Bibliothèque Nationale ; fonds des nouv. acq. latines, 2280 ; pièce 17 du tome xvi. des Chartes de Cluni.]

REMARKS ON THE ZODIACAL *VIRGO*, IN CONNEXION
WITH A REPRESENTATION OF THE CONSTELLATION
UPON THE PORCH OF S. MARGARET'S CHURCH, YORK.

By ROBERT BROWN, Jun., F.S.A.

I.

It is now many years since Ideler and Guigniaut, contrary to the views of Letronne, arrived at the correct conclusion that our familiar signs of the zodiac came, with so much else of archaic thought and civilization, from the Euphrates Valley ; and having firmly established themselves in Hellenic usage, were afterwards carried by Greek conquerors as far as India in the east and Egypt in the south. Adopted as of course by the Romans, they have been handed down by the Empire to modern European civilization ; and thus it comes to pass that from the Ganges westward to the Pacific, we are now under the sway of the famous 'Twelve Signs. One, indeed, of the original fraternity has perished in the course of ages ; and I have elsewhere¹ given reasons for believing that the original Euphratean Sign, afterwards represented in the earlier Greek astronomy as *Chelai*, "the Claws" (of the *Scorpion*), and the place of which is now occupied by *Libra*, "the Balance," was a circular Altar grasped by the claws of a scorpion. The circle or other representation of an altar was omitted as the use of the sign advanced westward, whether by sea or across Asia Minor, and the *Chelai* alone remained when the shores of the Ægean were reached.

Thus we have not now in investigations into the origin and meaning of the zodiacal signs to consider the late Egyptian zodiacs of Esneh and Denderah, which belong to Greek and Roman times, and were formerly so much descanted upon, and supposed to be of great antiquity. The archaic constellations of Egypt were not those with which

¹ *The Heavenly Display* (a translation of the *Phænomena* of Aratos), 65, note 1.

we are familiar, but another set of signs originated in the country, amongst which were the *Lute-bearer*, the *Hippopotamus*, the *Thigh*, the *Leg*, etc. In India the Greek names of ten signs, *Krios*, *Taurus*, *Didymoi*, *Leôn*, *Parthenos*, *Skorpios*, *Toxotês*, *Aigokerôs*, *Hydrochoös*, and *Ichthyes*, reappear transliterated as *Kriya*, *Tavuri*, *Jituma*, *Leya*, *Pathona*, *Kaurpya*, *Taukshika*, *Akokera*, *Hridroga*, and *Ittha*. *Karkinos*, the *Crab*, becomes *Kulira*, a transliteration of *Kolouros*, the term used by Proklos for the great circle passing through the solstitial points, and hence equivalent to *Cancer*; whilst the *Scales*, considered as a yoke placed upon something, and hence called *Zugon*, reappear as *Juka*. In Persia, again, the signs were adopted and their names translated; and they accordingly reappear as *Varak* ("the *Ram*" or 'Lamb'), *Tôrâ* ("the *Bull*"), *Dô-patkar* ("the *Two Figures*"), *Kalakang* ("the *Crab*"), *Sêr* ("the *Lion*"), *Khûsak* ("the *Virgin*"), *Tarâzûk* ("the *Balance*"), *Gazdum* ("the *Scorpion*"), *Nîmâsp* ("the *Sagittary*"), *Vahîk* ("the *Sea-goat*"), *Dâl* ("the *Water-pot*"), and *Mahik* ("the *Fish*").

On the general question of the character and origin of the zodiacal signs I must refer the student to the writers above mentioned as supplemented by the brilliant modern investigations of the late François Lenormant;² to the invaluable labours of Prof. Sayce,³ and to my own previous studies upon the subject;⁴ and shall here limit my remarks to a single zodiacal constellation—*Virgo*, in connexion with the very interesting representation of this (so-called) *Virgin* upon the porch of S. Margaret's Church in the city of York.

II.

England does not furnish us with mediæval zodiacal representations comparatively as numerous and important

² *Les Origines de l'Histoire*, cap. VI.

³ *The Astronomy and Astrology of the Babylonians* (reprinted from the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, vol. iii. pt. i.); *The Babylonian Astronomy* (reprinted from the *Monthly Notices of the Royal Astronomical So-*

ciety, vol. xl., No. 3).

⁴ R. B. Jr., *On the Origin of the Signs of the Zodiac* (in the *Archæologia*, xlvii. pt. ii.); *The Law of Kosmic Order*; and *Eridanus, River and Constellation* (London, Longmans & Co.).

as those which occur upon the continent ; and yet, at the same time, many instances occur here in which these designs are portrayed either in stone or lead, on stained glass or tiles, or in manuscripts. There was a special manufacture of zodiacal tiles at Repton in Derbyshire, and the signs, or some of them, have been found amongst other places at Canterbury Cathedral, at the Abbeys of Malmesbury, Meaux (Holderness), and Chertsey, at Ulverscroft Priory (Leicestershire), at Merton College, Oxford, and in churches at Alne (Yorkshire), Hull (Holy Trinity), Shrewsbury (S. Mary's), Iffley (Oxfordshire), Brinsop (Herefordshire), Melton Mowbray, and Harrington (Northants).⁵ But the porch of S. Margaret's, York, supplies perhaps the most familiar and interesting instance in the kingdom of a complete representation of the *Ram* and his fellows. In 1736, when Drake published his engraving of the porch, the *Bull*, which has now completely disappeared, was still extant. Another engraving was published by Mr. Browne, of York, in 1827, and in 1880 Mr. Edward Brown of that city made very careful drawings for me of the eleven remaining signs which are reproduced in *Archæologia*, xlvii., Pl. ix., to accompany my Paper *On the Origin of the Signs of the Zodiac*. I annex a drawing of the *Virgo* of the porch (Fig. I.), which Mr. Fowler describes as "A fine tall female figure with long flowing hair, holding something in her hand, probably corn," and in illustration he quotes Spenser, who says August

" Led a lovely mayd
Forth by the lilly hand, the which was crown'd
With eares of corne, and full her hand was found."

This figure, it is obvious, holds something in each hand, but before entering into the question what it is which these objects represent, it will be well to notice one or two other specimens of *Virgo* in art.

In an Aratos of 1499 she appears as winged, and holds in her right hand the *caduceus*, and in her left a triple ear-of-corn (Fig. II.). The *caduceus* is assigned to her as a symbol, because *Virgo* is one of the Houses of the planet

⁵ Vide Jas. Fowler, F.S.A., *On Medieval Representations of the Months and Seasons* (*Archæologia*, XLIV. i. 137 et seq.).

Mercury, the assignment of the several signs of the zodiac to the planets being as follows:—The signs *Leo* and *Cancer*, being nearest to the summer solstice, and hence the highest of the heavenly seats, were assigned to the Sun and Moon respectively. The former is a symbol of the original raging, radiate, leonine Sun-god of Western Asia; and the latter a symbol of Darkness, which seizes the bright

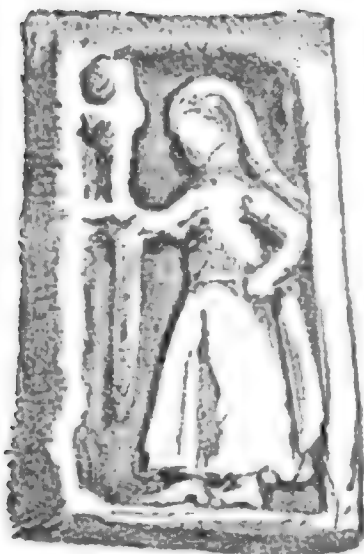


Fig. I.—*Virgo*. (From the Porch of S. Margaret's Church, York.)



Fig. II.—*Virgo*. (From an Aratos of 1499.)

powers and brings on the sway of the Moon.⁶ Hence, the modern astrologer, without knowing why, calls *Leo* a 'diurnal,' *Cancer* a 'nocturnal' constellation. *Hermès-Mercurius*, called by the Greeks *Stilbôn* ("the Glitterer"), the analogue of the Chaldæan planetary Nabu (= Nebo, the 'Proclaimer,' i.e. precursor of the Sun), being the planet nearest to the Sun, had allotted to him the signs of the zodiac on either side *Leo* and *Cancer*, namely *Virgo* and *Gemini*. The same principle gave *Taurus* and *Libra* to *Venus*, *Aries* and *Scorpio* to *Mars*, *Pisces* and *Sagittarius* to *Jupiter*, and *Aquarius* and *Capricornus* to *Saturn*, as Porphyry says:—"As the southern pole, by its great dis-

⁶ Vide R. B. Jr., *The Law of Kosmic Order*, secs. xiii. xiv.; *Eridanus*, sec. iv.

tance, is invisible to us, hence *Aigokerôs* (*Capricorn*) is attributed to *Kronos* (*Saturn*), the most remote of all the planets." ⁷ It is thus that the herald's wand (*kerukeion*) of the messenger of the gods, the Aryan divinity *Hermês*, is found in the right hand of *Virgo*, although a symbol altogether foreign to her earlier career ; and, whilst naming



Fig. III.—*Virgo*. (From a German MS.)

incidents and ideas which became linked with her in her westward progress, the reader may be reminded once for all that in Christian times she became naturally associated with, and indeed in a manner transformed in idea into, the Virgin Mary ; and was accordingly frequently assigned a post and prominence of corresponding dignity in zodiacal representation.

The next example (Fig. III.) of *Virgo* is from a remark-

⁷ *Peri tou en Odysseia tōn Nymphōn Antym*, sec. x.

able MS. in my possession, which appears to belong to the latter part of the fifteenth century, and to be the production of some German artist of the Augsburg school. Here *Virgo* holds the triple *ear-of-corn* in her *right* hand, and the *caduceus*, formed of the *tuba* or herald's trumpet, entwined with serpents as usual,⁸ in her left. It may be observed that such differences of treatment in detail probably originate in most cases from the circumstance that in one instance the figure is taken from a star-map, in which case the stars appear as we see them from the earth, and in the other from a globe when the stellar positions are reversed, inasmuch as the earth, the standpoint of the spectator, is supposed to be at the centre of the globe, whilst actually we look at the globe from the outside. Thus in a modern star-map the *ear-of-corn*, the star *Spica*, is in the left-hand of *Virgo*, whilst on a globe it is in her right. Edward Sherburne, in his very learned and interesting work, *The Sphere of Marcus Manilius made an English Poem*, 1675, says, that *Virgo* is signalized by the star *Ear-of-corn* "being one of the first magnitude in her left hand, though Vitruvius and Hyginus erroneously place it in her right."⁹ But, as we see, there is no real error in the matter; it is only, if I may so say, a different way of looking at the same thing. Accordingly, in the well-known edition of Hyginus of 1535, *Virgo* is represented with the *Ear-of-corn* and the *caduceus*, as in Fig. III.

III.

The next illustration (Fig. IV.) of "Sol in virgine" introduces a novel and interesting feature, namely, a large and elegant Fleur-de-lys, which *Virgo* carries with both hands. The connexion between the Virgin Mary and the Lily is

⁸ The staff or wand of the herald was originally an olive-branch with a wreath or garland twined around it. Hesychios (in voc. *Drakonta*) seems to imply that Sophoklēs (*Philoklētēs* in *Troia*, Fragment v.) was the first, or one of the first, to introduce the serpents (into poetical description). Serpents are, however, connected in various ways with mytholo-

gical astronomy (vide R. B. Jr., *The Unicorn*, 72; *The Heavenly Display*, 85).

⁹ P. 21. "Habet in utrisque manibus singulas stellas, quarū una quae ex in dextra manu, maior et clarior conspicitur" (Hyginus, *De Signorum Historiis*, iii. In voc. *Virgo*).

sufficiently obvious ; but even if such were the idea of the designer of the figure, it represents merely a Christian phase of the concept, and throws no light upon its origin ; and, again, as Mr. J. E. Cussans has well pointed out,¹⁰ *Fleurs-de-lys*, though at times connected or identified with Lilies, were nevertheless properly quite distinct from them, as shown *e.g.* in the arms of Eton College, where both appear. However, in the arms of William Waynflete, Bishop of Winchester, who bore “three lilies *slipped argent*,” a device which appears in the arms of Magdalen College, Oxford, the conventional Lily is represented as not much unlike the *Fleur-de-lys*,¹¹ but other instances show a more natural delineation.

As to the usual heraldic explanations of the *Fleur-de-lys* that in origin it represents either a Lily or a Lance-head, they are worth about as much as the statement of the worthy Dame Julyana Berners that the Arms of the King of France “were certainli sende by an Aungell from heaven” ; and she describes them as “iij flouris in manner of swordis in a field of azure.” One prominent feature in the *Fleur-de-lys* is its triple character, a point which at times distinctly appears in the *Ear-of-corn* ; and if we now refer to Fig. I. and bear in mind that the Durham MS. is almost exactly contemporaneous with the porch of S. Margaret’s, I trust I shall not be thought rash in coming to the conclusion that the *Virgo* of the porch carries a *Fleur-de-lys* (the triple character of which is very apparent) in her right hand, and the *Ear-of-corn* in her left. I do not forget that, as will be more apparent in the sequel, the two symbols represent, or are variant representations of, the same idea ; but the twelfth-century sculptor might easily and naturally distinguish between the Lily of the Virgin Mary and the *Ear-of-corn* of the constellational *Virgo*, and endow his figure with both.



Fig. IV.—*Virgo*. (From a Twelfth Century Calendar in the Cathedral Library at Durham.)

¹⁰ *Handbook of Heraldry*, 98.

¹¹ Vide Guillim, *A Display of Heraldrie*, edit. 1660, p. 373.

The Fleur-de-lys was not the gift of "an Aungell," inasmuch as, amongst other things, it, like many other famous bearings,¹² has a long pre-Christian history.¹³

IV.

In the Constellation-map attached to Sherburne's *Sphere of Manilius*,¹⁴ *Virgo*, with her back partly turned, holds the *Ear-of-corn* in her right hand which is held down, whilst in her raised left hand she carries a stalk of some plant with leaves on either side. As the leaves extend all the way down the stalk the plant cannot be called a Fleur-de-lys, but at the same time the figure supplies an instance of *Virgo* holding the *Ear-of-corn* and also another plant, as at York.

In a black-letter work entitled *Compilatio Leupoldi Austrie filii de Astronom. scientia decem continens tractatus*, 1489, *Virgo* is represented as a seated lady of the period, holding in her right hand a plant which is apparently the *Ear-of-corn*.

In the well-known Planisphere of the monk Geruvigus,¹⁵ *Virgo*, winged, holds in her right hand the triple *Ear-of-corn*, very closely resembling the Fleur-de-lys, and in her left hand a peculiar kind of Fleur-de-lys at the end of a staff.¹⁶ Here, again, we see an instance of *Virgo* which strongly reminds us of the York representation. The *Ear-of-corn* is undoubtedly, as will appear, a symbol, not of harvest, but of the productiveness of the great goddess-mother of Western Asia, and of the principle of fecundity which she represents; and although I do not at all incline to that view of ancient art which is prone to find phallicism everywhere, yet at the same time the evidence as a whole inclines me to believe that the so-called Fleur-de-lys had, as has often been suggested, at least a phallic phase; and that the two symbols are here combined, of course unwittingly, as variant represen-

¹² Vide R. B. Jr., *The Unicorn: a Mythological Investigation*, 1881; *The Gryphon, Heraldic and Mythological*, 1885.

¹³ For instances of the Fleur-de-lys on Roman monuments, vide Planché, *The*

Pursuivant of Arms, 131.

¹⁴ Vide sup. p. 446.

¹⁵ *Harleian Collection*, British Museum, No. 6472.

¹⁶ Cf. Fig. IV.

tations of the great power of reproduction, and in fact combine in idea male and female potentialities.

In the Indian Zodiac which, as noticed,¹⁷ is derived from the Greeks, one representation of *Virgo* shows her kneeling radiate before a fire, but without anything in her hands; a second, published in the *Philosophical Transactions* for 1772, portrays her in a Buddhistic attitude, naked and cross-legged; whilst a third, given by Sir Wm. Jones, shows her seated and holding what seems to be a bunch of corn in her right hand and a Fleur-de-lys in her left.

In the Farnese Globe *Virgo*, with her back turned, holds the *Ear-of-corn* in her left hand immediately above the *Crow*. So Ptolemy, in his Catalogue of the stars in "the Asterism of the *Virgin*," gives "14. The one at the left hand called *Ear-of-corn*" (στράχυσ, Lat. *Spica*).

The *Virgo* of the Farnese Globe has nothing in her outstretched right hand.

In the oblong and circular Zodiacs of Denderah¹⁸ *Virgo* bears the *Ear-of-corn* which has a rather long stalk, and she appears similarly in the Zodiac of Esneh. Father Kircher gives another form of the Egyptian Zodiac which has 3 ears-of-corn in a fillet for *Virgo*, and here again the element of triplicity is preserved. Yet another representation of the Egyptian Zodiac, according to Kircher, shows *Virgo* holding an ear-of-corn in either hand, whilst above 3 ears-of corn are placed by ♍, the ordinary zodiacal abbreviation of the Sign, and which is said, in accordance with the principle of a part for the whole, to represent a wing of the *Virgin*.

Dupuis refers to "une collection de médailles d'Antonin, frappées en Egypte, et imprimées dans les Mémoires de l'Académie des Belles-Lettres de 1780." Each of these bears a sign of the Zodiac, "chacun avec l'effigie de la planète qui y a son domicile."¹⁹ The annexed coin (Fig. V.), one of this series, shows *Virgo* as a House of *Mercury*, holding the *Ear-of-corn* in her left hand, on her head the triple emblem which may be called the Fleur-de-lys, and in her



Fig. V.—*Virgo*. (From a Coin, attributed to the Emperor Antoninus Pius.)

¹⁷ *Sup.*, p. 442.

¹⁸ *Vide sup.*, p. 441.

¹⁹ *Origine de Tous les Cultes*, i. 178.

right hand a long staff, such as in Fig. IV. is surmounted by the Fleur-de-lys. This staff comes into the concept inasmuch as *Virgo* was according to one Greek legend,²⁰ identified with Dikê (Justicia), who is represented as a staff-bearer. Thus on the famous chest of Kypselos was portrayed a beautiful woman dragging along an ugly woman, and beating her with a staff (ῥάβδω). Δίκη δὲ ταῦτα Ἀδικίαν δρῶσά ἐστι.²¹ So Euripidês speaks of "the staff of Justice" (Δίκης ῥόπτρον).²²

V.

I will next notice *Virgo* as she appears in Greek mythic legend, reminding the reader that when in consequence of the westward progress of the Signs the original Euphratean personages or creatures represented by constellation-figures had been forgotten, in many instances, as a matter of course, Hellenic personages were connected with them. Thus the kneeling figure of the great Euphratean solar hero Izdubar or Gisdhubar was called the *Kneeler* (*Engonasi*) simply,²³ and afterwards *Hêraklês*. Aratos, from whose poem, a versification of the *Phainomena* of the astronomer Eudoxos, who lived *cir.* B.C. 403-350, the Latin and modern world have obtained the ancient constellations, has a right to be heard first. He says :—

"Beneath the *Ploughman's* feet the *Virgin* seek,
Who carries in her hand the brilliant *Ear-of-corn*.
Whether she be *Astraios*-sprung, whom men
Of old call sire of stars, or of another,
Calm may she glide. A further tale obtains,—
That once she was a denizen of earth,
Met mortals face to face, and ne'er disowned,
Or men or women of the race of old,
But though immortal sat amid them all.
They used to name her Justice ; she would call
The elders to broad street or city-square,
Declare men's rights and see that right was done."²⁴

²⁰ Vide *inf.*, p. 451.

²¹ Pausanias, V. xviii. 1.

²² Hippolytos, 1171-2.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 96-107.

²³ "Like a toiling man, revolves
A form. Of it can no one clearly speak,
Nor to what toil he is attached ; but,
simply,
Kneeler they call him." [63-6].
(R. B. Jr., *The Heavenly Display*,

But the world grew worse; the Golden Age was succeeded by the Silver Age, and afterwards came the Brazen Race.

"Then Justice, hating such a race as these,
Soared up to heaven selecting this abode,
Whence yet at night she shows herself to men,
The *Virgin*, near the *Ploughman* seen afar."²⁵

We here notice that the carrying of the *Ear-of-corn* by this female figure, which Aratos and the Greeks generally call (most incorrectly) Parthenos, was an archaic feature in the representation, and not invented or first introduced by the Greeks, but had come to them from the East. I have shown elsewhere that Aratos is invariably a reproducer of prior ideas and descriptions, and so will not further enlarge on the point here. But the next thing to be noticed is that *Virgo* is not a harvest-goddess, a Dêmêtêr-Ceres, bearing a specimen of the golden grain, as many of old thought and as is now generally supposed, simply because our harvest month of August is the month connected with *Virgo*. The spring-time is the harvest-season in Egypt, Syria, Asia Minor and Persia; and even in Greece June, not August, is the harvest-month. So Aratos says:—

"Bare most fields appear of ears of corn
When first the sun advances to the *Lion*."²⁶

Thus, noticing that *Virgo* (so-called) is an oriental goddess, unconnected with either virginity or harvest, and further observing that Aratos is palpably ignorant of her origin, we find that the Greeks called her Parthenos, Astraea,²⁷ Dikê,²⁸ and, according to another legend not noticed by Aratos, Erigonê.

A little investigation makes it clear enough that this Hellenic *Virgo* is the Dawn-queen Athênê, Doric Athana, the Vedic Ahana ("the Bright"), pre-eminently Parthenos ("the Virgin"), and of whom Êôs ("the Dawn"), the Vedic

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 133-6.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 150-1.

²⁷ Hyginus, *Poeticon Astronomicum*, ii. 25; the *Katasterismoi*, ix.; Ovid. *Metamorphoseon*, i. 149.

²⁸ By some she was also called Fortuna,

for which the Schol. on Germanicus gives rather a curious reason, "pro eo quod sine capite astris infertur," that is to say, as explained by Ideler, "der Kopf des Bildes ist nämlich sehr unscheinlich" (*Sternnamen*, 169).

Ushas and the Homeric Erigeneia ("the Early-born" = Erigonê), is a variant phase. She is, as Aratos notes, "Astraios-sprung", since Astraios ("the Starry"), a personification of the star-lighted heaven, is the sire (*i.e.* predecessor) of the dawn of the following day. She is Dikê, for light, purity, and justice go together; and, according to a myth localized in Attikê, is beloved by the sun-god Dionysos. On the death of her father Erigonê hangs herself on a tree, and this suspension of a light-power on the heaven-tree²⁹ is paralleled by the myths of Odhinn and Helenê Dendritis.³⁰ In honor of Erigonê Athenian maidens celebrated the festivals of the *Alêtis* ("Wanderer"), Dawn and Sun having been ever pre-eminently wanderers, and the *Aiôra* or 'Swing,' in and by which her suspension was mystically shown. This ceremony is depicted on a Vase given by Millingen,³¹ who also adds some suitable illustrative remarks. It is unnecessary to enlarge here on the Hellenic aspect of *Virgo*, as I am now more especially concerned with the origin of the constellation than with stories of other races which afterwards became attached to it; but the extreme importance of clearly disentangling the Aryan and non-Aryan myths and legends, which twine together around so many personages, will be clearly perceived.

Manilius refers to *Virgo* as:—

Erigone surgens, quae rexit secula prisca
Iustitia, rursusque eadem labentia fugit.³²

VI.

Leaving behind Clàssical associations—Mercury and his *caduceus*, Ceres and her *ear-of-corn*, Dikê-Parthenos and Athênê-Erigonê—let us pass on eastward to the Euphrates Valley, where in the Calendar of the Akkadai ('Highlanders' from Elam), the early non-Semitic inhabitants of the country, we find names indicating the twelve Signs of the Zodiac, the

²⁹ As to the Heaven-tree, *vide* R. B. Jr., *The Myth of Kirkê*, 71. 390, 394.

³⁰ *Vide* Sir G. W. Cox, *Mythology of the Aryan Nations*, edit. 1882, pp. 189, 241,

³¹ *Ancient Unedited Monuments*, Pl. xxx.

³² *Astronomicon*, iv. 543-4.

Altar taking the place of the *Scales*,³³ whilst on the monuments, especially on boundary-stones and cylinder-seals, appear portrayed the Signs themselves.³⁴ Each month had its presiding divinity; and the 6th, the Assyrian Ululu and Aramaic Elul, and which corresponded with our August-September, was dedicated to the Akkadian goddess Gingir, called by the Assyrians Istar ('Goddess'), whilst its Akkadian name was Ki Gingir-na ("the Errand of Istar"). This great divinity is the famous goddess-mother of Western Asia, the Phœnician Ashtoreth, called by the Egyptians Astarata and by the Greeks Astartê, and whom we meet with under the names of Atargatis,³⁵ Mâ, Omphalê, Kybêbê, and Kybelê. She is the bride of the youthful Akkadian Sun-god Dumuzi ("the Only-son"—of the diurnal heaven), the Syrian Tammuz, and her famous "errand" is to seek her lord in the Underworld to which fate compels him to descend. This errand is detailed in the now familiar legend of *The Descent of Istar*, which shows how the Waning-moon was stripped of her various ornaments by the dread powers of the Underworld only, however, to receive them again on her return in triumph to the Upperworld. As the solar bride, and ruler of love and generation, the goddess is nocturnal and lunar; and this strong lunar feature in her character caused the Hellenes, to the no small confusion of many scholars, when they met with her at Ephesos, to call her Artemis (Ephesia), another instance of how a virgin goddess came to be mixed in idea with the Great Mother, the true and original holder of the Ear-of-corn and the Fleur-de-lys. In accordance with that Law of Reduplication, of which I have elsewhere given numerous instances, and which runs throughout mythological idea, the primarily lunar Istar becomes planetary; and, as connected with the planet *Venus*, called by the Assyrians Mustelil ("the Brilliant"),³⁶ becomes double-phased as the Morning-star (goddess of war) and the Evening-star (goddess of love). So Pliny writes,—"*Magnitudine extra cuncta alia sidera est. Itaque et in magno nominum ambitu est. Alii*

³³ Vide *sup.*, p. 441.

³⁴ For instances of the Signs of the Zodiac in Euphratean art, vide R. B. Jr., *The Law of Kosmic Order*, Appendix.

³⁵ Atar-ati. Very probably a Hittite name for the goddess (vide Prof. Sayce in *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, vii. 259-60). It is some-

what singular to find that Sherburne, writing prior to 1675, notes that some call *Virgo* "Atergatis, the Goddess of the Assyrians" (*The Sphere of Manilius*, 21).

³⁶ "Venus rose each morning like a lamp" (Geo. Smith, *Assyrian Discoveries*, 109).

enim Iunonis, alii Isidis, alii *Matris Deûm* [Kybelê] appellavere. Huius natura cuncta generantur in terris."³⁷

The representations of the Great Goddess in art, ancient and archaic, are innumerable. In Figs. VI. and VII. I give



Fig. VI.—Istar-Virgo.



Fig. VII.—Istar-Virgo.

two examples from Lajard³⁸ of Istar as the zodiacal *Virgo*,³⁹ holding the *Ear-of-corn*, as faithfully described by Aratos centuries later. The figure in each case occurs in a mystic and symbolical representation in which divinities and constellational figures are combined. And here I may remind the reader that the Signs of the Zodiac, which now naturally appear to us so singular, were neither arbitrary inventions nor figures suggested by natural stellar arrangement, nor, again, a record of agriculture in any way; but reduplications of ideas already existing with respect to simpler natural phenomena. Thus, the idea of the Sun as a shaggy, golden-fleeced, mighty, far-travelling Ram was known alike in Egypt, Babylonia, India and Hellas; and when the year-concept

³⁷ *Historiae Naturalis*, ii. 6.

³⁸ *Culte de Mithra*, Pls. xxxvi. 11;

³⁹ 7.

liv. "The Virgo of the Zodiac is, of

course, Astarte" (Sayce, in *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, iii. 163).

had been marked out by its twelve moons or months in the arrangement finally and formally adopted, the stellar Ram (*Aries*) was by reduplication appointed to open the year in spring just as the prior solar Ram opened the day. So *Taurus* is a similar reduplication of the Moon-bull,⁴⁰ *Gemini* of the Sun and Moon, the original "Great Twin Brethren," reduplicated in the stellar *Castor* and *Pollux*, whilst *Cancer* is a type of the seizing Darkness which sometimes attacks and sometimes guards the light powers,⁴¹ and *Leo* of the raging summer-sun, Athamas-Tammuz, who at times destroys his offspring. Thus *Virgo*-Istar, who succeeds her husband Tammuz in the annual ring, is a stellar reduplication of the Great Goddess, who had already passed through planetary and lunar phases.⁴²

VII.

Let us in further illustration of the subject glance at the principles which obtained in zodiacal selection, confining ourselves to the first half of the circle. The archaic astronomer had in his mind the concepts of the Ram-sun, the Moon-bull, the Twins, the Seizing-darkness, the fiery Lion-sun of summer and his wife the Mother-goddess of love and fertility. Twelve periods, 6 days and 6 nights + the special and holy seventh-day, made up the week ; and, similarly, twelve periods (months) + the occasional and special intercalary month, made up the year. Hence by the analogy of recurring day and night the 12 symbols or Signs of the Zodiac were arranged in the order of an alternate diurnal and nocturnal type. The astrologer may doubtless be ignorant why for centuries he has styled the *Ram*, the *Twins*, and the *Lion* diurnal, and the *Bull*, the *Crab*, and the *Virgin*, nocturnal Signs. It is simply because the three former were originally diurnal, and the three latter nocturnal types. The Ram-sun of day is succeeded by the Moon-bull of night, to be followed

⁴⁰ Vide *inf.*, p. 462.

⁴¹ Vide R. B. Jr., *The Zodiacal Crab* (in *The Academy*, Feb. 21, 1885).

⁴² I do not here enlarge on these general principles, having fully treated of them elsewhere ; they will be found

on careful examination to illustrate the natural process of the mind and to move strictly on the line of least resistance. In Fig. VI. the smaller figure shows the size of the original.

by the Sun and Moon (*Twins*) seen only together by day, after which comes the Crab-darkness of night, to be followed by the Lion-sun of day, who yields in turn to the nocturnal Moon-queen. The zodiacal system, as we have it, was arranged at a time when the Sun entered *Aries* at the vernal equinox, and hence subsequent to B.C. 2500; and the next step of the archaic astronomer in dividing the circle of the ecliptic would be to apportion the stars between the figures of the above-named concepts. The notice and naming of particular stars was of course prior to the formation of constellations, just as York existed ere Yorkshire; and this circumstance is well illustrated in the first Sign *Aries*. I have elsewhere⁴³ illustrated the connexion between the mythical antediluvian Babylonian Kings and the ecliptic; and the first of these Kings *Alor-os*=the Assyrian *Ailuv*, Heb. *Ayil*, 'Ram,' and is a translation of the Akkadian *Lu-nit* ("Male-sheep"). *Ailuv* is equated in one list of names with the Akkadian *Si-mul* ("Horn-star"). King *Aloros* is thus a personification of the Ram-star, *Hamal* ("the Ram"), α *Arietis*, who opened the year as the Ram-sun opened the day. The first portion of the ecliptic being thus assigned to the Ram-star and the concept of the Ram-sun, the next step in the process is that the star becomes a constellation, and at this stage the figure of a Ram is traced amongst these stars, which in themselves, as any one may see, no more resemble a ram than a thousand other objects. The star-list of Ptolemy being almost to all intents and purposes that of Hipparchos, the critic of Eudoxos and Aratos, we can see to a great extent from a reconstruction of the Ptolemaic figure what was the outline of the Aratean *Aries*, which had itself descended to his day probably but very little changed in the course of many centuries.

The stars are :—

α (*Hamal*), which does not form part of the figure here, but Ptolemy says that Hipparchos placed it "at the muzzle," which in that case would be more upturned.

γ . "The foremost of the two at the horn." Evidently, as on the Farnese Globe, only one horn was shown. This circumstance is in exact accordance with the Akkadian name *Si-mul* ("Horn-star").

β . "The hindmost." These two stars, called by the Arabian

⁴³ *The Heavenly Display*, Appendix II.; *The Antediluvian Babylonian Kings* (in the *Journal of the American Academy*, Oct. 1884).

astronomers *El-she-ratain* ("the Two Signs"), form the first of the twenty-eight Moon-stations or divisions of the lunar path, which we find in China and India and elsewhere, but which have not yet been met with in Euphratean regions.

- η. "The more northerly of the two at the muzzle."
θ. "The more southerly of them."

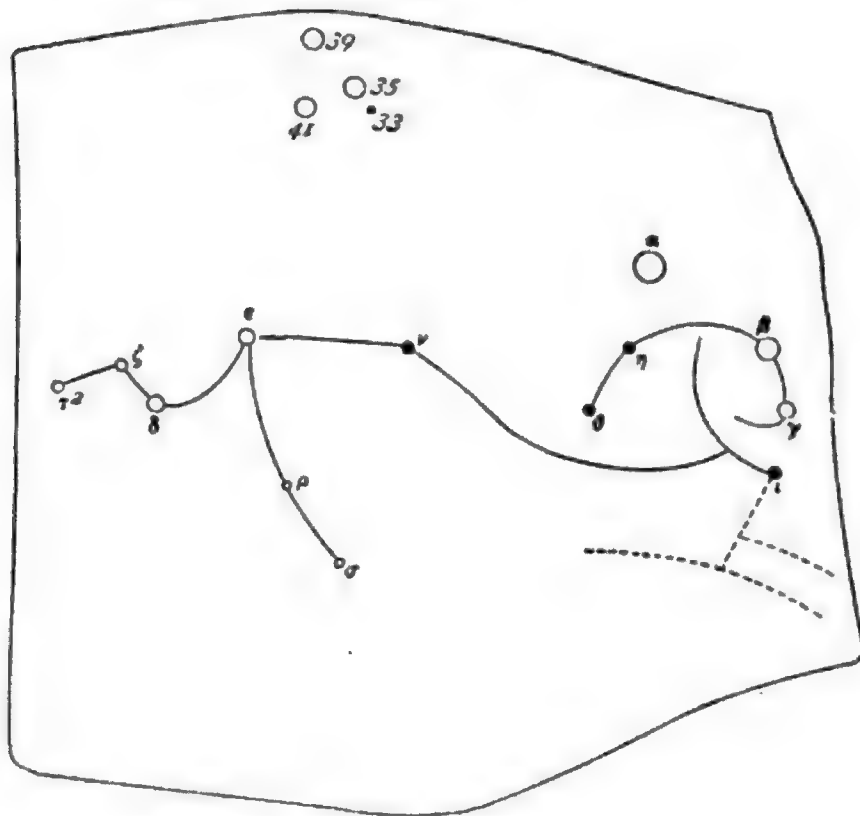


Fig. VIII.—The Zodiacal *Aries*.

- α. "The one at the neck."
ν. "The one at the loins."
ε. "The one at the root of the tail."
δ. "The foremost of the three in the tail."
ζ. "The centre one of the three."
τ. "The hindmost of them."
ρ. "The one in the back of the thigh."
σ. "The one under the bend" (of the hind leg).⁴⁴

The example will illustrate the formation of a constellation-figure, and the stars of the next portion of the ecliptic lent themselves favourably to being grouped as a Bull⁴⁵ or Demi-

⁴⁴ For a good delineation of *Aries* showing the several stars, *vide* the figure by Robert Flud, the Rosierucian (R. B. Jr., *The Heavenly Display*, Fig. XVII.).

⁴⁵ Aratos says of the *Bull*:—

"And very like him lie the stars;
Thus is his head distinguished; other
mark
Is needless to discern the head, since stars
On both sides shape it as they roll along."
(*The Heavenly Display*, 168-71.)

bull, to which I shall subsequently refer.⁴⁶ The two bright stars adjoining one another in the next portion of the ecliptic were, as of course, most suitable to represent the famous Twins, who thus reappear in the diurnal constellation *Gemini*; and the seizing Darkness-power came naturally next, represented by *Cancer*, which is still known as “the Dark Constellation.” The glow and fury of the diurnal and leonine summer sun are well shown in stellar reduplication by the bright constellation *Leo*, in which he then is;⁴⁷ and as the wife, according to the ancient myth, must follow her husband Tammuz, the next division of the ecliptic—a large one—is assigned to Istar-*Virgo*. The stars in it bear not the faintest resemblance to any female figure, and the constellation has but one of the first magnitude. Hence, almost as of course, this star represents and is named after the symbol and emblem of the goddess, the Ear-of-corn or Fleur-de-lys. Fig. IX.,⁴⁸ from an original “trouvée dans les ruines de Ninive,” shows Istar-*Virgo* bearing this emblem in her right hand and some compound creature in her left. And here we may remember that ΣΤΑΥΤΣ, Lat. *Spica*, signifies not only an ‘ear-of-corn,’ but ‘offspring’ generally, and is also used for “the lower part of the abdomen,” Lat. *Pubes*.

VIII.

I have shown elsewhere⁴⁹ that the Homeric Kirkê (“the Round”) who lived in Aia, the Moon-island, and subdued lions and other wild beasts with her magic wand (ράβδος), is identical with the lunar Istar,⁵⁰ whom we see in Fig. X.⁵¹ holding in her right hand the ornamented wand surmounted by the triple ornament, and standing upon two lions.⁵² But

⁴⁶ Vide *inf.*, p. 465.

⁴⁷ As Aratos says:—

“’Neath the hinder legs [of the *Bear*] the
Lion grandly shines.

These are the hottest pathways of the
sun.”

(*The Heavenly Display*, 148-9.)

⁴⁸ Ap. Lajard, *Culte de Vénus*, Pl.
xix. 2.

⁴⁹ *The Myth of Kirkê* (London: Longmans, 1883).

⁵⁰ Prof. Sayce, the first authority on such subjects, remarks: “I have been much taken by your comparison of the myth of Kirkê with that of the lovers of Istar in the legend of Gisdhubar. It is as self-convincing as your discovery that Athamas is Tammuz.”

⁵¹ Ap. Lajard, *Culte de Mithra*, Pl. xxxvii. 7. “Cylindre d’hématite.”

⁵² The Euphratean fashion of representing divinities standing upon animals re-appears in Hittite art, which is Euphratean in origin, in Asia Minor.

the lunar goddess with her crescent horns is more usually connected with the Bull, Ox, or Cow ; and so appears on a coin of Neapolis Samariae,⁵³ which is thus described by Leake :—"Columnar statue (Astartê ?) ; in uplifted right hand, whip ? ; in left hand, two ears of corn ; below, two gibbous⁵⁴ oxen, partly concealed by statue."⁵⁵ In the more



Fig. IX.—Istar-Virgo.



Fig. X.—Istar-Kirkô.
(From a Cylinder.)

familiar representations of the Ephesian goddess the stags of Artemis generally replace the lunar bulls, whilst the many-breasted figure of Istar-Ephesia is adorned with the heads or fronts of Bulls, Lions, and Stags, and also with the Crab,⁵⁶ the Bee,⁵⁷ the Ram's head, the Gryphon,⁵⁸ and other

⁵³ Fig. XI. shows a variant type, struck at the same place, without the whip (cf. Figs. XII., XIII.), and with a single ear-of-corn.

⁵⁴ For an example of the gibbous Euphratean Bull, *vide inf.*, Fig. XXI.

⁵⁵ *Numismata Hellenica*, Supplement, 72. Leake is correct in his conjecture that the goddess is Astartê (Istar).

⁵⁶ *Vide sup.*, p. 455.

⁵⁷ The Bee was a Babylonian symbol

(*vide* Rawlinson, *Ancient Monarchies*, iii. 32), and also a lunar symbol. (*Vide* the very interesting observations of Mr. A. J. Evans, F.S.A., in *Archæologia*, XLVIII. i. 23-4). So Porphyry: "The Moon, who presides over generation, was called by the ancients a Bee, and also a Bull. *Taurus* is the exaltation of the Moon. Bees are ox-begotten" (*Peri tôn Nymph. Ant.* viii.).

⁵⁸ *Vide* R. B. Jr., *The Gryphon, He-*

devices mostly Euphratean in origin. Fig. XII.,⁵⁹ a late representation, shows the goddess with the pantheistic combination of attributes and symbols common to late Classical times, bearing on her head the *medimnos* or *modios* ('corn-measure'), the special symbol of Serapis, holding in her right hand the *flagellum* of Asar (Osiris) and Abraxas, and



Fig. XI.



Fig. XII.

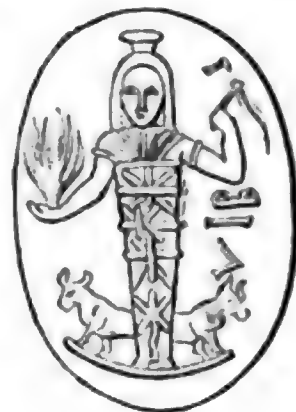


Fig. XIII.



Fig. XIV.



Fig. XV.

in her left the Kirkê-fleur-de-lys-staff. In Fig. XIII.⁶⁰ the goddess has the Ear-of-corn in her right hand, and the Whip in her left. Fig. XIV., a design on a cone-shaped Euphratean seal,⁶¹ shows a priest adoring the lunar crescent, symbolically connected with which is a large Ear-of-corn. Fig. XV.,⁶² a gem of the period of the Sassanian dynasty in Persia (A.D. 226-641), shows the persistence of the archaic

raldic and Mythological. (In *Archaeologia*, XLVIII. ii.)

⁵⁹ Lajard, *Culte de Vénus*, Pl. xiv. G. 5.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, Pl. iii. B. 5.

⁶¹ Lajard, *Culte de Mithra*, Pl. lxi. 1. a.

⁶² *Ibid.*, *Culte de Vénus*, Pl. xxi., A. 28.

idea, and exhibits the goddess holding the Fleur-de-lys. Fig. XVI. is a similar instance, being a coin of Tarsos, bearing on the obverse the head of the beautiful and profligate empress Faustina, wife of Antoninus Pius; and



Fig. XVI.—Faustina as Istar. (Coin of Tarsos.)

on the reverse the deified empress, naked and radiate, holding an animal in either hand in archaic Euphratean fashion, and standing in the attitude of the Great Goddess, to whom she is evidently compared, between the two demi-bulls.⁶³

As might be expected, the female figure holding an ear-of-corn is not unknown to Phœnician art. A fine specimen, whether originally a type of the goddess or not, is given by MM. Perrot and Chipiez;⁶⁴ and another statue of a female from Kypros holds a triple object, not unlike the Fleur-de-lys, in its left hand.⁶⁵ On an ivory box for perfume bottles, fragments of which were found in the tomb of the Phœnician king Esmunazar, is depicted a female smelling a lotus flower, which much resembles the Fleur-de-lys, and has a long stalk.⁶⁶ It is by no means necessary to suppose any occultism in this simple design; but, at the same time, archaic and ancient art contain so much that is mystic and symbolical that we may have here another delineation of the goddess and her symbol, especially when we remember that the lotus bore a mystic and symbolical character.⁶⁷

⁶³ *Ibid.*, Pl. v. 1.

⁶⁴ *History of Art in Phœnicia and its Dependencies*, 1885, vol. i., Fig. 195, p. 265.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, Fig. 196, p. 267.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. ii., Fig. 335, p. 397.

⁶⁷ According to Plutarch the Egyptians spoke of the sun as a new-born infant

rising daily out of the lotus-plant (*Peri Is.* xi.). "Everything belonging to the lotus," says Iamblichos, "is seen to be circular, both the form of the leaves and the fruit" (*Peri Mystērion*, vii. 2). Proklos, too, connects it with the sun (*vide* Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, iii. 350).

Leonardus Augustinus gives an excellent example of the goddess from a gem of Classical times. She holds two Ears-of-corn in her right hand, and the Fleur-de-lys in her left. He calls her *Speranza*.⁶⁸

Mr. C. W. King gives an interesting instance of *Virgo* on a gem.⁶⁹ The goddess, holding an Ear-of-corn in her right hand, and a *cornu copiae*, a symbol of Fortuna, in her left, sits on the bodies of a Demi-bull and a Demi-goat, *Taurus* and *Capricorn*, which appear from behind her, exactly in the same manner as the Demi-bulls appear behind Istar-Ephesia.⁷⁰ Here the original lunar idea has faded away, and the representation merely illustrates Classical astrology, the three zodiacal Signs forming a trine, "being the nativity of the owner, and expressive of his love for justice; for the Virgin, Erigone, is the same as Astraea."⁷¹

The Fleur-de-lys ornament appears in various varieties in the Hittite inscriptions at Hamath.

IX.

The myth of the lunar goddess and her Bulls or Bull is both very archaic and widely-spread. In Classical times Selênê is styled *Taurokerôs*,⁷² and Pausanias describes her



Fig. XVII.—Specimens of the Fleur-de-lys. (From Hamath.)

statue at Elis, καὶ τῆς μὲν κέρατα ἐκ τῆς κεφαλῆς.⁷³ According to Olympiodôros, the Neo-Platonist, "the ancient theologists" said that "the Moon is drawn by two Bulls; by two, on account of her increase and diminution; by

⁶⁸ *Gemmae et Sculpturae Antiquae*, Pt. i., Pl. cxxi.

⁶⁹ *The Gnostics and their Remains*. Pl. viii., Fig. 7.

⁷⁰ Vide sup., Figs XI.—XIII.

⁷¹ *The Gnostics and their Remains*, 219

⁷² *Pseudo-Orphic Hymn*, ix. 2.

⁷³ *Periégésis*, VI. xxiv. 5.

bulls, because as these [Oxen?] till the ground, so the Moon governs all those parts which surround the earth.”⁷⁴ Thus in the ancient MS. called “Cicero’s Aratus” (British Museum), Luna appeared in a car drawn by two Bulls or Oxen;⁷⁵ and she so appears in a gem given by Mr. King,⁷⁶ which shows Sol radiate in his *quadriga* above, then the five stars (planets) surrounding the Crescent-moon, beneath which Luna in her bull-drawn *biga*.⁷⁷

Lajard⁷⁸ gives a “dessin tiré d’un manuscrit du Viraf-namêh,” in the Bibliothèque royale, and which was apparently brought by Anquetil du Perron. I annex a copy,⁷⁹ and the design shows the two lunar bulls attached to the car of the Crescent-moon, for it is with this lunar phase that the Bull is specially connected—the neck of the one placed across

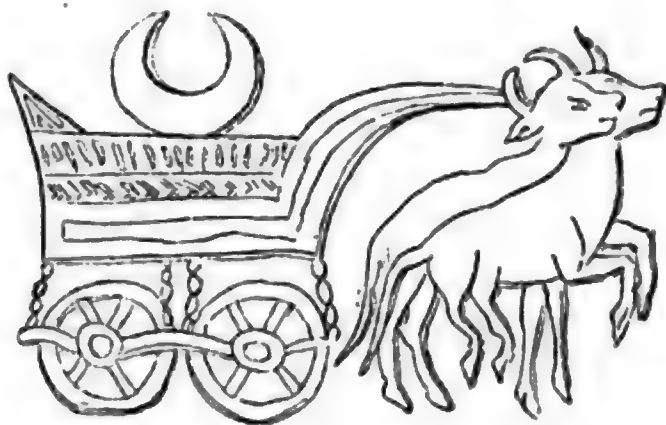


Fig. XVIII.—The Lunar Bull-Car.

that of the other in a manner which reminds us of some Euphratean representations of animals.⁸⁰ So the Phœnician Astartê (Istar) “placed the head of a bull on her own head in token of sovereignty”;⁸¹ and appears on coins cow-headed or bull-headed accordingly, as “She-Baal, the Cow,”⁸² the Axiokersê (“Worthy-horned-goddess”) of the Samothrakian mysteries,⁸³ that Aphroditê Ouraniê

⁷⁴ MS. Comment. on the *Gorgias*. A Neo-Platonic explanation is almost always worthless.

⁷⁵ Vide Ottley, *Observations*, Pl. xxi. Ottley adds,—“I found her thus drawn by two bulls in a medal of Julia Domna, and in another, I think of Lucius Verus. She is represented drawn by two bulls in Gessner, Plate clxxiii. fig. 23.” (p. 114, note).

⁷⁶ *The Gnostics and their Remains*, Pl.

vi. Fig. 5.

⁷⁷ Mr. King quotes Manilius :—“Quadrijugis et Phœbus equis et Delia bigis.”

⁷⁸ *Culte de Mithra*, Pl. lxvii. Fig. 8.

⁷⁹ Fig. XVIII.

⁸⁰ Vide R. B. Jr., *The Unicorn*, sec. iii. The Unicorn in archaic art.

⁸¹ Sanchouniathon, i. 7.

⁸² Tobit, i. 5.

⁸³ Vide R. B. Jr., *The Great Dionysiak Myth*, i. 121.

("Heavenly Istar"),⁸⁴ who, as Pausanias truly says, "was first worshipped by the Assyrians ;⁸⁵ and after these by the Paphians of Kypros and by the Phoinikians who dwelt in Askalôn in Palestine : and the Kythereans worshipped her, having learnt her ritual from the Phoinikians."⁸⁶ Thus from a Euphratean centre the idea and the cult of a lunar goddess connected with the bull, ox, and cow, are more or less spread from India to the far West. She is in origin the horned Iô ("the Goer"), the wandering Crescent-moon ; but the horns of the two bulls—the two semicircles—make together the round full moon Kirkê, and her zodiacal reduplication is the lunar *Taurus*, whose symbol (♉) shows the full and crescent-moon combined, and is also, as in the



Fig. XIX.—Lunar Bull.
(From Hamath.)

archaic Euphratean ideographs, a rough representation of the bull's head and horns.⁸⁷ A Hittite drawing from Hamath⁸⁸ shows the connexion between the Bull and the Crescent-moon very perfectly. MM. Perrot and Chipiez, when treating of "Phœnician Sculpture in the West," give an engraving of a "Stele from Adrumetum," which at the top bears "the disk and crescent," whilst "the lower half bears two caducei," which are simply formed by a united circle and semicircle (the line which forms either half of the circle being carried on into and forming the opposite half of the semicircle) at the end of a staff. They also give a terra-cotta token from the "St. Louis Museum at Carthage," which bears a similar *caduceus*, a bull's head *affronté*,⁸⁹ "and the cone of Tanit," the Karthaginian consort of the solar Baal-Hamon⁹⁰ ("the Burning-Lord"), and "the lunar form of the Phœnician [phase of the great] goddess."⁹¹ The learned authors observe,—“We should like to know

⁸⁴ M. Fritz Hommel well traces the variant phases of the name thus :—Istar —Ishtar —Ashtoret —Athtoret —Aphtoret—Aphrotet—Aphroditê.

⁸⁵ i.e. the Euphrateans.

⁸⁶ *Periégesis*, I. xiv. 6 ; vide R. B. Jr., *The Great Dionysiak Myth*, i. 217 et seq.

⁸⁷ Vide Rev. Wm. Houghton, *Natural History of the Ancients*, 172, note.

⁸⁸ Fig. XIX.

⁸⁹ This position, which is very common

on Kypriot cylinders (vide Cesnola, *Salamina*, Pls. xii., xiii. etc.) and is also found in the Hittite inscriptions and on Euphratean cylinders (vide Lajard, *Culte de Mithra*, Pl. xxxii. Fig. 7.), best illustrates the combined circle and crescent.

⁹⁰ The Palaimôn of the Hellenes, son of the Aryan Moon-goddess Inô (=Iuno, Juno, "the Bright").

⁹¹ Lenormant, *Ancient History of the East*, ii. 279.

whether this caduceus was borrowed from the Greeks and Hermes, or whether it is a relic of some far older eastern god. The caduceus is no uncommon object on Carthaginian steles."⁹² I have no hesitation in replying that *this* (so-called) *caduceus* is not borrowed from the Hellenic Hermês, but belongs to the symbolism of the Euphratean Moon-goddess, as is most conclusively shown by its connexion with the disk, crescent, and bull's head. In further illustration of the point I may mention a very curious Mithraic gem⁹³ obtained by Mr. A. J. Evans, F.S.A., at Scardona, in

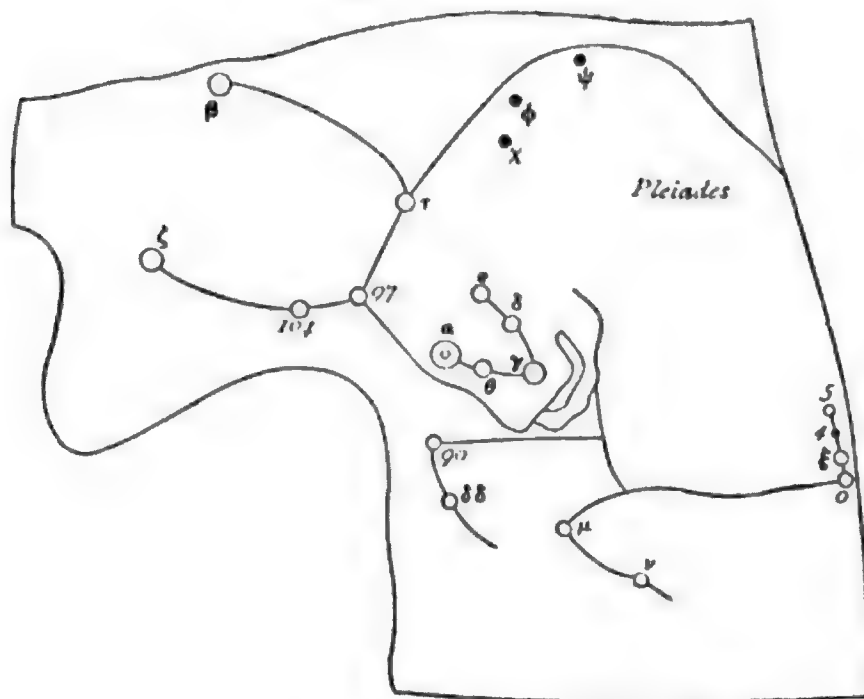


Fig. XX.—The Zodiacal *Taurus*.

Illyricum, on which is engraved "a bee,⁹⁴ from whose mouth, in place of a proboscis, proceeds the twisted end of a caduceus," which is plain and simple in design, not formed of serpents, etc. The symbolism and reference in this case are clearly of a lunar character. And this circle and semicircle which thus primarily represent the outlines of the changing lunar orb, subsequently come to signify also its monthly and half-monthly course, and so are ultimately equivalent to the lunar Serpent or two Serpents, which thus appear on the *caduceus* of Hermês, and give

⁹² *History of Art in Phœnicia and Cyprus*, ii. 67.

⁹³ Figured in *Archæologia*, XLVIII. i. 23.

⁹⁴ Vide *sup.*, p. 459.

rise to the terms *Caput* and *Cauda Draconis*, as applied to the moon's nodes (knots), or the two points in the heavens where the moon's orbit intersects the plane of the ecliptic.⁹⁵

X.

Lastly, let us notice the application of the myth of the lunar Bull to the second portion of the zodiac, now the constellation *Taurus*.⁹⁶ The *Hyades*, i.e., (1) α , *Aldebaran* ("the Follower"—of the *Pleiades*), also called *Ain-el-Tawr* ("the Eye-of-the-Bull"); (2) θ , (3) γ , (4) δ , and (5) ϵ , constitute the nucleus of the constellation, and also themselves form a crescent, which is reduplicated on a larger scale by the stars β , *Nath* ("Horn-push"), τ , 97, 104 and ζ , "the one at the end of the southern horn."⁹⁷ The Rev. Wm. Houghton observes:—"I suspect that the constellation *Taurus*, as known to the early star-gazers of Babylonia, was only that portion of it which . . . has the aspect of a bull's head;"⁹⁸ and this is more than probable, because (1) Stellar figures which represent the sun or moon when partly visible are at times themselves divided, e.g. *Pégasos*, the Demi-horse, i.e. the Sun half risen above the horizon, and *Taurus* is pre-eminently the Crescent, or Demi-moon; (2) *Taurus* in later art, as in the description of Aratos, generally appears as a demi-bull;⁹⁹ (3) the Demi-bull appears on a Euphratean uranographic-stone;¹⁰⁰ and (4) the natural arrangement of the stars of this constellation distinctly suggests a demi-bull when once the idea of a bull's head is attached to them. Mr. Houghton further observes, as I had myself remarked, that "the astronomical symbol

⁹⁵ Vide R. B. Jr., *The Unicorn*, 72. In Hindu astronomy the ascending node is called *Rāhu* ("the Head") and the descending node *Kētu* ("the Tail"). Mythically this head and tail represent an eclipse- and mischief-causing monster cut in two by Vishnu (For representations of *Rāhu* and *Kētu*, vide Moor, *Hindu Pantheon*, Pl. lxxxviii.).

⁹⁶ Vide Fig. XX.; *sup.* p. 465.

⁹⁷ Ptolemy. I have quoted the remark of Aratos that these stars resemble the

head of a bull (*sup.* p. 457).

⁹⁸ *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, vi. 469.

⁹⁹ Thus he is a demi-bull on the Farnese Globe and in the Planisphere of Geruvigus. So Ovid:—"Pars prior apparet: posteriora latent" (*Fasti*, iv. 718).

¹⁰⁰ Vide R. B. Jr., *Eridanus*, Fig. iv. p. 77. The entire animal is also shown in Euphratean constellation-figures (vide Fig. XXI).

for Taurus (σ) and the Accadian sign \Downarrow for 'bull' are [practically] identical in form." The \smile (crescent-moon) is formed by β , τ , 97, 104 and ζ ; and the \circ (full-moon) by τ , γ , α , and 97.

As the first antediluvian king Aloros is connected with *Aries*,¹⁰¹ so is the second, Alaparos, with *Taurus*. Alap-ar-os (the Akkadian *alap*, "divine bull," and *ur*, 'foundation'), "the Bull-of-the-foundation," or, possibly "Bull-of-light," *ur* also meaning 'light' in Akkadian, is here the Moon, the prolific and light-burning power which marks the seasons and kosmic order, and is reduplicated in *Aldebaran* and *Taurus* as the Ram-sun is in *Hamal* and *Aries*. There is reason to believe that in rudimentary astronomy the ecliptic was first regarded as the path of the Moon-bull.

There are also several other interesting points in connexion with the origin of the zodiacal *Taurus*, three of which I may here notice. The heavenly Bull has (1) very large horns, (2) a hump, and (3) bent legs.

I. *The Bull's Horns*. Aratos alludes to the zodiacal *Bull* as $\kappa\epsilon\alpha\delta\acute{o}\nu\ \tau\alpha\upsilon\rho\omicron\nu$, and in all probability it represents the Urus (*Bos primigenius*), the Assyrian *Rimu*, Hebrew *Rem*, and Akkadian *Am-si* ("Horned-bull"), i.e. the Bull with huge horns, which latter name is thus exactly reproduced by Aratos.¹⁰² Mr. C. J. Ball, in a review of the revised version of the Old Testament, remarks, "That famous heraldic beast the unicorn is rightly supplanted by the wild ox, represented in the sculptures with two long curving horns and a hump;"¹⁰³ and Mr. Houghton, speaking of the cattle represented on the monuments, says:—"There appear to have been both a long-horned and a short-horned variety."¹⁰⁴ The Bull depicted on the Black Obelisk has large curving horns, whose points unite, thus forming both a crescent and a full-moon.

II. *The Hump*. The cattle depicted in Assyrian sculpture "have a hump more or less developed" on the shoulder, calling to mind to some extent the humped Zebu (*Bos Indicus*) of India.¹⁰⁵ This feature is well shown in the

¹⁰¹ Vide sup. p. 456.

¹⁰² Vide R. B. Jr., *The Heavenly Display*, 24.

¹⁰³ *The Academy*, June 27, 1885.

¹⁰⁴ *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, v. 42.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

annexed representation ¹⁰⁶ of *Taurus*, a specimen of the "short-horned variety," which is shown with a similar pair of huge horns over it, and in the same attitude elsewhere.¹⁰⁷ The circular hump and the circular lump between the horns are connected in symbolism with the full-moon, appropriately with which the whole Bull is here depicted. This



Fig. XXI.—*Taurus*. (From a Euphratean Boundary-stone).

hump is faithfully preserved in the stellar Bull, being formed by stars χ , ϕ , ψ , and the *Pleiades*. This humped or gibbous bull often appears in art. Thus Mr. C. W. King gives an illustration of a Persian gem bearing a large-humped, long-horned and couchant bull;¹⁰⁸ and remarks that "it is a very significant fact that on all these Persian gems the sacred bull is invariably of the Brahminic breed, whilst that, the object of the chase, is the ordinary European beast."¹⁰⁹ The mistake here consists in supposing this sacred

¹⁰⁶ Fig. XXI.

¹⁰⁷ Vide Geo. Smith, *Assyrian Discoveries*, Fig. xix. Emblems of the gods [Host of Heaven] on stone of Merodach

Baladan I.

¹⁰⁸ *The Gnostics and their Remains*, Fig. xxvii.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.* 238.

humped bull to be Indian in origin, whereas it is Euphratean, and appears in one instance on the same cylinder on which is shown Istar-Virgo and her Ear-of-corn,¹¹⁰ thus illustrating the above-noticed connexion between the two.¹¹¹

III. *The Bent Legs of the Bull.* The animal is at times so represented in Euphratean art,¹¹² and this feature is naturally and easily preserved in the stellar *Taurus*.¹¹³ Aratos speaks of "the *Bull's* crouching legs,"¹¹⁴ and of the *Bull* as "fallen near the *Driver's* feet,"¹¹⁵ i.e. at the feet of *Auriga*.

Thus was developed the stellar Bull, a reduplication of the lunar Bull; and we may remember in this connexion the sacred Ox of Kadmos, which bore on its side a white spot resembling the full-moon.¹¹⁶ Kadmos ("the Easterner") is both a solar personage and the representative of Phœnician colonization in Hellas, and Phœnicia is a daughter of the Euphrates Valley. Caylus¹¹⁷ gives a gem which shows the Mithraic Bull with its tail ending in three ears-of-wheat, at once *Spica* and the *Fleur-de-lys*, and thus illustrating the connexion between *Virgo* and *Taurus*.

The persistence and continuity of archaic ideas are so great, and the West has adopted so much from the East that, improbable as it might appear at first sight, we shall not ultimately be surprised to find some thoughts of the early dwellers in the Euphrates Valley preserved in stone in the famous old city of York.

¹¹⁰ Vide *sup.* Fig. VII.

¹¹¹ Vide Lajard, *Culte de Mithra*, Pl. liv. Fig. 7.

¹¹² Vide Fig. XXI.

¹¹³ Vide Fig. XX.

¹¹⁴ *Phainomena*, 517.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.* 167.

¹¹⁶ Pausanias, IX. xii. 1.

¹¹⁷ *Recueil d'Antiquités*, Vol. VI. Pl. lxxiv. Fig. 1.

EXTRACTS FROM THE PARISH REGISTER OF WADWORTH.

Communicated by JOHN SYKES, M.D., F.S.A.

BAPTISMS.

1576. July 21st, George, son of Richard Peck, gent.
„ Oct. 17th, Johne, son of Johne Cockson, gent.
1578. Jany. 13, Dorothye, daur. of James Rawson, gent.
1581. May 1, Phylippe, son of James Rawson.
„ May 5, Elizabeth, daur. of Richarde Pecke, gent.
1587. Aug. 27, Edeth, daur. of Ric. Peck, gent.
„ March 17, Mary, daur. of Michael Cocksonne, gent.
1593. Feb. 10, Mary, daur. of Raphe Bossevyle, esq.
1594. Sep. 21, Edward, son of Tho. Vernon, gent.
1595. Aug. 17, Elizabeth, daur. of Thomas Vernon.
1596. March 24, Dorothy, daur. of Raphe Bossevyle, esq.
1597. July 2, Ann, daur. of Tho. Vernon.
1598. Nov. 3, Robte, son of Tho. Snyderall, vicar of Wadworth.

Here endeth the copy of the old paper book of the Register, commanded by a constitution made by the authority of the Archbishops and the rest of the Clergy and Clerks of the convocation, &c.

1599. Oct. 4, John, son of Tho. Snyderall, vicar.
1600. Oct. 5, Edward, son of Tho. Vernon.
1602. April 9, Jervas, son of Thomas Pecke, gent.
1603. May 18, Thomas, son of Thomas Peck, of Wilsicke, gent.
1604. Sept. 10, Mary, daur. of Tho. Vernon.
„ Nov. 29, Ann, daur. of Tho. Pecke of Wilsicke, gent.
1605. March 23, Susanna, daur. of Wm. Copley, gent.
1607. Aug. 2, Catheryn, daur. of Thomas Vernon.
„ Oct. 4, Jo, son of Nycholas Bakster.
„ Nov. 8, Lyonell, son of Wm. Copleye, gent.
1608. Feb. 19, Godfrey, son of Thomas Vernon.
1610. March. 26, Michael, son of Johne Piereponte.
„ Dec. 9, Wm., son of Nycholas Backster.

1612. July 27, Marye, daur. of John Pierrepont, gent.
 „ Sept. 6, Hieromy, son of Hieromye Swyfte.
 1616. July 1, Ffrancis, daur. of Jo. Pierrepont, gent.
 1617. Aug. 19, John, son of Jo. Pierrepont, gent.
 1625. March 19, Robert, son of Manasses Woodrofe.
 1631. May 3, Ann, daur. of Christopher Copley, gent.
 1632. June 12, Elizabeth, daur. of Christopher Copley, gent.
 1634. Oct. 2, Sarah, daur. of Christopher Copley, gent.

[N.B. No baptismal Register from 1634 to 1653—19 years.]

1656. Dec. 11th, the marriage betwixt Mr. Richard Worsoppe (clerk and then the present incumbent) and Mrs. Mary Barke, of Barneborough Grange, was solemnized before Mr. Darcy Wentworth, of Brodsworth, and Mr. Bedford [vicar], of Melton.
 1657. July 13th, Mrs. Mary Beattie, wife of Mr. John Battie, was buried.
 1657. March 12, Daujd Needles, buried.
 1658. May 22nd, William Copley, of Rotheram, esq., late of Louersall and formerly an inhabitant of this town, was buried in our church.
 1658. June 3, Mr. John Battie and Mrs. Anne Killam was married.
 „ Feb. 2, John, son of Richard Worsoppe, clerk and then the present incumbent of Wadworth. Born the 11th of January.
 „ March 12th, Henry, son of Mr. John Battie. Born March 11th.
 1660. July 31, Richard, son of Richard Worsoppe, clerk. Born July 3.
 1661. July 27th, (mem.) that Mr. Richard Worsopp departed Wadworth.
 „ Sept. 15th, Dorothy, daur. of Mr. John Battie.
 1663. Aug. 11th (?), Johannes filius Johannis Battie, genr., et Annæ uxoris ejus.
 1664. Jan. 31, Petrus filius Abraham et Elizabethæ Pegge.
 1665. Ann filia Johann Battie, genr., et Annæ uxoris ejus.
 1666. Sept. 23, Elizabet' filia Abrah' et Elizabet' Pegge.
 1667. July 30, Elizabeth filia Johannis Battie, genr.
 1669. May 25, Elizabeth filia Abrah et Elizabet' Pegge.
 1676. April 23, Jana filia Thomæ et Dorotheæ Cookson.
 „ Oct. 21, Castiliana filia Johannis Beckworth, armigr. et Castilianæ uxoris ejus.
 „ March 20, Gulielmus et Elizabetha liberi spurij Margret' Wade Viduæ quos Gulielmus Hurst, baccalaur, (ut existimabatur) genuit, baptiz fuerunt.

1677. Feb. 3, Maria filia Thomæ Cookson.

1683. May 20, Thomas filius Thomæ Cookson.

[Desunt anni octo Baptismatum 1694-1702.]

1703. Oct. 20, Katherine, daur. of Lionel Copley, esq., and Mary his wife.

1705. Dec. 5, Godfrey, son of Lionel Copley, esq.

1708. Nov. 3, Hester, daur. of William Arthur, gent.

1709. Nov. 26, Lionel, son of Lionel Copley, esq., and Mary his wife.

„ Dec. 13, John, son of William Arthur, gent., and Hester his wife.

1710. Dec. 17, Daniel, son of William Arthur, gent., and Hester his wife.

1711. Dec. 9, William, son of William Arthur, gent., and Hester his wife.

1712. May 25, William, son of Lyonel Copley, esq., and Mary his wife.

1714. Dec. 17, Thomas, son of William Arthur, gent., and Hester his wife.

1716. May 29, Thomas, son of William Masterson, esq., and of Martha his wife.

„ Aug. 14, John, son of Mr. Charles Arthur and Grace his wife.
(Bur. Feb. 27, 1732, at Wadsworth.)

1718. June 10, Thomas, son of the Rev. Mr. Charles Arthur and Grace his wife.

„ July 26, Hannibal, a servant boy to Thomas Mainwaring, esq.

1719. Dec. 5, Charles, son of the Rev. Mr. Charles Arthur and Grace his wife.

1722. Oct. 18, Katherine, daur. of the Rev. Mr. Charles Arthur and Grace his wife.

1725. Feb. 10, Jane, daur. of Joshua and Hanah Whittecar.

1727. May 18, Mary, daur. of Samuëll Ffoley, esq., and Mary his wife.

„ Sept. 13, William, son of William Sotheron, esq., and Lucy his wife.

„ Nov. 1, Sarah, daur. of Josuah and Hanah Whittecar.

1730. May 14, George, son of Samuel Ffoley, esq., and Mary his wife.

1746. March 2, Thomas and Sarah, twins, son and daur. of William Wordsworth.

1748. May 30, John, son. of William Wordsworth.

MARRIAGES.

1592. May 19, Rich. Hamman and A. B., 2 str.

1593. May 28, Tho. Vernon and Catheryn Ellwes. (A family named Elwes lived at Wilsick, in the parish of Tickhill.)

1593. Nov. 18, Richard Snyderall and Vrsley Kydd.
 1598. Dec. 4, Tho. Snyderall Vicar and Eliz. Williamson.
 1599. Nov. 18, Johne Vycars, *alias* Cartwright, and Dorothye Arrow-smyth.
 1606. May 9, Tho. Snyderall Vic and Elizabeth Bannek.
 1609. April 18, Johne Pierponte, gent., and Margaret, daur. of Michael Cocksonn, gent.
 1611. Oct. 29, Edmund Wirrall, gent., and Marye, daur. of Michall Cocksonn, late of Wadworth, gent.
 „ Feb. 6, Richard Hodson and Marye Copleye, daur. of Jervis Copley, of Tyckhill.
 1624. Aug. 5, Henry Barrow, Clark, and Elizabeth Childers.
 1663. Jan. 4, Abraham Pegge et Elizabetham Ranfield, viduam, p. Dom. Samuelem Burdett (vicar of Arksey).
 1665. Oct. 26, Gulelmum Stephens, cleric, et Margret Battie.
 1672. Jany. 13, Thomam Cookson et Dorotheam Blackburne, viduam.
 1674. May 14, Johannem Crofts de civitate Ebor armiger, et Annam filia Lionelis Copley, de Wadworth armiger.
 „ Feb. 6, Rich. Handley, de Sheffield pharmacopol, et Sarah Allsop, de Sheffield, diet spinster.
 1675. April 27, Timotheum Rakes, cleric, vicar de Tickhill, et Joannam Partridge, de Wellingly, spinster.
 „ Sept. 28, Johann. Beckwith, de Thurcroft, armiger, et Castilianam Copley, de Wadworth, spinster.
 1678. May 1, Simonem Martyn, de Doncaster, brasiar, et Mariam Rhodes ejusdam parochiæ, spinster.
 1679. June 10, Daniele Whitaker et Winnifredam Shephard.
 1680. Feb. 10, Valentin Hurt et Mariam Saxon, de Rotherham.
 1686. Feb. 10, Mattheum Pashley et Mariam Wharton, de Rotherham.
 1691. Dec. 29. Jonathan Frost et Dorothy Wither, de Braithwill.
 „ March 6, Georgium Vicars, de Doncaster, genr., et Elizabeth Hunter, de Barnby super Dun.
 1692. Oct. 13, Johannem Tofield, de Lou'sall, gener, et Hannam Box, de Coningsbrough, spinster.
 „ Nov. 7, Gulielmum Johnson, de Sct. Joyles in Crippe Gate, in com. Middlesex, gener, et Eleanor Wolrich, de Brotherton in com. Ebor, viduam.
 „ Nov. 17, John Brailsford and Ann Johnson, of Chesterfield.
 „ Nov. 24, John Copley and Winnefred.
 1694-5. Jany. 22, Samuelem Cockaine et Jesset Banishmt. deliverance Saunderson.¹

¹ Samuel Cockin and Jeslett Sander-
 son were married January 22 by Abraham

Pegge, vic. de Wadworth, 1694-5,—
 [Barnby Dun Parish Register.]

1693. Nov. 16, Petrum Lee et Elizabeth Storkey.
1695. Oct. 20, William ffaram and Anne Smith, both of the parish of
Doncaster.
- „ Feb. 16, Gerrhard Yarbrough and Anne Ealy.
1698. Aug. 4, Mr. Isaac Millner, of London, merchant, and Mrs. Anne
Copley, of Wadworth.
- „ Aug. 2, Hugh Annis and Dorothy Waring, widow, both of Don-
caster.
1701. Sept. 17, Samuel Roberts, of Attercliffe, in the parish of Sheffield,
and Mrs. Sarah Willson, of this towne.
- „ Sept. 30, William Cook and Elizabeth Thwaites, both of the parish
of Campsall.
1702. May 28, Mr. Joshua Pearson, of Edlington, clerk, and Mrs. Anne
Ward, of Stainton, spinster.
- „ Aug. 23, John Scholah and Anne Whitaker, of Lou'sall.
1704. Nov. 16, William Arthur, gent., and Mrs. Hesther Jackson, widow
then.
1706. Aug. 29, Mr. John Arthur and Mrs. Martha Mawhood, both of
the parish of Doncaster.
1713. Feb. 25, John Laughton, of Tickhill, gent., and Mrs. Elizabeth
Mainwaring.
1715. Sept. 11, William Walls, gent., and Hannah Petty.
- „ March 22, Grandfeild Crabbtree, of Doncaster, and Sarah Johnson,
of this parish.
1718. Sept. 7, Mr. William Broadbent, of the town and parish of Blyth,
gauger, in the county of Nottingham, and Mrs. Hanah Tofield,
of Conisbrough. By licence.
1725. April 26, Samuill Foley, esq., and Ms Mary Sunderland.
- „ May 9, Josuah Whittecar and Hanah Fflockton.
1726. Nov. 24, John Boswell and Ann Brownhill.

BURIALS.

1576. Oct. 7, Johne, son of Johne Cocksonne, gent.
1578. Sept. 30, Edmund Worley, of Wylsick, gent.
1579. May 13, Old Wydow Swallowe.
- „ Oct. 6, Wylliam Swynowe, gent.
- „ Feb. 2, Leonard Oglethorppe, gent. (see Vis. 1584—5).
- „ Feb. 11, Tho. Steele, of Anston, gent.

1580. April 25, Jane, daur. of Jo. Cockson, gent.
 „ Sept. 14, ffrancis, daur. of Ric. Pecke, gent.
 1582. June 1, Thomas Copley, husband.
 „ June 27, Johne Copley, husbandm.
 1583. April 5, Robte Oglesthorppe, gent.
 „ Sept. 5, Richard fflowler, laborer, primus infectus.

[A visitation of the plague. There are 27 entries with the letter *p* opposite to them, from Sept. to Jany. inclusive.]

1583. Oct. 26, ffranncois Schatyerd, parish clerk, *p*.
 1584. Aug. 2, Jo. Cocksonn, gent.
 1586. April 2, James Greaves, of Tadcaster.
 1587. Dec. 20, Edeth, daur. of Rich. Pecke.
 1588. Oct. 24, Mary, wife of Edward Vernon, gent.
 1589. Oct. 3, Catheryn, wife of Ric. Pecke, gent.
 1590. Feb. 17, Vx. Oglesthorppe, wife of Robte, gent.
 1591. April 3, Agnes Ranfelde, *alias* Snyderdall, widow.
 1592. Oct. 8, Catheryn, daur. of Robte Oglesthorpp, gent.
 „ Nov. 28, Edward Vernon, gent.
 „ Feb. 10, Hugh, son of Wm. Lawton, gent.
 1593. Feb. 18, Mychaell, son of Jo. Vycars.
 1594. Oct. 3, Edward, son of Tho. Vernon.
 1597. July 20, Mychaell Squyar, smith.
 „ Jany. 4, Als Oglesthorpp vid, wife of Leon.
 1599. Oct. 2, John, son of Thomas Snyderdall, vicar.
 „ Oct. 4, Robt., son of Thomas Snyderdall, vicar.
 „ Oct. 4, Elizabeth, wife of Thomas Snyderdall, vicar.
 1602. April 8, Mrs. Vernon.
 „ July 13, Edeth, wife of Michael Coxson, gent.
 1604. Sept. 23, Jo., son of Mr. William Copley.
 1605. March 18, Thomas Bank, gent.
 1606. July 10, Vx. Swynowe, wife of Wm. Swynow, late of Wadsworth,
 gent, deceased.
 „ Aug. 8, Xpofer Copleye, gent.
 1610. Sept. 11, Mychaell Cocksonn, gent.
 1612. Sept. 23, Susan, late wife of Xpofer Copleye.
 1614. Aug. 25, ffrancys Copley, gent.
 1616. Sept. 25, ffrancis, daur. of Johne Pierrepont, gent.
 1620. June 12, Thomas Snyderdall, late vicar of Wadsworth.
 „ July 22, Margaret, wife of John Pierrepont, gent.
 1629. Feb. 10, John, son of John Pierrepont.

1631. Jan. 26, George, son of John Pierrepont, gent.
 1665. March 20, Henricus filius Johannis Battie, genr.
 1666. Sept. 1, Elizabeth Pegge filia Abrah Pegge, cler.
 1671. July 24, Susann filia Christopheri Copley, armigr.
 1675. Dec. 19, Lionel Copley, armiger.
 1676. Dec. 16, Castiliana filia Johannis et Castilianæ Beckworth.
 1682. Oct. 1, Francis Battie, esq.
 „ Dec. 20, Elizabeth, wife of Abraham Pegg, clerk.
 1684. Feb. 1, Mrs. Martha Battie, relict of Francis Battie, esq.
 „ Feb. 10, Mr. Ambrose Harpam.
 1686. Nov. 14, Charles Snell, Dr. of Physick.
 1689. May 15, Elizabeth, daur. of John Beckwith, esq., and Castiliana
 his wife.
 1696. Nov. 7, Triziliaana, widow of Lionell Copley, esq.
 „ Dec. 4, Mr. Samuell Cook.
 „ Dec. 13, Mrs. Elizabeth Corbett, junior.
 1698. Sept. 22, Mrs. Anne Harpam.
 1700. May 15, Mrs. Castiliana Mauliverer.
 1702. March 9, Mr. Abr. Pegg, vicar.
 1704. Jany. 31, Katherine, daur. of Lionell Copley, esq.
 1708. Dec. 3, William, son of William Arthur, gent.
 1711. Nov. 29, The Rev. Mr. Robt. Wace, vicar.
 1712. Oct. 28, William, son of Lyonell Copley, esq., and Mary his wife.
 1718. July 13, Thomas, son of the Rev. Mr. Charles Arthur, vicar, and
 Grace his wife.
 1721. April 13, John, son of Charles Young, of Edlington, gent. [See
 Cantley for burials of this family.]
 1726. Sept. 17, Lucy, daur. of William Sotheron, esq., and Lucy his wife.
 1731. Jan. 5, Valantine Frederick Arthur.
 1737. Nov. 5, Jane, daur. of Mr. Mainwaring Arthur.
 1739. April 4, Thos., son of Mr. William Arthur.
 1741. Nov. 21, William Arthur, gent.

NORTHALLERTON CHURCH, YORKS.

By the Rev. J. L. SAYWELL, F.R.Hist.S.

THE ancient church of Northallerton, Yorkshire, is undoubtedly one of the most interesting edifices, from an archæological point of view, to be found in the county. Coeval with some of our oldest cathedrals, and having passed through many of the same vicissitudes, it is not difficult to trace its history, almost from the period of its foundation to the present time, in the marks of decay, spoliation, and renovation which appear on the surface of the fabric, both inside and out. The testimony of its stones presents an almost unbroken link of evidence as to its antiquity, and the various stages of prosperous and adverse circumstances, which it has happily survived. It is a pile which the ardent antiquarian and archæologist cannot survey without regretting that the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings did not exist at a more remote period than modern times; for the lamentable disfigurement of architectural features, and want of taste exhibited in particular places, demonstrate more eloquently than words can describe, that Time the great consumer of all things, had more than once been in league with vandalism and false economy. Its fair state of preservation, however, may be attributed to its comparatively sheltered position in the Vale of York, across which it lies east and west; in which respect it resembles its younger but more graceful sister at Thirsk.

When the first Christian church was built at Northallerton, it is difficult to say, but conjectures are many and rife. The Romans certainly carried with them into Britain the principles of the Christian faith, and there is not the slightest doubt that Northallerton (then known as *Camulodunum*¹) soon afterwards became a Roman military station

¹ The Roman name *Camulodunum* has been frequently appropriated on behalf of Old Malton, Yorks, and Colchester, but Sir Thomas Saville in a letter to Camden,

of considerable importance, as the mounds and intrenchments in the vicinity of the town testify ; which evidence is supported by the discovery of coins, pottery, and other relics of a distinctly Roman origin.

The Romans may therefore have erected, and probably did erect, an oratory, or small wooden shrine, around which, like that at York, a larger and more substantial edifice of stone was subsequently built. The date of this wooden erection would be somewhere between A.D. 43 and 90, and would most likely be originally intended for the use of the military forces encamping from time to time in the vicinity.² This is confirmed by the discovery at Northallerton, near the intrenchments previously alluded to, of what had been a votive altar bearing the following inscription :³

INSTANE
FLA.
HYRO.
LEG
VI.
V.

A portion of the front slab only was found, but the inscription was complete, and the stone itself was well enough preserved to enable an expert antiquary to give a tolerably good idea as to its original form.

the celebrated antiquary, conjectures the Roman city Camulodunum, mentioned by Tacitus (Annals. Lib. XII. c. 32 ; XIV. 31. 32) to be identical with Northallerton, and adds, that the Bishop of Durham had a charter in which "*Parti de Camuloduno, continens iii leucas in latitudine, atque xv in longitudine, ab Edvino Northanhumbrore regis episcopi Dunelmensis conceditur ;*" and that the see of Durham, under this very charter, enjoyed the territory of Northallerton at that day, and to that extent. (Vide Illus. Viv. Epis. 1691, p. 9.) This, however, does not affect the theory as to the existence at Northallerton of a wooden sanctuary of Roman origin ; for Gale, the first historian of the town, considers it to be so very ancient that its origin is quite unknown, although it clearly appears to have been a Saxon

borough, which like many others has arisen out of the ashes of some old Roman station, the name of which is considered doubtful. Ingledew, in his history of Northallerton, considers this conjecture to be not at all an improbable one, since it is well known that the Roman road from York to Tynemouth, which joined the Great Erming Street at Scotch Corner, passed through Romanby, then known as *Romundeby*, a village about a quarter of a mile south-west of Northallerton.

² In 85 Julius Agricola, the Roman General, subdued Scotland, and most likely encamped at Northallerton both in going and returning.

³ "*Being present, Flavius Hyronimianus, Legate of the Sixth Legion, Victorious.*"



titude of women and children. Having hallowed and blessed the river, called in English 'Swale,' he commanded by the voice of criers and maisters, that the people should enter the river confidently two by two, and in the name of the Trinitie baptise one another by turns. Thus were they all borne againe, with no lesse a miracle than in tymes past the people of Israel passed over the sea divided, and lykewise Jordane when it turned backe, for even soe, they were transported to the banke on the other side : and notwithstanding so deepe a current and channell, so great and so divers differences of sex and age, not one person took harme ; a greate miracle no doubt, but this miracle as it was, a greater pre-eminence dothe surmount ; in that all feeblenesse and infirmitie was layed off in that river, for whosoever was sicke and deformed returned out of it whole and reformed."⁷ On the authority of the Venerable Bede, St. Paulinus founded Southwell Minster in the year 630, and Southwell would then be situate within the limits of the Bishop's missionary diocese of Northumbria. Northallerton Church may possibly have been built by St. Paulinus as a memorial of the great baptism in the Swale, or as a thank-offering to God for the abundant success vouchsafed to him during his missionary labours in the north of his diocese, as Southwell Minster perhaps was to signalise his success in the south of Northumbria.

2. Northallerton Church is dedicated to All Saints, which is usually regarded as indicative of Saxon origin. Archdeacon Churton says : " Many of the Saxon churches were dedicated to All Saints. Indeed, it is probable that wherever there is a church so dedicated, it is of Saxon foundation."⁸

3. During the recent restoration of Northallerton Church the existence of a Saxon church at Northallerton has been almost conclusively proved by the discovery of a quantity of Saxon stonework in a good state of preservation. The most important finds are the stone head of a king, which Canon Greenwell thinks may possibly be intended to represent the saintly King Oswald, who with St. Aidan continued the work of christianising Northumbria after the death of Edwin and the flight of Paulinus ; and a rudely carved grotesque

⁷ Vide Epistle to St. Eulogius, Patriarch of Alexandria, on the Conversion of the Britons.

⁸ Churton's "Early English Church," q. v.

figure resembling a lamb, with an aureola.⁹ The other relics consist of fragments of Saxon crosses, several of them very fine specimens ; one in particular, an almost perfect head of a Saxon churchyard cross and a portion of its shaft, not unlike one of the crosses at Iona in Scotland. The others are portions of monumental crosses, the carving on two of them being wicker-pattern, or quasi-Runic. There is also a quern, or upper mill-stone, of perhaps earlier date, probably Roman, and two portions of stone coffin lids with crosses, one known as a St. Cuthbert's cross, and the other with a hand having the fingers extended in the attitude of benediction. A large stone coffin, minus the lid, with indented pillow and bed carved out inside, was dug up several years ago in the churchyard. The above remains have been carefully preserved inside the church, and are well worth inspection.

4. An *a fortiori* argument for the antiquity and Saxon origin of Northallerton Church is found in the fact that during the restoration of Brompton Church, formerly a Chapelry in the ecclesiastical parish of Northallerton, very many valuable and rare specimens of semi-Runic and Saxon stonework were found, the best of which were removed by Canon Greenwell to his museum at Durham. The mother church at Northallerton had most probably been despoiled for substance wherewith to build her daughter church of Brompton.

5. The existence of so many rich Saxon crosses at Northallerton and Brompton, would seem to shew, that there must have been Saxon Christian families of importance resident in and around Northallerton in very early times ; if so, then they must have had a church to worship in.

Altogether it will be seen, that there is much to be said in favour of a Saxon Church at Northallerton, but although its site is not disputed, we unfortunately do not possess any reliable information as to its form, lines, or proportions.

This Saxon Church at Northallerton, however, only enjoyed a short existence of a hundred and forty years ; for in 769 Beornredus, or Earnredus a tyrant of Northumberland burnt down Catterick, the Roman Cataractonium, about eight miles distant from Northallerton.¹⁰ It is generally supposed that Northallerton and its church shared the same

⁹ This piece is not included in the following sketch. The work is early Saxon.

¹⁰ Gale's MSS.

fate. But if even the church had then escaped, which is not very likely, it would most certainly have been destroyed, or the little that remained of it, when in 1069 William the Conqueror ravaged and destroyed the country on all sides, on his way to avenge the murder of Robert Cumin, Earl of Northumberland, by the Northumbrians. In a general survey made shortly afterwards, Northallerton is described as "*modo wastum est.*" At what period the church was rebuilt, cannot be precisely stated, but very likely somewhere about 1100, or soon afterwards; for it appears that in 1163, Thomas, the seventh prior of Durham, engaged with Bishop Pudsey in a dispute about the Church of Alverton, and a violent contention arose, in which the monks not supporting their prior as they ought to have done, in protection of the rights of the church, the prior was deposed by the bishop, the former retiring to the island of Farne, in which St. Cuthbert formerly had his residence, and restoring some of the buildings there, lived the life of a recluse.¹¹

What the form of this Norman Church was, we do not know, but from the fact of there being only one Norman arcade now existing, it seems likely that it consisted simply of a chancel, nave, and north aisle.¹² The Norman tower would be a small one, standing a little to the north east of the present one. Quantities of Norman stonework have been found built into the Early English arcade on the south side of the nave, as well as in the walls of the modern chancel just pulled down. It is very probable, nay, almost certain, that the Norman chancel was a continuation of the long nave, with an apsidal east end, separated only by a wooden screen.¹³ There were six bays in the Norman arcade, the pillar supporting the centre arch being a double one. This species of column is not unfrequent, and is usually considered to be the first step towards the clustered arrangement of pillars, a specimen of which may be seen, in the form of a pilaster or respond supporting the western arch. Ingledew's statement that the "arrangement of the nave was evidently that of a nave with clerestory and aisles," is sufficiently hypothetical to be untrustworthy. The capitals are square,

¹¹ Ang. Sac. 721. Geoff. de Cold.

¹² Vide Fowler's report on the restoration of the Church in 1883.

¹³ An old finely worked oaken screen,

with pinnacles, probably a rood screen of the 14th century, formerly enclosed the vestry.

with the exception of that of the third pillar, which is octagonal, its appearance indicating a square capital with the angles canted or cut off. The western doorway although possessing a semicircular arch, is not Norman (as Ingledeu erroneously states) but an Early English (13th century) imitation of the Norman style. The corresponding arch inside, and the two exterior bases are Early English, which proves the exterior arch to be a later insertion. On pulling down the east wall of the north transept in 1883, the foundation of the east wall of the Norman north aisle was exposed, which will enable archæologists to fix the lines and exact position of the Norman Church. Two pieces of carved stone in excellent preservation were also discovered—the one late Runic, and the other Norman

In 1174 Bishop Pudsey gave the Church of Durham many rich ornaments, and greatly enlarged the power of the monastery. Up to this time the Yorkshire churches belonging to Durham had appertained to the Bishops of Durham, but Pudsey in this year transferred them to the Convent of Durham, as appears from a deed of composition made with Roger de Pont, Archbishop of York. The church of Northallerton was included in this grant—"Capella et cimiterium de *Alvertona* in manu prioris Hagustald erunt, ita quod archiepiscopus non coget aliquem ibi sepeliri nec episcopus prohibebet * * * De ecclesiis B. Cuthberti quarum hæc sunt nomina in archidiaconatu Johannis filii Letoldi. Ecclesia de Hamingburgh, ecclesia de Skipewith, ecclesia de *Alverton*, ecclesia de Bretteby, ecclesia de Osmunderlay, ecclesia de Siggistone, ecclesia de Leic, ecclesia de Ottrinton, ecclesia de Creek, ecclesia de Holteby."¹⁴

In 1180 (circa) the Norman church was altered and incorporated into a much larger Early English Church, of which the south arcade of the nave, the western doorway, and the two transepts form part. From the massive fragments of window tracery, jambs, and capitals which have recently been found, we may conclude that both the Norman and Early English chancels were lofty, rich, and beautiful; although of course there is no doubt that the first windows inserted in the chancel and north and south transepts of the

¹⁴ Vide Hoveden, p. 309, edit. 1596. Mon. Ang. Tom. III. p. 163, et Randall's MSS.

Early English Church were Lancets similar to those now remaining. The new south aisle at that time, as well as the Norman north aisle, would probably be very narrow. Fifty years later more room seems to have been required, and the narrow south aisle was enlarged to its present size.¹⁵ A portion of the earlier narrow arch in the west wall of the north transept can still be seen.

In or about the year 1218, Gualo, the Pope's legate, summoned the clergy of the neighbourhood to appear before him in Northallerton Church at Easter, where he gave absolution to some who satisfied his demands, obliged some to repair to the Court at Rome, and passed on others sentences of suspension or deposition on the different degrees of obstinacy in the persons accused, as his own views of gain directed.¹⁶ There is a rare engraving still extant by Sir Robert Strange, entitled "Gualo, the Pope's Legate, fleecing the dignified Clergy of Cleveland, at the Church of Northallerton."

"In 1292 the metropolitan see of York commenced a claim of jurisdiction over the see of Durham, with respect to such Churches belonging to Durham situate in Yorkshire. John de Emelye a notary public, and William de Wilton de Pyke his clerk, were sent to Durham by the Pope's authority, with official letters of citation and canonical mandates. John de Maydenstan, Constable of the Castle of Durham, and others the bishop's officers there, esteeming this an intrusion on the privileges of the see, imprisoned the messengers in the Castle, until bishop Beke's instructions could be obtained, who approved the conduct of his officers, and ordered the prisoners to be detained, in defiance of several admonitions sent him in writing by the Archbishop (John le Romaine) to discharge them. Whereupon, the Archbishop thundered out a sentence of interdict against him, for not releasing them 'contrary to his canonical obedience, to the peril of his soul, and the great injury and attenuation of his Archiepiscopal authority, church and religion; and for refusing to give any competent satisfaction for those contempts.' After the prisoners were released the Archbishop issued his precept, dated May, 1292, to the prior of Bolton to excommunicate the bishop of Durham, in his own

¹⁵ Vide Fowler's Report, 1863.

¹⁶ Vide Ridpath's Border History.

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the following inscription upon a tablet, which is now defaced.

THIS CHURCH WAS REBUILT AFTER ITS DESTRUCTION BY THE SCOTS IN 1318, BY THOMAS HATFIELD, BISHOP OF DURHAM, ASSISTED BY THE MUNIFICENCE OF HIS ROYAL MASTER KING EDWARD III OF BLESSED MEMORY.

Bishop Hatfield's tower is a very fine specimen of Perpendicular work, supported by four lofty arches, which spring from the sides of as many shafts, the flooring, cutting off from the view below, four narrow shafts in the angles of the tower terminated by the four evangelistic symbols, of which St. Mark's lion is mutilated; the rest are in good condition. The bell chamber is lighted by four perpendicular lights. An account of the bells will be found later on in this paper. The tower externally is a very handsome one, and is the only portion of Bishop Hatfield's work which remains in its integrity. It is eighty feet high. On the western buttress of the south transept, about eighteen feet from the ground, there is a square sundial in good condition, bearing the motto "*Ora et Labora*" above the gnomon, but no date appears upon it.

That wise and judicious prelate also founded a monastery of Carmelite, or White Friars, at Northallerton, in 1354, dedicated to the Virgin Mary.

In 1410, the jurisdiction of the Convent of Durham's Churches within the diocese of York, was again agitated, during the time of prior John de Hemmingburgh, and was determined against the Archbishop Henry Bowe. The fine Perpendicular window in the south transept, dates from the middle of the fifteenth century, and was inserted by Bishop Neville, of Durham, in the place of the comparatively small triple lancet window. The Bishop's coat of arms surmounts the apex of the window outside.

By indenture dated October 1st, 1476, Richard Moore, a draper of Northallerton, left certain lands, messuages, and tenements therein mentioned in Northallerton and elsewhere, to establish a Chantry in the Church at Northallerton, and

to appoint a Chantry priest, with a salary of £4 13s. 4*d.* per annum.

The will of Joan Hastings, widow of Sir Richard Hastings, dated March 19th, 1504, directs after disposal of her body, "I will that six priests shall pray for me, whereof one priest shall sing for ever (!) in the Monastery of Mount Grace, another in the Chantry founded by my father²⁰ in the parish church of Northallerton.

In the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* the existence of another Chantry is mentioned in connection with Northallerton Church. It was called the Chantry of St. Lawrence. The priest was appointed by the bishops of Durham, and is therefore likely to have been founded by one of them, probably by Bishop Lawrence Bothe or Booth. In 37 Hen. VIII. it was valued at £4 3s. 4*d.* Henry Gamel, or Gamwell, the last priest, had an annuity of £3 15s. granted him, which he enjoyed in 1553.²¹

There was also a Gild or Fraternity connected with the Church at Northallerton. When it was instituted is not known; but on June 9th, 1441, an indulgence of a hundred days relaxation of penance was granted to the brethren of the said Gild by Cardinal Kempe.²² In the Middleham Household Book of Richard III., is set down "xiiis. iiid. to the gild of Alverton."²³

In 1523 Cardinal Wolsey held an episcopal visitation at Northallerton Church, and gave orders for the pulling down and destruction of the parochial chapel at Romanby, in consequence of the then incumbent of Northallerton, having questioned his authority; which destruction afterwards took place, and the materials of the fabric, glebe land, and site upon which the chapel stood sold.²⁴

It was a common custom in the 16th and 17th centuries to insert stones, bearing the date of any alterations which were made at that period. Previous to the recent restoration two tablets might have been seen beneath Bishop Neville's window outside the south transept. Upon the eastern slab was the following inscription much mutilated.


²⁰ Richard de Welles. Beheaded in 1469.

²¹ Burton's MSS. et Willis.

²² Rymer. Burton's MSS.

²³ Harleian MSS. 433.

²⁴ Rymer et Todd's MSS.

COR MVNDV CREA IN ME DEVS:
 ET SPIRITVM RECTVM INNOVA IN
 VISCERIBVS MEIS  Credo VIDERE
 BONA DNI A.D.
 1576.

The last line was quite indistinct with the exception of the date: the whole inscription was "*Cor mundum crea in me Deus: et spiritum rectum innova in visceribus meis,*" (Psalm li. 10). "*Credo videre bona Domini in terra viventium,*" (Psalm xxviii. 13). The inscription on the western slab perhaps recorded some minor alterations in the transepts, but the date synchronises so far as the walls are concerned with the time when the north aisle was widened to its present dimensions.

In 1585 there were two armorial shields in painted glass in one of the windows, bearing on the dexter side, sable, three greyhounds courant in pale argent, being the arms of Mauleverer. These were impaled in one of the shields, which had a label of three points, or, with the arms of Colville, or, three torteaux, above a fess gules, and not those of Courtney as mis-stated by Glover. The coat was probably that of Sir William Mauleverer, and the lady Joan his wife. The other with a coat argent, upon a chevron, three martlets, colours and owner unknown.²⁵

At present there are only two stained glass windows in the church, both in the south aisle. The eastern one contains medallion symbols of the Seven Asiatic Churches, and the western one a representation in richly painted glass of the raising of Lazarus, in the central light. In each of the two side lights there is a coat of arms, in a collar with motto "*Deo volente,*" a shield, bearing on the dexter side, azure, two lions rampant; on sinister side, diaper, one lion rampant, surmounted with a crest, coronet and eagle displayed. The coat is that of Archbishop Palliser. The former window was erected in 1872, to the memory of the late William Stephenson Robinson of Northallerton, by his widow; the

²⁵ Glover's Visitation.

latter in 1873, to the memory of the late Michael Palliser and Elizabeth his wife, of Northallerton, by Christopher and Elizabeth Palliser.

On the north wall of the Early English chancel there appeared the following inscription :—

MARGERI RE GIST ICI A VOUS
JHU CRI MERCI.
X VOUS KI PASSEZ PAR ICI
PRIEZ PUR L'ALME KE FU
MARGERI.

The following is a literal translation :—

Here lies Margery Ree (or Ray),
To Thee, Jesu, she cries mercy ;
X All you who go by this way,
Pray for the soul that was
Margery.²⁶

Nothing further of importance occurs in the history of the church until 1779, when the Early English Chancel being in a dangerous state was pulled down, and a hideous barn-like structure, roofed with slate, erected in its place. This has just been taken down to make way for a beautiful new Perpendicular chancel in keeping with the tower. During the progress of demolition, the workmen found a small bottle tightly corked, embedded in the mortar near the apex of the eastern gable, containing a slip of parchment much discoloured, bearing the following inscriptions :—

Anno Mundi M.M.M.M.D.C.C.XXLVII.
Anno Domini M.D.C.C.LXXVIII. in the
XVIII year of the reign of Georgius III., Dei
Gratia, de Anglos, Scotia, Frances, et Hibernia
Rex. In the III^d year of the Commonwealth
Of America. The Chancel of this Church was
Entirely taken down and rebuilt at the sole
Expense of the Rector.

On the reverse side :—

. Esq^{re} & Benjⁿ Walker, Vicar, Dan. (?)
. Wm. Heny Pierse, Esq^{re}, Representatives
of the Borough. Stapleton Bennison (?), Architect.

²⁶ Vide Gale's Hist.



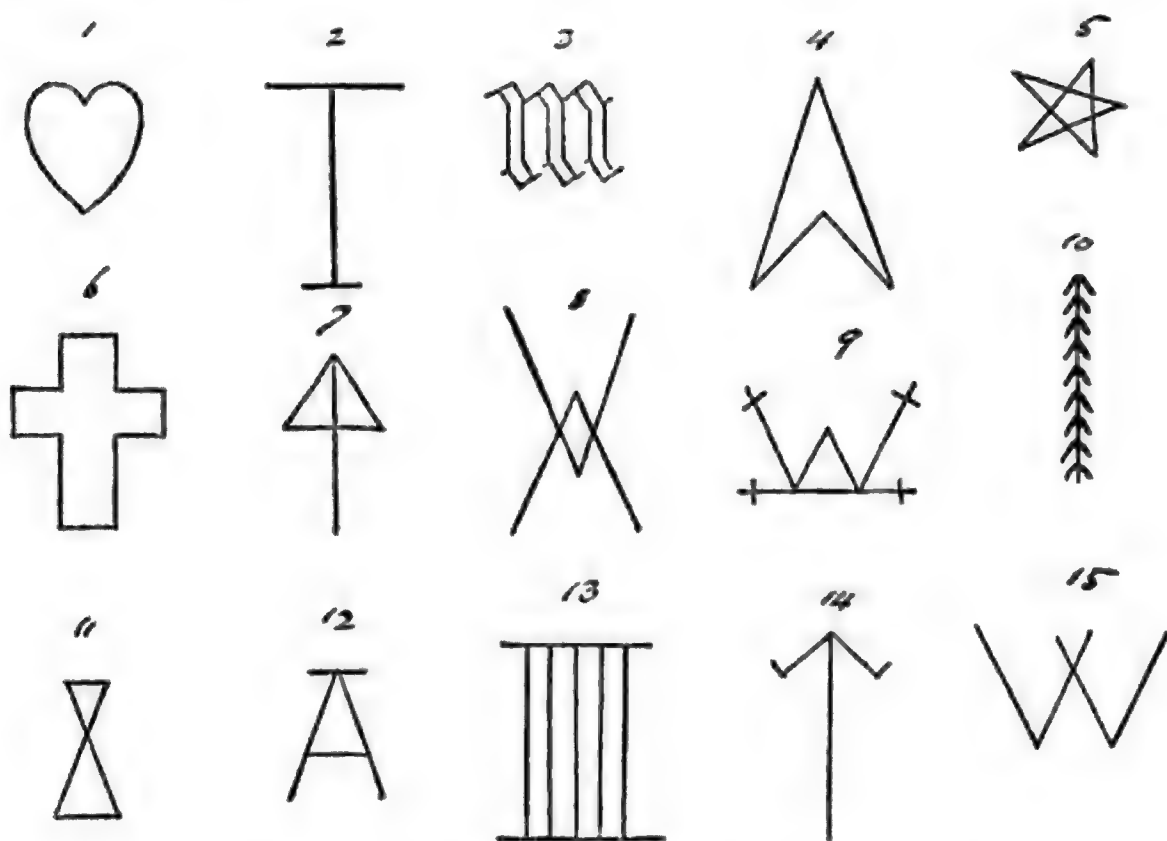
Sit Lux et Lux Fuit.



The most high, most Puissant, and most illustrious
Prince²⁷ George Montagu Duke of Manchester,
Right Worshipfull Grand Master of England.

It would appear from the above document that (1) there was a Masonic ceremonial of some kind when the head-stone of the old chancel was fixed ; that (2) the workmen engaged in its erection were an itinerant lodge of Freemasons ; and that (3) the event must have been one of considerable importance at that time.

During the restoration of the Church in 1883 the following Masons' badges, commonly called "Banker-marks," were found from time to time on the surface of the ashlar.^{27a} They are inserted because they will doubtless be interesting not only to the archæologist and antiquarian, but also to Freemasons and builders.



The marks numbered 1 and 6 are seldom met with, and are perhaps marks of itinerant masons. No. 3 is clearly a

²⁷ The title "Prince" was commonly given to Dukes at that time, and does not imply Royal affinity or connection in anyway.

^{27a} These marks are now inscribed by masons on the bed of the stone, and not on the surface.

monogram mark, and No. 13, commonly called the "*grid*," is probably the mark of some devout workman, amongst whom "Banker-marks" were often converted into religious symbols. No. 9 is found occasionally in Scotland, frequently in the northern counties of England, but never in the south. Nos. 7 and 10 are Irish marks, and No. 11 Scotch. The only Continental mark is No. 14; the rest are common English types. These marks show that at least fifteen masons chiselled and prepared the stone for the Early English church at Northallerton, of whom the majority were English workmen. There are other marks, but they are not sufficiently clear to be defined. The "*Gammadion*," or "Thor's Hammer," does not appear.

The following sketch will give some idea of the appearance of the church towards the beginning of the 17th century.



WEST PROSPECT OF NORTHALLERTON CHURCH.

Vide p. 238, Lansdown 914 MS., Brit. Mus.

The following inscription was recently exposed beneath several layers of plaster.

This Church was
Beautified
171—
William Allanson.
. . . Duke Bell.
Churchwardens.

This beautifying was found, on the further removal of plaster, to be texts of Scripture in Old English characters,

red and black, surrounded by floral and grotesque devices, covering the walls all round the inside of the church.

In 1787 the high pitched roofs of the nave, aisles, transepts, and new chancel, were lowered by the vicar and churchwardens for the time being, in order to obtain the lead, wherewith to disburse an outstanding church account of £332! Instead of the three distinct roofs which covered the nave and aisles one ugly and enormous slated roof was substituted.

In 1836 the Ecclesiastical Commissioners having made certain suggestions in a report, an Act (6 & 7 Will. IV. cap. 77), was passed, by which an episcopal see was established at Ripon. Among the various endowments of the see was the manor of Northallerton and Allertonshire, which was then transferred from the Bishop of Durham to the Bishop of Ripon, after the former had held it uninterruptedly for seven and a half centuries. It remained attached to the see of Ripon only during the episcopate of Bishop Longley.²⁸ In 1857 the manor was transferred among other portions of the revenue of the see of Ripon to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, in whose possession it now remains. The patronage of the church, however, appertains to the Dean and Chapter of Durham, and its ecclesiastical jurisdiction to the Archbishop of York.

No structural alterations worth mentioning have since taken place in the church, until the commencement of its complete restoration in November, 1882, from plans by C. Hodgson Fowler, Esq., F.S.A., at a cost of over £6,000. The roofs have been raised to their original pitch, a graceful Perpendicular window inserted at the west end of the nave, and the walls divested of several thicknesses of colour-wash. The lancet windows in the east walls of the transepts have been re-opened, and the whole building renovated and beautified. Now that the fine Perpendicular chancel is completed, Northallerton Church is doubtless one of the finest ecclesiastical buildings in the North Riding of Yorkshire. Its total length from E. to W. is 138 feet; and its breadth across the transepts 84 feet.

This paper, however, will not be complete without some account of several internal features of interest to the anti-

²⁸ Vide Hist. et Anna. of Northallerton, p. 168.

quarian and archæologist. There is a fine vesica window of the 13th century in the north transept, but the only Papal or Pre-reformation traces which remain, are the newly discovered altar with its adjacent piscina, in the south transept, the altar slab of which is missing, and the mutilated benedictura in the south porch.

The regular indentations to be seen in the south porch, and other places upon the walls of the church outside, are thought by some to have been made by the soldiers of Cromwell, when sharpening the points of their swords ; by others, "whittle marks," made by boys sharpening their knives ; and by others, mason's chisel marks. Another conjecture is that the indentations date back to the period when arrows with metal heads were the principal weapons of warfare, and that the marks were made during the process of pointing. Their depth and height from the ground and the hardness of the stone would seem to exclude the "whittle mark" theory, but support the others, whilst the prevalence of similar marks of similar depth and altitude in several adjoining churches, would seem to favour the "arrow head" theory, but it is exceedingly difficult to tell what they are.

There are several brasses in the church, but only one of them is of any interest. The following is reproduced from a rubbing taken by the writer of this paper.

::قَدْ وَجَدَ حَيًّا::

HIC JACET CORPUS IOHANN : TODD
FILII 2^{di} IOHANNIS TODD, L.S.G.N=A.I.
OBII 31^o DIE MARTII ANN^o ETATIS
15^o ÆRÆ CHRISTIANÆ MDCCV.

הָרֵחַ.

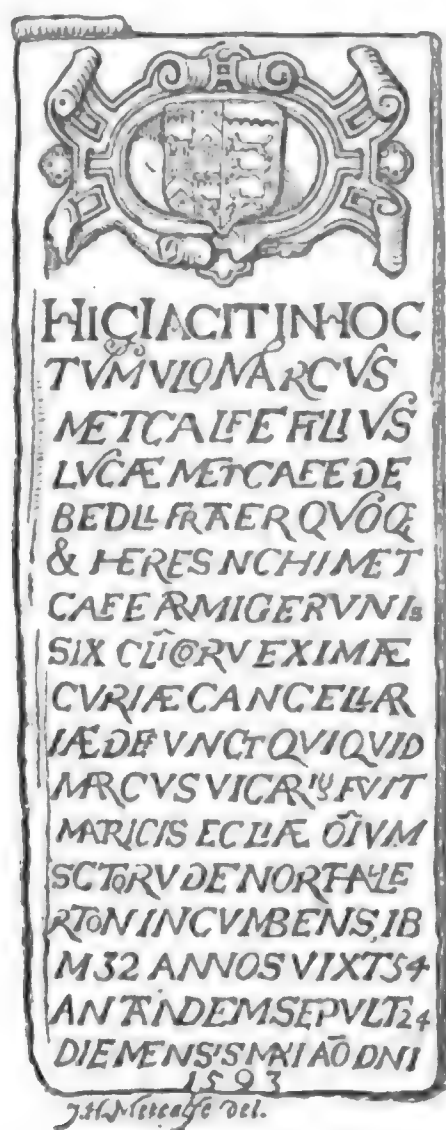
Ingenij Formæ cœlesti dote decorus
Affiduis vitam sponte colens studijs
Romulidam citiusq̃ venustatem illo Pelasgam,
Quam credas sapuit : grandia tunc iuhans ;
Clausa ævi σοφίης aggressus scrinia, letis
Ominibus. notis omnibus ἀμύσσοις.
Chara Patris soboles (spes florens) blandula Matris,
Spirans, expirans, quantus abinde dolor !
Ah ! subito è molli sanguis pulmone remissus,
In sedes animam redidit αἰθερίας.

.~i

IUXTA JACET CORPUS MARIE TODD, FILIÆ
SUE 2^{da} OBIT 21^o DIE JUNII AN^o ÆTATIS
SEPTIMO, SALUTIS HUMANÆ, C, I, MCCIV.

::ضمت صص::

The original font seems to have been destroyed in common with many others in the neighbourhood during the great rebellion. The present one is a plain and tasteless piece of work, supported on the same fluted column which sustained the old basin. It bears date 1662.



MARK METCALFE, 1561—93.

Memorial slab in North Transept.²⁹

²⁹ "Hic jacet in hoc tumulo Marcus Metcalfe, filius Lucæ Metcalfe de Bedale, frater quoque et hæres Nicholai Metcalfe, armigeri, unius sex clericorum eximiarum

In the south wall of the south transept is a shallow niche, which may have been connected with a piscina, as it seems too shallow for an aumbrye.

There appear to have been no remarkable *monuments* in the church at the time of Leland's visit, though he only says he found "no tumes of noblemen" in it. The only one of any interest is the monumental slab of Mark Metcalfe, the thirtieth Vicar, who died in 1593.

On scraping the north wall of the nave in 1852 the armorial bearings of Henry, Lord Percy, were discovered though much defaced. In 132—, letters of fraternity were granted by the prior and convent of Durham to his widow "the Lady Alianor de Percy and Henry and William her sons. Benefits to our priory of Finchale and to our church of North Allerton, which had been burnt and destroyed by the Scots."²⁹ This will account for the arms of Percy being found in the church, where they were probably placed (perhaps with an inscription) as a memorial of the circumstance.³⁰

The church plate, which is modern and meagre, consists of a flagon, two chalices, and two patens. The larger chalice was presented to the church in 1830 by the late Dr. Townsend, Vicar of Northallerton and Canon of Durham. The large paten bears the achievement of arms of Edward Metcalfe,—on shield, argent, three calves passant sable. Crest—upon a helmet, a leopard courant, with inscription on scroll, —*Ex dono E. M. An. D. 1702.* The smaller chalice and paten both bear the following inscription: "*This cup (or paten) belongeth to ye Church of Northallerton,*" but are not dated. They are older than the larger ones, the Hall marks being difficult to decipher. An elegant brass altar cross and alms dish have lately been presented to the church by Christopher Palliser, Esq.

The tower, which at a distance resembles the tower of Worcester Cathedral, contains eight bells, on which may be read the following legends and inscriptions :—

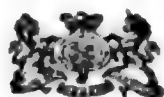
curiæ cancellariæ defuncti. Qui quidem Marcus vicarius fuit matricis ecclesiæ Omnium Sanctorum de Northallerton, incumbens ibidem xxxii annos. Vixit lrv ann. tandem sepultus xxiv die mensis maii, anno Domini 1593." Shield, quarterly, one and four three calves for

Metcalfe; two and three a chevron between three quatrefoils pierced for *Roughton*, impaling *Tomlinson*, of Gateshead co. Durham.

²⁹ Reg. II. 65. b.

³⁰ Ingledew's Hist. p. 153.

1. Cast by John Warner & Sons,
London, 1871.



2. Cast by John Warner & Sons,
London, 1871.



Both of the above are quite new, having been added to the original peal of six, in 1871. The key of No. 1, is F sharp, and that of No. 2, F natural.

3. *All glory bee to God on hee.*
1656.

Re-cast by J. Warner & Sons,
1871.

Rev. T. W. Mercer, M.A., Vicar.

The above bell was broken, and remained unused for some time, until re-cast in 1871. It is in the key of B flat.

4. *Jesus bee our speed.* 1656.

This is one of the original bells and is probably as old as the tower. It is much worn, and its key is C sharp, but of course it has been chipped from time to time, in order to maintain its pitch.

5. *God save His Church.* 1656.

This is supposed to be the oldest bell in the tower, and is also much worn ; its key is D. It is called the "Shriving Bell," because it is rung every Shrove Tuesday at mid-day.

6. *The Mount Grace Bell.*

Re-cast in 1802, and again in 1871, by J. Warner & Sons, London.
Rev. T. W. Mercer, M.A., Vicar.

This bell is supposed to have hung in the bell-turret of Mount Grace Priory for some years after the dissolution of that monastery, until it fell to the ground through the decay of the turret. How long it remained in that abased position,

before it was removed to Northallerton, cannot be ascertained; but until the year 1802, when it was broken, its remarkably sweet tones reverberated over hill and dale. It bears the following legend:—

In multis annis resonet campana Johannis.

Its key is E, and it is called the "Curfew Bell,"³¹ being rung at 8 o'clock every evening.

7. Thomas Mears, London, fecit.
1802.

This bell is called the "Fire Bell," but it is never rung in that capacity. Its key is G sharp.

8. Thomas Mears, London, fecit.
1827.

This is the tenor bell, and it weighs 16 cwt. Its key is F sharp, below. The hour strokes from the clock are struck upon it, and it is always brought into requisition as the "Passing Bell,"³² and for funerals. Its tone is peculiarly deep and solemn. A new clock with Cambridge chimes, the gift of Wm. Emmerson, Esq., has recently been placed in the tower.

A list of the Vicars of Northallerton from the twelfth century, will form a fitting conclusion to this paper.

12**.

Gilbertus.	Presented by the prior and convent of Durham.
Died,	1267.

1267. John de Derlington. Formerly Vicar of St. Oswald's, Durham.

1302. Peter de Killawe.

³¹ Ingledew says that this and other regulations were thrust upon the English people by William the Conqueror as a mark of servitude, and that the signal to curfew (cover fire) at sunset in summer and about eight o'clock in winter was to prevent associations and conspiracies. It is more probable, however, that it was a wise policy on William's part, and not a tyrannical one. Hume says that William had previously established this law in Normandy: indeed, the same law had a place in Scotland and in other European states, being considered necessary on account of the combustible material then

employed in the construction of houses, and the numerous fires in towns and villages consequent thereupon. It was continued in England as a police regulation till after the beginning of the sixteenth century.

³² By the 67th canon of the Church of England it is enjoined that "when any is passing out of this life a bell shall be tolled, and the minister shall not then slack to his last duty; and after the party's death (if so it fall out) there shall be rung no more but one short peal before the burial, and one other after the burial."

- 1311. Peter de Fishburn.
- 1323. Alan de Chiredon. S. T. P.
- 13**. Richard Askeby. Resigned for the Rectory of Sigston.
- 1332. Edmund Cruer. Exchanged with Mr. Askeby. Resigned for Vicarage of Haltwhistle.
- 1335. Robert Dighton.
- 13**. John de Haytor. Resigned for Vicarage of Lynton.
- 1382. John de Gilling. Died.
- 1393. William Kamell. Removed to St. Ann's, London.
- 1396. Robert Ridmereshill. Resigned for Rectory of Barningham.
- 1403. John Staynfield. Exchanged with Mr. Ridmereshill.
- 14**. John Corbridge.
- 1421. William Barker. S. T. P. Resigned.
- 1422. William Middleton. Resigned.
- 1437. John Thorneton. Died.
- 1447. John Levesham. Resigned for the living of Essington.
- 1455. John Treyndon. Died.
- 1465. Robert Walker. Resigned.
- 1471. Bartholomew Radclyff. Died.
- 1474. Richard Rolletson, B.A. Resigned.
- 1475. William Holyman. Died.
- 1491. John Fisher, M.A. Resigned. Bishop of Rochester, 1504, Cardinal (circa 1550). Imprisoned in the Tower for refusing to acknowledge the royal supremacy, April 21st, 1534. Beheaded on Tower Hill, June 22nd, 1535.
- 1494. Robert Clay. Died.
- 1522. Leonard Hutchenson, M.A. Resigned for Rectory of Cowlton.
- 1533. Robert Askew. Died.
- 1547. William Thornton. Resigned.
- 1553. William Todd, D.D. Resigned. Afterwards Canon of Durham, and Archdeacon of Bedford.
- 1561. Mark Metcalfe. Died. Buried in chancel of Northallerton Church.
- 1593. Francis Kaye. Died. Buried at Northallerton.
- 1624. John Cradock, M.A., Canon of Durham, and Archdeacon of Northumberland. Resigned for Rectory of Gainford, and Vicarage of Woodhorn. Died by poison, for which his wife was accused and tried, but acquitted.
- 1628. Thomas Blakiston, M.A. Ejected by Thomas Mann.
- 1640. Thomas Mann. Possessed himself of the living during the Interregnum. Died.
- 1669. John Neile, D.D., Domestic Chaplain to his uncle, Archbishop Neile; Rector of Beeford; Prebendary of York; Prebendary of Southwell; Canon of Durham, and Archdeacon of Cleveland in 1638. He was dispossessed during the Interregnum. Restored on the accession of Charles II. Afterwards Rector of Sigston and Dean of Ripon. Died. Buried at Ripon.
- 1675. William Neile, M.A., son of the above. Died 1685.
- 1686. John Harper, M.A., formerly Vicar of Berwick-on-Tweed. Died 1694.
- 1694. Charles Neile, M.A., formerly Minor Canon of Durham. Died.
- 1718. Christopher Hunter, M.A., formerly Curate of Sedgefield. Died.

1725. Thomas Rudd, M.A., formerly Vicar of St. Oswald's, Durham, and Head Master of the Grammar Schools of Durham and Newcastle. Resigned for Rectory of Washington.
1729. John Balguy, M.A., formerly Prebend of Salisbury. Died at Harrogate.
1748. Robert Pigot, M.A., formerly Minor Canon of Durham. Died at Northallerton. Buried in the chancel.
1775. Benjamin Walker, M.A. Died at Northallerton, and interred in the church.
1814. Reynold Gideon Bouyer, LL.B., formerly Archdeacon of Northumberland; Canon of Durham, and Rector of Howick. Buried at Durham.
1826. George Townsend, D.D., formerly Classical Master at Sandhurst. Resigned.
1839. Theodosius Burnett Stuart, M.A. Resigned for Vicarage of Wookey.
1850. Thomas Warren Mercer, M.A., formerly Rector of Weeley. Died at Northallerton. Buried in the cemetery.
1877. Benjamin Charles Caffin, M.A., formerly Rector of St. Martin-Carfax, Oxford, and Second Master of Durham Grammar School. Present Vicar.

An examination of the parish registers and other records will form the substance of a future paper in this *Journal*.

Note.

The Council have decided to reserve a small space in each Number of the Journal for notices of Finds and other discoveries; it is hoped that Members will assist in making this a record of all the matters of archaeological interest which may from time to time be brought to light in this large county.]

XXIX.

MEMORANDUM OF DEBTS, PROBABLY OF TIME OF HEN. VII.

From the Deeds of CHARLES F. ARMITAGE, Esq.

INDORSO:—JOHN KEY OF LOKWODD.

THAT this is the dette that is oghinge unto Alison Hatt nowe latte the wiffe of Robert Hatt off Wibsey w'in the parysch of Bradford the seyde Alyso nowe dwellinge w'in the parysch of Heyton In the fyrste John Burley hasse takyn from^e the sayde Alison a Wyndeschette precii iij^s also a smatt Schette precii xvj^d also a potte precii vj^s viij^d also too siluer spones precii vj^s Also a kowe precii viij^s also x yerddes Russett precii v^s Also iiij yerddes Whytte precii ij^s Also a pair' weis precii iij^d Also a pair' combis precii xvi^d Also a pair' tanggis precii ij^d Also the sayde Alison lentte unto the sayde John x^s siluer Also xvij^d was takyn owtte of a narke y^t the sayde John hade key of Also a seke precii xj^d Also iiij curcheffer (kerchiefs) precii xvj^d Also ij schettes precii xvj^d Summa xlvij^s x^d Also lentt to Thomas Rodley v^s iiij^d Also to John Batt of Wibsey xiiij^s iiij^d Also a grett pane lentte unto Rycharde Hollyns precii x^s Also lentte unto the seyde Rycharde xl^s to by scheppe W^t also the seyde Alison hade takyn from hir x marc^e that tyme dwellinge w^t the seyde Rycharde Also lentt unto Robert Popelwett iiij^d Also to Thomas Jounson xj^d Also to John Leyburne vj^d Also unto the wiffe of William Hayre xix^d Summa istius—xⁱⁱv^siiij^d Etsic Summatotalis——xij^{li}xiiij^sij^d.

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YORKSHIRE
ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND TOPOGRAPHICAL
ASSOCIATION.

EXCURSION
TO
Hedon and **P**atrington.

Wednesday, August 29th, 1883.

PROGRAMME & ARRANGEMENTS

Workshop :
PRINTED BY ROBERT WHITE, PARK STREET.
1883.

Yorkshire Archaeological & Topographical Association.

EXCURSION TO HEDON AND PATRINGTON, AUGUST 29, 1883.

*I hereby request you to supply to me Tickets, at 6s. each, for the above
Excursion, in payment for which I beg to enclose cheque (or P. O. Order) for £ ” ”*

Name

Address

To Mr. JOHN SAMPSON, 13, Coney Street, York.

„ Mr. JOSEPH DODGSON, 32, Park Row, Leeds.

„ Mr. JOHN HALL, 26, Westgate, Wakefield.

„ Mr. JOHN CROSSLEY, Imperial Arcade, Huddersfield.

or to Mr. G. W. TOMLINSON, F.S.A., The Elms, Huddersfield.

N.B.—Application for Tickets must be made before Four o'clock on Monday, the 27th August.



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THE YORKSHIRE Archæological & Topographical Association.

Tickets for the Excursion, 6s. each, consisting of Luncheon Ticket (exclusive of wines, &c.) and Railway Voucher, may be had on application to the persons named in the enclosed form—not later than MONDAY, the 27th August, at 4 p.m.

Special Arrangements.

The Ordinary Train leaves the New Station, Leeds, at 9-35 a.m., and arrives at Hull at 10-53 a.m.; and will leave Hull at 11-10 a.m., arriving at Patrington at 11-52 a.m.

Members will proceed at once to the Church, which will be described by Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite, F.S.A.

The Train will leave Patrington at 1-45 p.m., and arrive at Hedon at 2-3 p.m. Luncheon will be served at 2-15 p.m., chair to be taken by the Rev. R. Collyer, D.D., of New York; after which, Members will have an opportunity of visiting the Church and inspecting the Cross.

The Train will leave Hedon at 4-50 p.m., reaching Hull at 5-6, in time for the Ordinary Train which leaves at 5-25, and arrives at Leeds at 7-5 p.m.

Fares to Patrington and back :

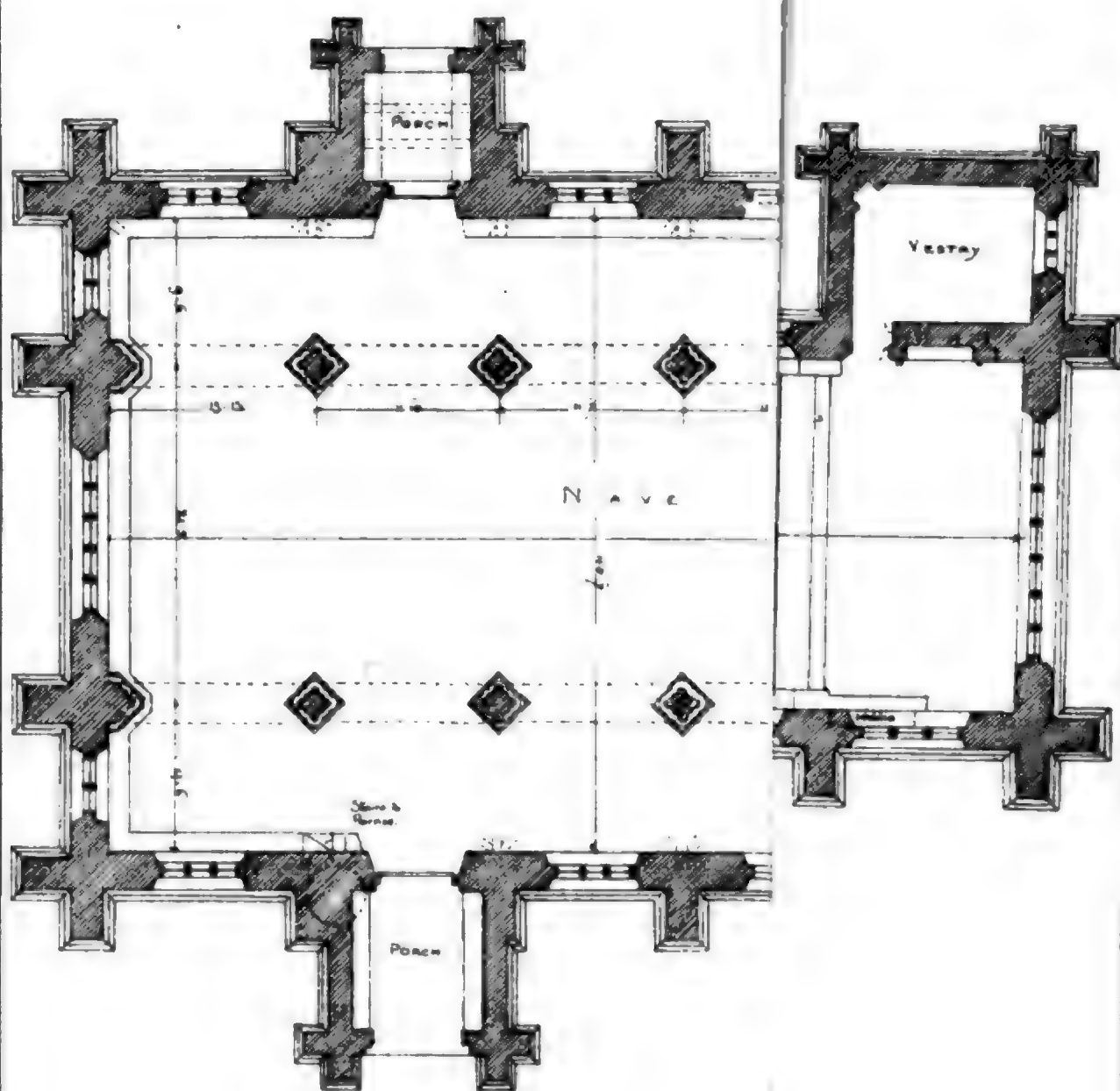
From Leeds, First Class,	9/0	Second Class,	7/3
„ Selby, „	6/1	„	4/10

At which prices Tickets will be issued on presentation of Voucher.

CHURCH OF S PATRICK.

DATRINGTON: YORKS.

GROUND PLAN:



100
inch

H. A. P. L. B. Sep 1891

Whitman & Bass Photo-Litho London

Programme.



THE Seventeenth ANNUAL EXCURSION of the Association will take place on WEDNESDAY, the 29th of AUGUST, 1883.

Members will leave Leeds by the ordinary train at 9-35 a.m., and proceed as described on the preceding page direct to Patrington, when the magnificent church of St. Patrick, described as "the glory of Holderness," will be open for their inspection by the kind permission of the Rector, the Rev. Francis Sheppard, M.A., who will also allow the church plate and the Registers to be seen.

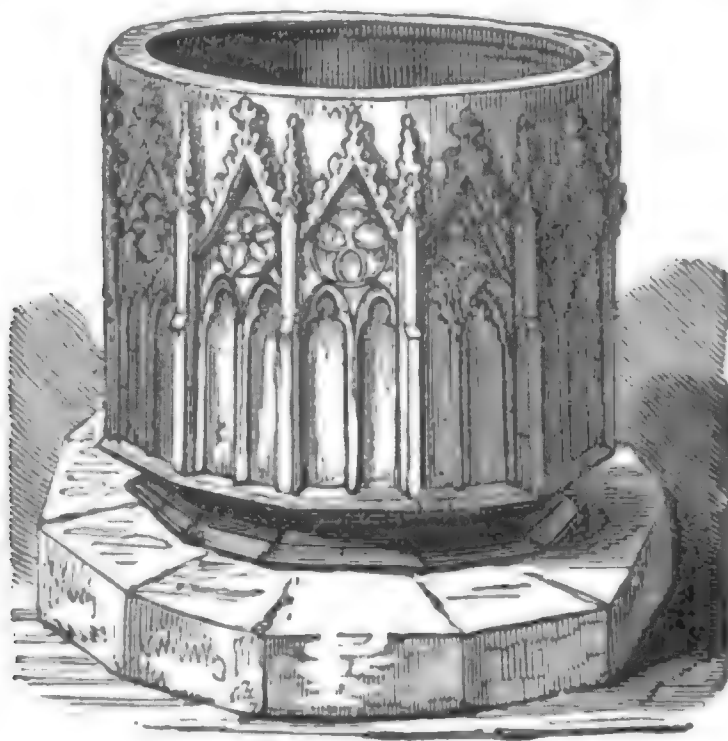
By the courtesy of the John o' Gaunt Architectural Society the plan of the church has been reproduced from their lithograph, which cannot fail to commend itself to the attention of members.

The Council here desire to thank the Rev. the Rector of Patrington and the Rev. the Vicar of Hedon, for the leave so readily granted to visit their respective churches; also their staunch friend Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite, for acting as guide; Mr. A. E. Street, for the loan of the late Mr. Street's plan of Hedon Church; and Mr. H. W. Ball, of Barton-on-Humber, for lending the woodcuts to illustrate this programme.

PATRINGTON Manor is mentioned in the Domesday Survey, where it is described as belonging to the See of York, and it remained in the hands of the Archbishops many years. It is a fine instance of the magnificent way in which these princely prelates provided for the spiritual wants of their tenants.

The Church is in the Decorated style, and dates probably from about the early part of the reign of Edward III. It is cruciform in plan, and has the unusual feature of double aisles in the transepts. It is not desirable to anticipate the remarks Mr. Micklethwaite may have to make, therefore the attention of members is briefly called to the Font, which consists of a solid block of granite covered with sculpture, and to the Easter Sepulchre in the north wall of the chancel, which will repay a minute examination.

The ascent into the Spire, which is 190 feet high, is somewhat curious, leading across the roof and over the bells.



Font.—Patrington Church.



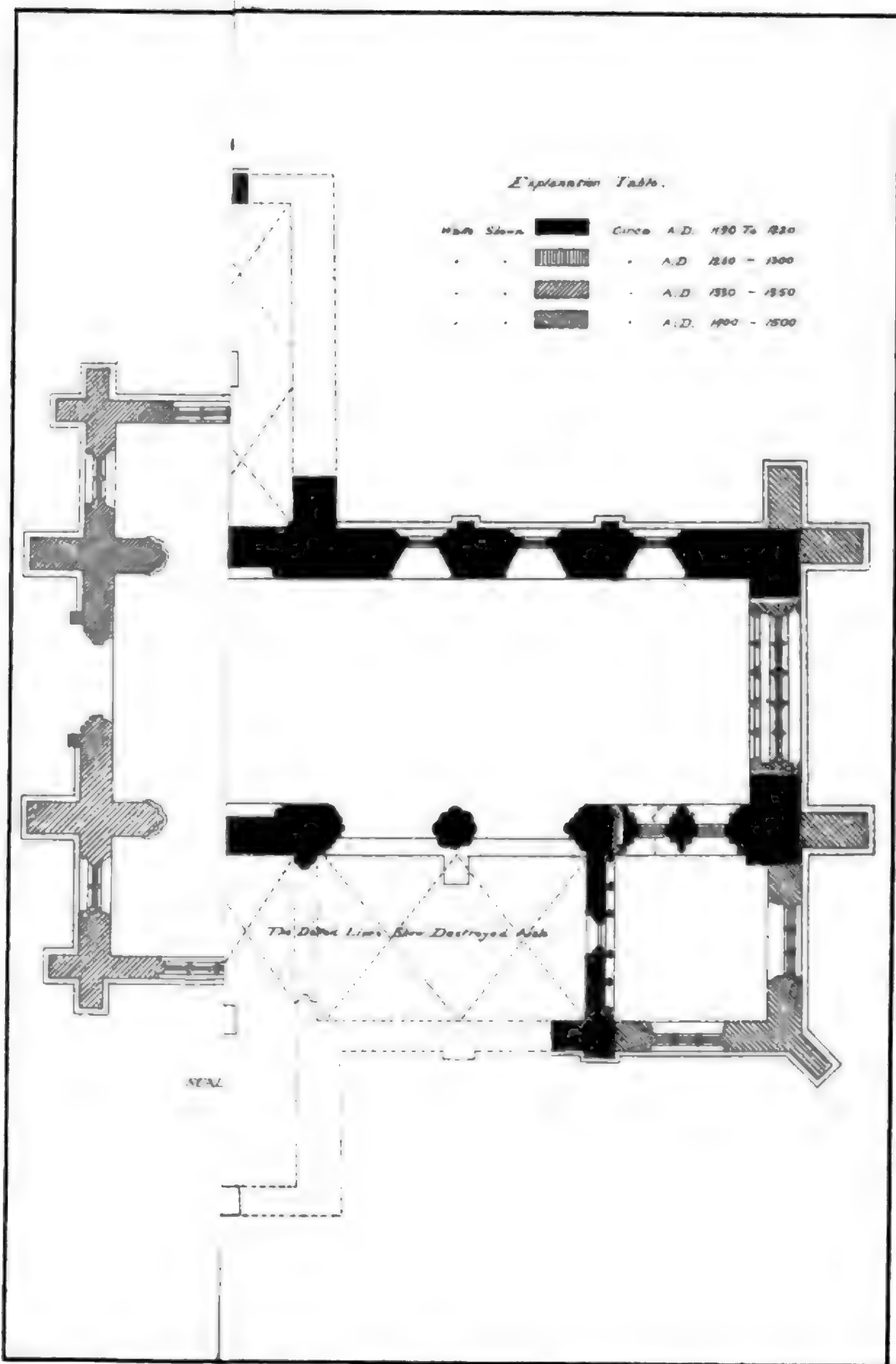
The Cross which was erected to commemorate the incident will be seen at Hedon.

The train will leave Patrington at 1-45, returning to Hedon, where it is timed to arrive at 2-3 p.m. Members will proceed to the SUN INN, where the Luncheon will be served at 2-15, which will be presided over by the Rev. Robt. Collyer, D.D., of New York; after which the Church will be visited by permission of the Rev. John H. Richardson, the Vicar, who will also allow the plate and the Registers to be inspected. The Council desire here to acknowledge the kindness of the Mayor of Hedon (Mr. James Watson), who, though unable to be present, has done much to render the visit of the Association a success.

Hedon is a town of great antiquity, and is another instance of the changes that have been caused by the varying bed of the Humber. Time was when this town, like Ravenspurg, surpassed Hull in the extent of its commerce and the wealth of its merchants. As the Right Rev. the President of this Association for the East Riding said on a former occasion, "There will be no desire to measure Hedon by its present position, but by that which it occupied for so many centuries as one of the most important towns of this great country. Archæologists will look through the telescope as it were, to the far past, and see only the Hedon of that time."

There is not space in this programme to do more than mention the records of the Corporation, beginning with the reign of King John, and the long list of Mayors who have ruled over it for more than 500 years.

The Church is dedicated to St. Augustine, and is known as "The King of Holderness;" Patrington, from its lighter



Whitman & Bass Photo Litho

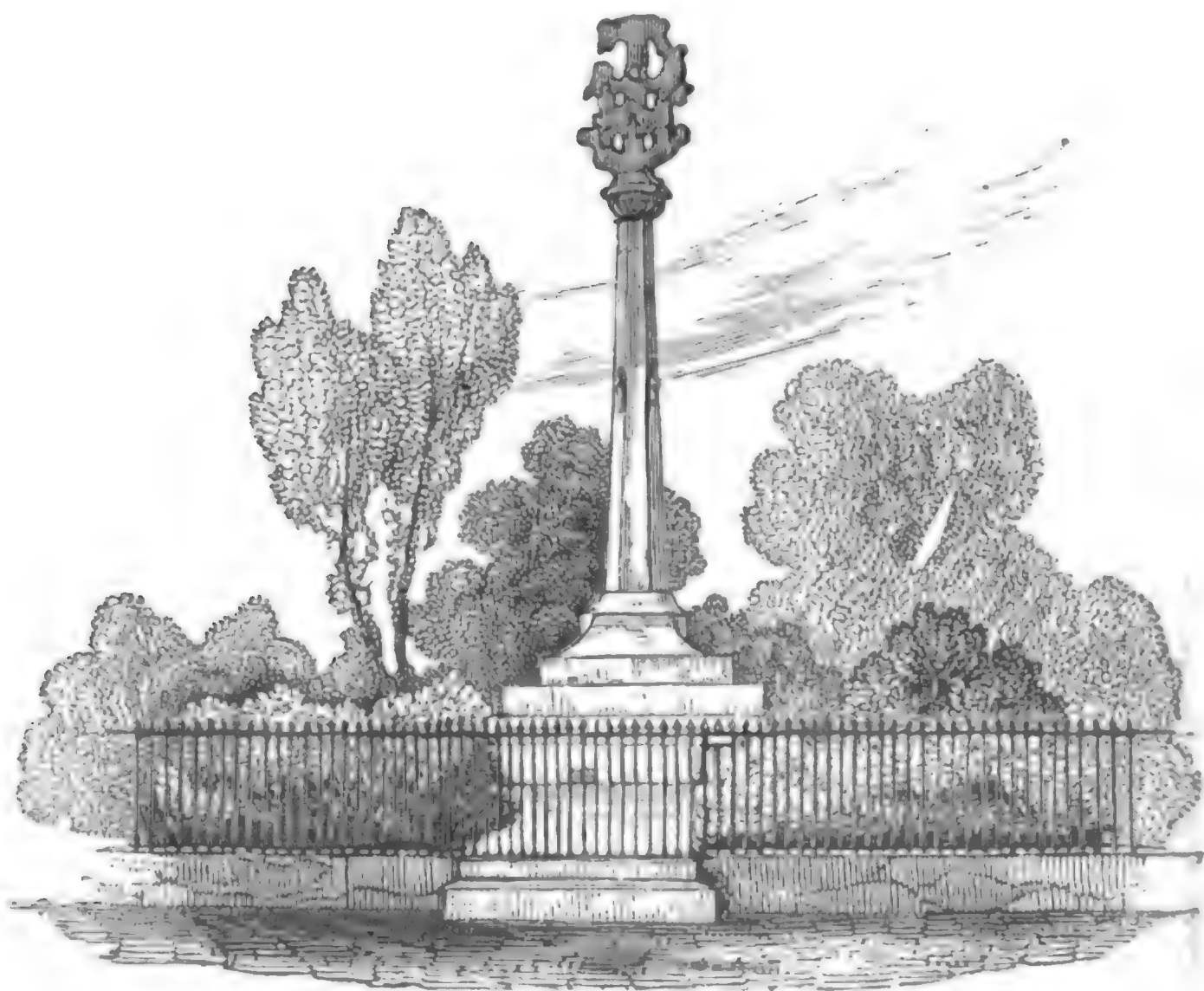


THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO



PHOTOGRAPH BY [illegible]

In the grounds of the Mayor (Mr. Watson), time permitting, members may see the decorated cross, removed from Ravenspurg to Kilnsea, and from thence to Burton-Constable, and finally, to its present resting place in the year 1818.



Decorated Cross, Hedon.

The time at Hedon is unavoidably short, and the train will leave at 4-50 p.m., arriving at Hull at 5-6, and will leave at 5-25, arriving at Leeds at 7-5 p.m.

To prevent disappointment, members are particularly requested to make an early application for tickets, in order to facilitate the necessary arrangements.

The Meeting will be throughout a General Meeting, at which new members may be elected; and persons wishing to join the Association, or requiring information as to its objects, are requested to apply to the Honorary Secretary.

By order of the Council.

G. W. TOMLINSON.



Hedon Seal

Yorkshire
Archæological and Topographical
Association.

Excursion to Ilkley, Otley, and Farnley Hall.

27th August, 1884.



THE YORKSHIRE Archæological and Topographical Association.

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THE YORKSHIRE

Archæological & Topographical Association.

Tickets for the Excursion, consisting of Luncheon Ticket, Carriage Ticket, and Voucher for Farnley Hall, may be had on application to the persons named in the enclosed form—not later than MONDAY, the 25th inst., at 4 p.m. Price Six Shillings and Sixpence each.

The North Eastern Railway Company's train leaves Leeds at 9-30, arriving at Ilkley at 10-17 a.m.; by the same Company, a train leaves Harrogate at 9-2 a.m., arriving at Ilkley also at 10-17 a.m.

For the RETURN JOURNEY the North Eastern Railway Company run a train which leaves Otley at 6-24 p.m., arriving at Leeds at 6-57, and at Harrogate at 7-15 p.m.

NOTE.

It will be necessary to divide the party at Otley into two portions; the first will proceed at once to Farnley, and the second to the Parish Church, where they will await the return of the Carriages. On the arrival of the second portion at Farnley, the first party will return to Otley and visit the Parish Church.

Programme.



THE Eighteenth ANNUAL EXCURSION of the Association will take place on WEDNESDAY, the 27th of AUGUST, 1884.

ILKLEY being so short a distance from the great centres of population in the county, it has not been thought necessary to make arrangements for a special train. Members will therefore meet at the Parish Church, Ilkley, where, at 10-30, they will be received by the Rev. A. C. Downer, M.A., Vicar, who has kindly consented to describe the Church, and show the Register books, plate, &c. ; after which the Crosses in the churchyard will be examined, and a short paper read upon them by Mr. J. Romilley Allen, F.S.A. Scot. A paper on the Rock Markings will then be read by Mr. Allen, who may be considered the highest living authority on the subject. At the conclusion of the paper, those members who wish to examine the marks will have ample time to proceed to the Cow and Calf, or to the Panorama Rock, where they are to be found. Mr. Myddelton has also kindly thrown open the grounds at Myddelton Lodge, enabling visitors to see the numerous Roman remains which have from time to time been found in the neighbourhood. Members will then meet at the Middelton Hotel, at 1 o'clock, where Luncheon will be served, the chair to be taken by Francis Darwin, Esq. ; after which, members will proceed to the Railway Station in time to leave for Otley by the 2-20 train. On arriving at Otley, carriages will be in attendance to convey the party to Farnley Hall, which will be open to the members by special permission of Mr. Ayscough Fawkes. The carriages will then return to Otley Parish Church, where a short paper will be read.

(See note on preceding page).

IT is impossible to give even an outline of the history of Ilkley in the space allowed in the Programme.

Beginning in the Roman time, when it was known as *Olicana*, we find several inscriptions of the period of Caracalla, which are described by Camden and Whitaker. At that early period the beauty of the Wharfe was recognized, and altars have been found dedicated to the genius of the *Verbeia*, the Latinized form of the name of the river. In Domesday Book we find Ilkley forming part of the great Percy Fee :

“In Illecleia Gamel had three carucates of land to be taxed, where there may be two ploughs, William (de Perci) now has it and it is waste. Value in King Edward’s time twenty shillings. There is a church and a priest. Wood pasture one mile long and 4 quarentans broad. The whole manor one mile long and 8 quarentans broad.”

The Church which exists to-day on the site of the one mentioned in Domesday, has undergone many changes and restorations, and is described in the last edition of Whitaker’s “Craven,” as follows :

“The present building consists of nave, north and south aisles, chancel, south porch, and a western tower of the Decorated period, with eight bells. The nave has four bays of arches, simply double chamfered, the piers are octagonal. The cap of one on the north side is of Norman character, and very curious. The S. doorway is Early English, with two heavy continuous semicircular mouldings and two rows of dog’s teeth divided by a bend. The chancel has been entirely rebuilt, but the chancel arch remains. The pulpit, reading desk, and font are all modern, so also is the seating, except a curious pew at the west end of the north aisle, which is dated 1633.”



river scenery in the highest perfection, or for those who love to visit the places rendered famous by the great Yorkshire men of past ages, there is ample matter to occupy the attention. After leaving Ilkley, we come to **HOLLIN HALL**, formerly the residence of the Hebers, and said to have been the birthplace of the Bishop. Then



Hollin Hall

DENTON is seen, formerly the residence of the Fairfaxes, now the property of Mr. Wyvill ; and **WESTON**, belonging to Mr. Vavasour. On arriving at Otley Station, carriages will be found waiting to convey the party to Farnley Hall, which lies about a mile and a half to the north. This interesting house will be thrown open to members, who will have an opportunity of seeing the various treasures both historical and artistic, for which the house is so famous.

FARNLEY HALL is partly Elizabethan, and the new part was built by Carr, of York, in 1786. Here are preserved

the hat Cromwell wore at Marston Moor, with his watch and sword. There are portraits of Ireton and Fairfax, and relics of both. But the great interest at Farnley lies in the Turner Pictures. It is well known that Mr. Walter Fawkes was a great friend and patron of Turner who often visited Farnley in his early days. The scenery of this lovely valley seems to have made a great impression on his mind, and Mr. Ruskin has the following remarks in "Modern Painters :"

"The scenery whose influence I can trace most definitely throughout his works, varied as they are, is that of Yorkshire. . . . His first conceptions of mountain scenery seem to have been taken from Yorkshire, and its rounded hills, far-winding rivers, and broken limestone scars, to have formed a type in his mind, to which he sought, so far as might be obtained, some correspondent imagery in other landscapes. Hence, he almost always preferred to have a precipice low down upon the hill side rather than near the top; liked an extent of rounded slope above, and the vertical cliff to water, better than the slope at the bottom and the wall at the top."

In Thornbury's "Life of Turner," the pictures are classified as follows :

Seven Oil Paintings.

Seventeen Water-colour Drawings (*English*).

Seventeen " " (*Swiss*).

Nine " " (*Italian*)

Seven " " in cases.

Two Frontispieces to "Chronology."

Ten illustrative of periods of English History.

Twenty drawings of Birds from nature.

Fifty-one Sketches on the Rhine.

Thirty-four Sketches of the Farnley Property, in two cases.

Two Sketches of the Washburn.

Space does not admit of any detailed account of this remarkable collection of pictures, but the following may be more particularly mentioned :

The view of "Scarborough" shows a coast view of the town as seen in the sunlight of early morning, with a very wonderful sky. The "Bolton Abbey" has been described by Prof. Ruskin, in Vol. 4 of "Modern Painters;" in the same series is a view of "The Strid," which deserves careful study. The view of the Lake of Lucerne from Fluellen deals with scenery of another kind, but only shows the wonderful versatility of the artist.

In the "Lancaster Sands" we are brought back to England. In this drawing an incident is represented now to be seen no more. The Oversands Coach is struggling over the sandy waste, guided by the bushes so familiar to those who have crossed the estuary of the Leven in this manner. A critic in the *Athenæum* details the following points as specially deserving of notice. The sky, "its almost lustrous veil of mist half hiding the glittering upper edges of the distant bulks—the magical treatment of the water—its evident shallowness, and the knowledge shown in painting the reflections of the figures and the coach."

These remarks will be concluded by the description of "A First-rate taking in stores," by Prof. Ruskin, in his tract on Pre-Raphælitism: "The hull of a first-rater occupies nearly one-half of the picture on the right, her bows towards the spectator, seen in sharp perspective from stem to stern, with all her portholes, guns, anchors, and lower rigging elaborately detailed; there are two other ships of the line in the middle distance, drawn with equal precision, a noble breezy sea dancing against their broad bows, full of delicate drawing in its waves; a store ship beneath the hull of the larger vessel, and several other boats and a complicated cloudy sky. It might appear no small exertion of mind to draw this shipping down to the smallest ropes, from memory in a drawing room in the middle

of Yorkshire, even if considerable time had been given for the effort. But Mr. Fawkes sat beside the painter from the first stroke to the last. Turner took a piece of blank paper one morning after breakfast, outlined his ships, finished the drawing in three hours, and went out to shoot." The author of "Modern Painters" instances this as an example "that if a great thing can be done at all, it can be done easily."

The grateful thanks of the members are due to Mr. Fawkes for his courtesy in allowing time for careful examination of these magnificent works.

On leaving Farnley, members will proceed at once to Otley Church, where a short paper will be read.

In the time of the Conqueror, OTLEY formed part of the Archbishop of York's fee. The Church, which has been lately restored, contains some portions of Norman and Early English. There are several very fine monuments, notably one of Thomas, Lord Fairfax, and his wife, Helen Aske. He was father of the famous Parliamentary General, Sir Thomas Fairfax. Under the lady's figure are the lines :

HERE LEAS FRVITFVLNES, HERE RACHAELS BEVTY,
HERE LYETH REBECCAS FAITH, HERE SARAHS DVTY.

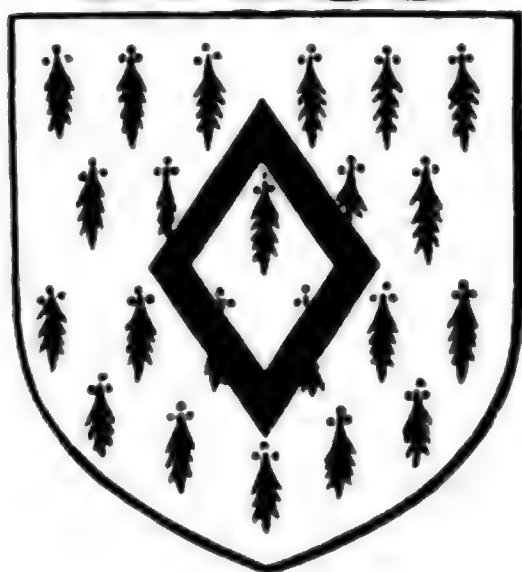
There is a brass of one of the Palmes family, dated 1593, very curious. There are also monuments of the Fawkeses, Vavasours, and other celebrated families of the Dale.

The Council desire to thank the Rev. A. C. Downer M.A., and the Rev. S. Ruthven Anderson, M.A., for the permission to visit their respective churches ; Mr. J.





Fairfax.



Hawkes



Fabasour.







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THE YORKSHIRE
Archæological & Topographical Association.

Tickets for the Excursion, consisting of Luncheon Ticket and Carriage Ticket, may be had on application to the persons named in the enclosed form, not later than MONDAY, the 24th inst., at 4 p.m. Price, 5/6 each.

The North Eastern Railway Company's quick train for Hull, leaves the New Station, Leeds, at 9-35 a.m., and Selby at 10-10. This train will be stopped at Howden for the convenience of members, arriving there at 10-25 a.m.

In returning, the express from Hull will be stopped at Howden at 5-40 p.m., and will arrive at Selby at 6-10, and at Leeds at 6-43.

Fares from Leeds to Howden and back :

1st, 4/. 2nd, 3/4. 3rd, 2/5.

Fares from Selby to Howden and back :

1st, 1/3. 2nd, 1/-. 3rd, -/8½.

HULL AND BARNSELY LINE.—A train leaves Sheffield at 8-58 and Barnsley at 9-15, arriving at Howden at 10-45 a.m. The train leaves Howden in the afternoon at 4-5 p.m.

Selby Abbey.

Members who wish to visit Selby Abbey may do so by leaving Howden by the 3-15 train, arriving at Selby at 4-8 p.m. They will leave Selby by the express at 6-10, and will thus have two hours for seeing the Abbey Church.

The Rev. Canon Harper, M.A., Vicar of Selby, has kindly consented that the church shall be open at the time appointed.

Programme.

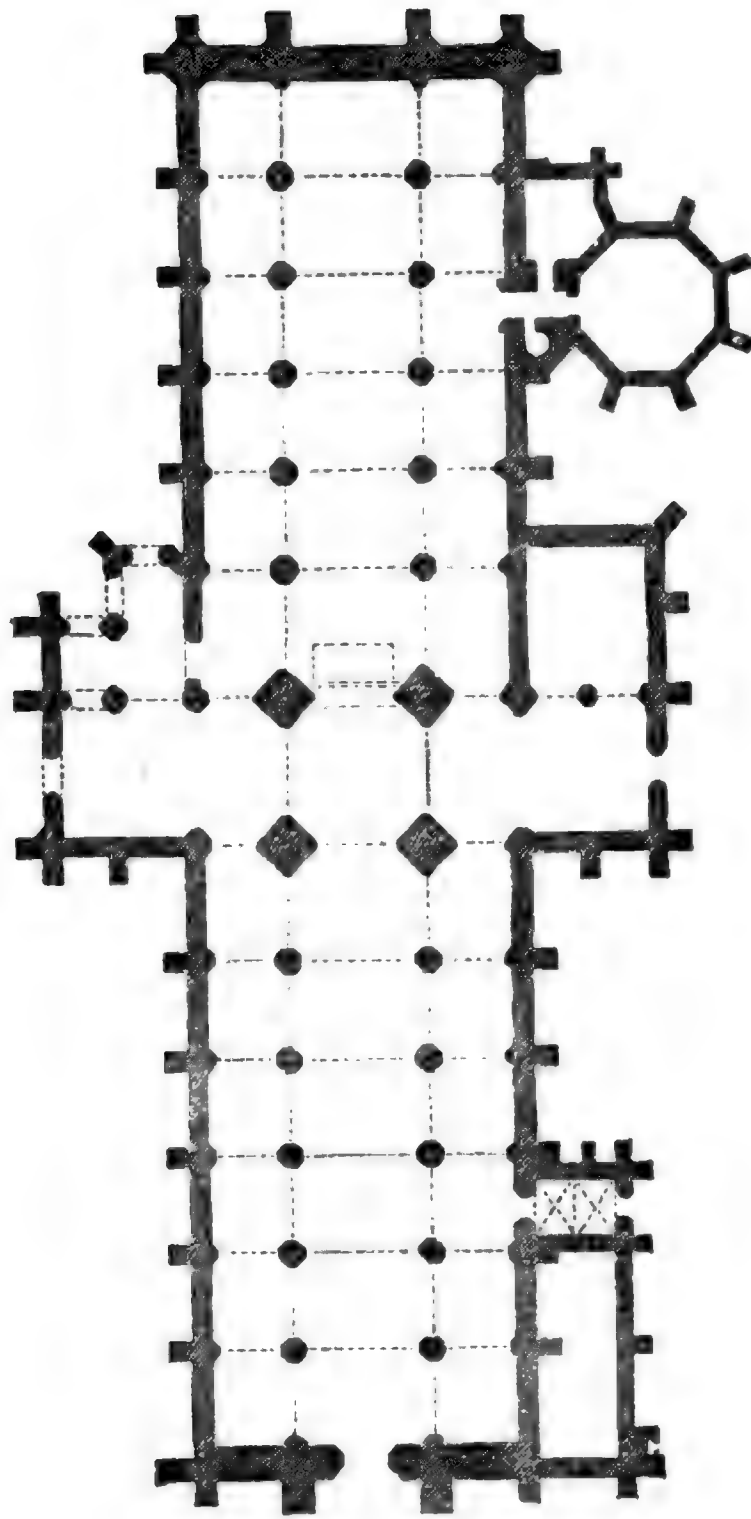


THE Nineteenth ANNUAL EXCURSION of the Association will take place on WEDNESDAY, the 26th of AUGUST, 1885.

By the courtesy of the North Eastern Railway Company, members will be able to proceed to Howden by the express train which will arrive there at 10-25 a.m. Carriages will be in readiness at the Station to convey visitors to the Church, which is distant about a mile and a quarter. The Church will then be described by Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite, F.S.A. At one o'clock p.m. Luncheon will be served at the Bowman's Hotel; the chair will be taken by Christopher Sykes, Esq., M.P. After Luncheon the Rev. W. Hutchinson, M.A., Vicar of Howden, will read a paper upon the ancient Palace of the Bishops of Durham, at Howden.

Those members who wish to visit Selby will leave in time to meet the 3-15 train. Those who prefer to remain at Howden will leave at 5-40, and the party will reunite at Selby at 6-10 p.m., and arrive in Leeds at 6-40 p.m.

EVERYONE who has travelled on the Hull and Selby line must have been struck by the majestic appearance of Howden Church, which towers above the rich landscape surrounding it, nor is the traveller disappointed who has the curiosity to visit this venerable edifice. We find in the Domesday Survey, the Manor of Howden with its attendant Berewicks forming part of the estate of the Bishop of Durham, and that there was a church and a priest there. In the time of the Confessor the manor formed part of the property of the Abbey of Peterborough, but was alienated from that monastery and for some time was held by the Crown. The origin of the connection between Peterborough and Howden has been recently investigated by the Rev. the Vicar of Howden, and this rather obscure point will form the subject of a paper in the *Journal*. The Conqueror gave the manor to the Bishop of Durham, who bestowed the church upon the monks of his cathedral. The manor remained in the hands of the Bishops, and to their munificent piety and to that of the Prior and Convent of Durham we owe the beautiful structure we are about to describe. In the thirteenth century the church was made collegiate, five prebendaries being instituted, of Howden, Barmby, Thorpe, Laxton, and Saltmarsh, the number being increased in 1279 by the ordination of a sixth, for Skipwith. There were also three priests, for the altars of St. Thomas, St. Mary and St. Catherine. At the Dissolution, the revenues which were appropriated to the maintenance of the fabric being diverted into private hands, the choir, which had been much neglected, soon fell into decay, and finally fell down about the year 1696.



Ground Plan of Hildesheim Church.

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The one nearest the transept has

Saltmarshe	Sotheron	Saltmarshe
Bethell	Empson	Worsop
Saltmarshe	Estcourt	Saltmarshe

The middle one has

The Archbishop of York	The Royal Arms	The Bishop of Ripon
Lord Hotham	Lord Galway	Lord Howden

The last one

Clarke	Dunn	Jefferson
Lord Wenlock	Blank	Athorpe
Wyndham	Menzies	Broadley

Against the south-east pier of the transept is an altar tomb ornamented with the following shields :

1. a bordure of roses.
2. a cross
3. Barry of seven and , a bend
4. Barry of five, an orle of martlets.
5. three Cornish choughs.
6. a fess dancette between eight cross-crosslets
7. a bend between six martlets.
8. three cinquefoils
9. crusilly, three cinquefoils and a bordure engrailed.

Behind the monument is the full length figure of an ecclesiastic.

In the Saltmarsh Chapel there is the figure of a knight in armour bearing the arms of Saltmarshe (Argent, three cinquefoils between nine cross-crosslets gules). In the same chapel there is a very charming monument of a knight and his lady on an altar tomb under a pointed arch. On the wall above are two shields, the first with the Metham arms (quarterly azure and argent, in the first quarter a fleur de lis or), the other shield bears an eagle displayed over all a



bendlet. It would appear from these shields that the monument is that of Sir John Metham, who was living in the time of Edward I., and of Sibil his wife, daughter and heiress of Adam Hamelton, who was heir to his brother William, Dean of York, who died in 1307.

The tower forms a conspicuous landmark for many miles, and Mr. Petit thus describes it: "There is no tower in the district at all like it, and I think that few towers in England will be found that nearly resemble it in character. Though very lofty it has an air of massiveness that is hardly attained by many towers of lower and wider proportions; perhaps this may be attributed to the flatness of the summit; be it as it may, this peculiarity can hardly fail to strike the spectator."

The description of the church at Howden will be found on page 180 of the 25th vol. of the *Archæological Journal*.

The following books may also be consulted:

Hutchinson's Durham, Vol. 3, page 445.

Allen's Yorkshire, 4to, Vol. 3, page 361.

Richardson's Monastic Remains, page 79.

Howden in the Month of April, 1644 (1834).

The History of Howden Church, by James Savage (1799).

The History of the Church, Parish and Manor of Howden (by Thomas Clarke, Esq., of Knedlington), 1850.

The Council have to acknowledge the courteous assistance of the Rev. William Hutchinson, M.A., Vicar of Howden, who has so liberally allowed members to have free access to the church.

By order of the Council.

G. W. TOMLINSON, (HON. SEC.)



